THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY:

CONTAINING THE

Acts and Monuments

OF

MARTYRS:

WITH

A General Discourse of the later Persecutions, horrible Troubles and Tumults, stirred up by

ROMISH PRELATES

IN THE

CHURCH.

WITH

Divers other Things incident to this Realm of *ENGLAND* and *SCOTLAND*.

Recognized and Enlarged by the Author,

Mr. JOHN FOX.

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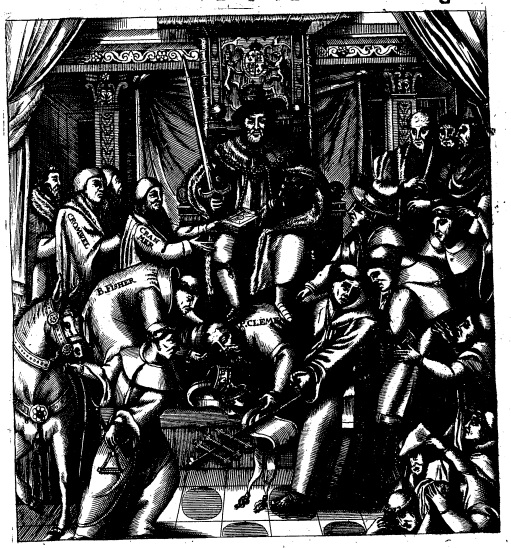
THE SEVENTH BOOK,

Beginning with the Reign of King HENRY the Eighth.



Anno 1509.

AS touching the civil ſtate and adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, and likewiſe of the ſtate of the Church under the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh; how he entred firſt into poſſeſſion of the Crown: how the two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* were in him conjoined through marriage with *Elizabeth* the eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth, by the prudent counſel of *John Morton* then Biſhop of *Ely*, after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Cardinal: how long the ſaid King reigned, and what Perſecution was in his time for lack of ſearch and knowledg of God's Word both in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln* under Biſhop *Smith*, (who was erector of the Houſe of *Brazen-Noſe* in *Oxford*) as alſo in the Dioceſs of *Coventry*, and other places more: and further, what puniſhment and alteration God commonly ſendeth upon Cities and Realms publick, for neglecting the ſafety of his Flock, ſufficiently in the former Book hath been already ſpecified; wherein many things more amply might have been added, incident in the Reign of this Prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that ſtudieth to comprehend in ſtory all things which the common courſe and uſe of life may offer to the Writer, may ſooner find matter to occupy himſelf, than to profit others. Otherwiſe I might have inferred mention of the ſeditious Tumult of *Perkin Warbeck*, with his Retinue, *Anno* 1494. alſo of *Blakheath*-Field by the Blackſmith, *Anno* 1496. I might alſo have recited the glorious commendation of *Georgius Lilius* in his Latine Chronicle, teſtifying of King *Henry* the ſeventh, how he ſent three ſolemn Orators to Pope *Julius* the ſecond, to yield his obedience to the See of *Rome*, *An.* 1506. And likewiſe how Pope *Alexander* the ninth, *Pius* the third, and *Julius* the ſecond, ſent to the ſaid King *Henry* the ſeventh three ſundry famous Embaſſadors, with three Swords, and three Caps of Maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief Defender of the Faith. The commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of *Georgius Lilius*, and *Fabian*, that I leave to them. This I ſuppoſe, that when King *Henry* ſent to Pope *Julius* three Orators with obedience, if he had

Notes ſummarily collected and repeated of things done in the time of K. Henry the ſeventh.

Perkin Warbeck which feigned himſelf to be King Edwards ſon. Blackheath Field.

K.Hen. 8. sent him three thousand Harquebutiers to furnish his Field against the French King fighting at *Ravenna*, he had pleased Pope *Julius* much better. If *Georgius Lilius* had been disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had been more worthy the noting, how *Lodovick* 12. the French King, calling his Parliament, moved this question against Pope *Julius*, Whether a Pope might invade any Prince by warlike force without cause? and whether the Prince might withdraw his obedience from that Pope or not? And it was concluded in the same Parliament with the King, against the Pope. Also it was concluded the same time (which was in the Reign of this King *Henry* the seventh) that the *Pragmatical Sanction* should be received in full force and effect through all the Realm of *France*.

Ex Mattheo fol. 30.

Pragmatica Sanctio, was a prastising or a determination of a certain Parliament in France against the Bishop of Rome, in defence of certain matters of Religion concluded in the Council of Basil.

And forsomuch as we are fallen into the mention of *Georgius Lilius*, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting, How after the burning of *Thomas Norice* above mentioned, at the City of *Norwich*, the same year followed such a Fire in *Norwich*, that the whole City well near was therewith consumed. Ex *Georg. Lilio*. Like as also after the burning of the foresaid good aged Father in *Smithfield* the same year (which was 1500) we read in the Chronicle of *Fabian*, a great Plague to fall upon the City of *London*, to the great destruction of the Inhabitants thereof. Wherein again is to be noted (as is aforesaid) that according to the state of the Church the disposition of the Commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adversity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these Notes of King *Henry* the seventh now to the Story of K. *Henry* the eighth.

A cote of Gadspilgues following the burning of his People.

This King *Henry* the seventh finishing his course in the year abovesaid, which was 1509, had by *Elizabeth* his Wife above-named, four Men-children, and of Women-children as many. Of whom three only survived, to wit, Prince *Henry*, Lady *Margaret*, and Lady *Mary*: Of whom King *Henry* the eighth succeeded after his Father; Lady *Margaret* was married to *James* the fourth, King of *Scots*; Lady *Mary* was affied to *Charles* King of *Castile*.

The children and Offspring of King Henry the seventh.

Lady Margaret married to K. James the fourth of Scotland.

Lady Mary married to the King of Castile.

Not long before the death of King *Henry*, Prince *Arthur* his eldest Son had espoused Lady *Katharine* Daughter to *Ferdinandus*, being of the age of fifteen years, and she about the age of seventeen; and shortly after his marriage, within five months departed at *Ludlow*, and was buried at *Worcester*. After whose decease, the succession of the Crown fell next to King *Henry* the eighth, who being of the age of eighteen years, entred his Reign the year of our Lord 1509, and shortly after married with the foresaid *Katharine*, his late brother Prince *Arthur*'s Wife to the end that her Dowry being great, should not be transported out of the Land. In the which his Marriage, being more politick than Scripturelike, he was dispensed with by Pope *Julius*, at the request of *Ferdinandus* her Father. The Reign of this King continued with great nobleness and fame the space of thirty eight years. During whose time and reign was great alteration of things, as well to the Civil state of the Realm, as especially to the state Ecclesiastical, and matters to the Church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the Realm the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, Idolatry and Superstition somewhat repressed, Images and Pilgrimages defaced, Abbies and Monasteries pulled down, Sects of Religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar Tongue, and the state of the Church and Religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the process of this Volume here following, we will endeavour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse; after that first we shall comprehend a few matters, which within the beginning of his Reign are to be noted and collected. Where, leaving off to write of *Empson* and *Dudley*, who, in the time of King *Henry* the seventh, being great doers in executing the penal Laws over the People at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten were ill only after the entring of this King beheaded, the one a Knight, the other an Esquire: leaving also to intermeddle with his Wars, Triumphs, and other temporal Affairs, we mean in this Volume principally to bestow our travel in declaration of matters concerning most chiefly the state of the Church and of Religion, as well in this Church of *England*, as also of the whole Church of *Rome*.

Wherein first cometh to our hands a turbulent Tragedy, and a fierce Contention which long before had troubled the Church, and now this present year 1509 was renewed a-fresh between two certain Orders of Begging-Friars, to wit, the Dominick Friars and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin *Mary* the Mother of Christ.

The Franciscans were they which did hold of St. *Francis*, and followed the rule of his Testament, commonly called *Gray-Friars* or *Minorites*. Their opinion was this, That the Virgin *Mary*, prevented by the grace of the Holy-Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original Sin. The Dominick Friars were they which holding of *Dominick*, were commonly called Black-Friars, or Preaching-Friars. Their opinion was this, That the Virgin *Mary* was conceived as all other children of *Adam* be; so that this Privilege only belongeth to Christ, to be conceived without original Sin: notwithstanding, the said blessed Virgin was sanctified in her Mother's womb, and purged from her original Sin, so as was *John Baptist*, *Jeremy*, or any other priviledged Person. This frivolous question kindling and engendring between these two Sects of Friars, burnt out into such a flame of parts and sides taking, that it occupied the Heads and Wits, Schools and Universities almost through the whole Church; some holding one part with *Scotus*, some the other part with *Thomas Aquinas*. The Minorites holding with *Scotus* their Master, disputed and concluded, That she was conceived without all spot or note of original Sin; and thereupon caused the Feast and Service of the Conception of St. *Mary* the Virgin to be celebrate and solemnized in the Church. Contrary, the Dominick Friars taking side with *Aquinas*, preached, That it was Heresy to affirm that the blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original Sin; and that they which did celebrate the Feast of her Conception, or said any Masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

Franciscan Friars.

Dominick Friars.

A troublous dissention in the Church for the conception of the Virgin Mary.

Whether the Virgin Mary was conceived without original sin.

In the mean time, as this Fantasy waxed hot in the Church, the one side preaching against the other, came Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, *Anno* 1476, who joining side with the Minorites or Franciscans, first sent forth his Decree by authority Apostolick, willing, ordaining, and commanding all Men to solemnize this new-found Feast of the Conception in holy Church for evermore: offering to all Men and Women, which devoutly frequenting the Church, would hear Mass and Service from the first Even-song of the said Feast, to the Octaves of the same, as many days of Pardon, as Pope *Urban* the fourth, and Pope *Martin* the fifth did grant for hearing the Service of *Corpus Christi* day, *&c.* And this Decree given and dated at *Rome*, *Anno* 1476.

A newfound Feast of the conception of the Virgin Mary.

Moreover, the same Pope, to the intent that the devotion of the People might be the more incouraged to the celebration of this Conception, added a clause more to the *Ave Maria*, granting great indulgence and release of Sins to all such as would invocate the blessed Virgin with the same addition, saying thus: *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus Christus; & benedicta sit* Anna *mater tua, de qua sine macula, tua processit caro virginis. Amen.* That is, 'Hail *Mary* 'full of grace, the Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among 'women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ; 'and blessed is *Anna* thy Mother, of whom thy Virgin's 'flesh hath proceeded without blot of original Sin. Amen.

A new Ave Maria of the Popes making.

Wherein thou mayest note (gentle Reader) for thy learning three things: First, how the Pope turneth that unproperly into a Prayer, which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the Pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the Pope exempteth *Mary* the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of *Abraham* and *Adam*, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original sin, then she beareth not the lineage of *Adam*, neither doth the decend of that seed, of whose seed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. *Paul* doth teach, *Rom.* 5. Wherefore if she descend of that seed, then the infection of original evil fruit necessarily proceed unto her. If she descend not thereof, then cometh she not of the seed of *Abraham*, nor of the seed of *David*, *&c.* Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin, by the doctrine of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 6. then had her flesh injury by the Law, as Christ himself had, to suffer the malediction and punishment of death, and so should never have died, if original sin had no place in her, *&c.* But to return unto our Story: This constitution of the Pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed Virgin, which was the year of our Lord 1476, it was not long after but the said Pope *Sixtus*, perceiving that the Dominick Friars with their complices

The Pope addeth to the words of the Scriptures.

Three Absurdities to be noted in this Decree of the Pope.

Rom. 5.

Rom. 6.

complices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth, by the authority Apostolical, a Bull in effect as followeth:

The tenor of the Popes Bull for the conception of the Virgin to be without original sin.

'*Sanè cum sancta Romana Ecclesia de immerata sempérq; Virginis, &c.* In English:

'Whereas the holy Church of *Rome* hath ordained a special and proper Service for the publick solemnization of the 'Feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin *Mary*; certain Orders of the Black-Friars in their publick Sermons to 'the People in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to 'preach, and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirm 'the said glorious Virgin to have been conceived without 'original sin, be Hereticks; and they which celebrate the 'Service of the said her Conception, or do hear the Sermons 'of them which do so affirm, do sin grievously: Also not 'contented herewith, do write and set forth Books moreover, 'maintaining their affertions to the great offence and ruine 'of godly minds. We therefore to prevent and withstand 'such presumptuous and perverse affertions which have risen, 'and more hereafter may arise, by such opinions and pres'chings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful; by the au'thority Apostolical, do condemn and reprove the same; 'and by the motion, knowledg, and authority aforesaid, de'cree and ordain, That the Preachers of God's Word, and 'all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition 'soever they be, which shall presume to dare affirm or preach 'to the People these foresaid opinions and affertions to be 'true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such Books for 'true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby 'the sentence of Excommunication, from which they shall 'not be absolved otherwise than by the Bishop of *Rome*, ex'cept only in the time of death.

This Bull, being dated the year of our Lord 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Gray-Friars Franciscans, which defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominick Friars, with their confederates, holding the contrary side. By the vigour of which Bull, the Gray Order had got such a conquest of the Black Guard of the Dominicks, that the said Dominicks were compelled at length for a perpetual memorial of the Triumph, both to give to the glorious Virgin every night an Anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine; in which doctrine these with divers other points be contained.

1. That blessed *Mary* the Virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original Sin, but only because she would conform her self to the imitation of Christ.

Ex Jod. Clitoveo de puritate conceptionis, lib. 2.

2. That the said Virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her Son; so she had no need of remission of Sins, but instead thereof had the divine preservation of God's help, keeping her from all sin, which grace only she needed, and also had it.

Filthy Absurdities in the Popes Doctrine.

How the Virgin Mary was subject to death after the Friars opinions.

3. *Item*, That where the Body of the Virgin *Mary* was subject to death, and died; this is to be understood to come not for any penalty due for Sin, but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution her body, being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents: who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace, and strength of other fruits and meats in Paradise: Which meats because *Mary* had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died, and not for any necessity of original sin. *Clitoveus, lib.* 2. *cap.* 2.

4. The universal propolition of St. *Paul*, which saith, That the Scripture hath concluded all Men under Sin, is to be understood thus, as speaking of all them which be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin *Mary*.

5. If Justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous: then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning by preservation.

6. If a Saviour be taken for him which saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation; so is not Christ the Saviour of *Mary*, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, *&c.*

7. Neither did the Virgin *Mary* give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from cafe of sinning.

Good Stuff.

8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sins, but only for the remission of other mens sins she prayed many times, and consequently their sins for hers.

K.Hen.8.

9. If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Son, God would have repoled her soul not in the place among the Patriarchs, or amongst the Just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise where *Adam* and *Eve* were before they transgressed.

These were the doting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other Papists, commonly then holden in the Schools, written in their Books, preached in their Sermons, taught in their Churches, * and set forth in Pictures. So that the People was taught nothing else almost in the Pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin *Mary* was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with spe. cial terms do call, *The way of mercy, The mother of grace, The Lover of piety, The comforter of mankind, The continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King her Son which never ceaseth, &c. Verba Papæ Sexti in a. ver.* And altho the greatest number of the School-Doctors were of the contrary faction, as *Peter Lombardus*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Bernardus*, *Bonaventura*, and others: yet these new Papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions, as thus: *Petrus Lombardus*, they said, is not received nor holden in the Schools as touching this article, but is rejected. *Clitoveus lib.* 2. *cap.* 15.

*The Gray-Friars had made a picture of Jonachim and Anna kissing, by which kiss Anna was conceived with Mary. [illegible]

Ex Rob. Lycio Minorita.

Idolatry to the Blessed Virgin.

Bernardus, in Epist. ad Lugdunens. altho he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of original sin, saying, that she could not be holy when she was not, and lived not: to this they answer, That albeit she was not yet in essence, yet she was holy in her conception, and before conception, in the divine prescience of God, which had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the Mother of the Lord.

Objections possibly falsified.

Popish Befriend and Doctrine quests by time.

Again; Where *Bernard* doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not conceived by the Holy-Ghost: to this they answer, That the Holy-Ghost may work two ways in conception: either without company of Man, and so was Christ only conceived; or else with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceived. *Clit. lib.* 2. *cap.* 14.

Bonaventura (say they) was an holy Father, but he spake then after the custom and manner of his time, when as the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the publick consent and authority of the Church: now seeing the authority of the Church of *Rome* hath established the same, it ought not to be contrained, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all mens actions diligent respect of time must be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterward the same by law being ratified, may bind at another. *Ibid.*

Verity consisteth not in number of voices, nay Victory in multitude of Souldiers.

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves, as we now in these our days likewise in defence of the Truth, may well answer against the Pope, and all his Popish Friars, turning their own weapons against themselves: Multitude, say they, ought not to move us; Victory consisteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of Souldiers; yea, rather fortitude and stomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. *Judas Machabeus* with a little handful overthrew the great army of *Antiochus*. Strong *Samplon* with a pore Asles bone slew a thousand Philistines. *David* had no more but a fillily sling, and a few stones, and with these strook down terrible *Goliah* the Giant, *&c. Lib. eod. cap.* 13.

The Popes side stronger than the Scriptures.

With these and such other like reasons the Gray Franciscans voided their Adversaries, defending the conception of the Virgin *Mary* to be unblemished, and pure from all contagion of original Sin. Contrariwise, the Black-Guard of the Dominick Friars for their parts were not all mute, but laid lustily from them again, having great authorities, and also the Scripture on their side. But yet the other having the See Apostolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine got the victory triumphantly over the other, to the high exaltation of their Order. For Pope *Sixtus* (as I said) by the authority Apostolical, after he had decreed the conception-day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible Boll had condemned for Hereticks all them which withstood the same; the Dominick Friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences: the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst

K. Hen. 8.

durst not speak yet the heart would work; and tho their tongues were tied, yet their good-will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

Anno 1509.

Whereupon it happened the same year of our Lord, 1509. after this dissention between the Dominick Friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominicks, thinking by subtil sleight to work in the Peoples heads that which they durst not atchieve with open preaching, devised a certain Image of the Virgin so artificially wrought, that the Friars by privy gins made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked; insomuch that the People therewith were brought in a marvellous perswasion, till at length the fraud being espied, the Friars were taken, condemned, and burnt at *Bern* the year above-mentioned, 1509. *Ex Pencer. Sebast. Munstero, Carione, & aliis.* In the Centuries of *John Bale* I find their names to be, *Joannes Vetter, Franciscus Vlisens, Stephanus Belizhorst*, and *Henricus Steinegger.*

Ex Castero Pedero Chron. lib. 5. ex Sebastiano Cartog. lib. 3.

Four Friars burnt at Berne.

In the Story of *John Stumfius*, this Story aforesaid doth plainly appear: but in the Registers and Records of the City of *Berne*, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully expressed and set forth, both in Metre and Prose, and is thus declared.

In the City of *Berne* there were certain Dominick Friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that Order, who had inveigled a certain simple poor Friar, who had newly planted himself in the Cloister: whom the foresaid Friars had so infatuated with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. *Mary*, St. *Barbara* and St. *Katharine*, and with their inchantments, and imprinting moreover in him the wounds of St. *Francis*, that he believed plainly, that the Virgin *Mary* had appeared to him, and had offered him a red Host consecrated, with the blood also of Christ miraculous; which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the Senators of *Berne*, with instructions, declaring unto them from the mouth of the Virgin, That she was conceived in sin; and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited, nor suffered in the City, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, That they should resort to a certain Image there of the Virgin *Mary*, (which Image the Friars by engines had made to sweat) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, *&c.*

Ex Historia Franciscicana de origine & Lutheranismo.

This feigned device was no sooner forged by the Friars, but it was believed of the People; so that a great while the red-coloured Host was undoubtedly taken for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble Personages and States for a great Relique, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceived People in great numbers came flocking to the Image, and to the red Host, and coloured Blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominick Friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their own beards from the Order of the Franciscans, that all the Alms came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their estimation to decay, and their kit-hin to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited doings, (for as the Proverb saith, *It is ill baiting before a Cripple*) ettoons espied their crafty jugling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief Captains above-named were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the Provincial of that Order was one.

Friars neither can agree with themselves, nor yet do dissemble their variance.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and Popish Tragedy, wherein evidently it may appear to the Reader, how neither these turbulent Friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous Friars pass with their trifling Phantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men: in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the Church, in which the Devil kept the minds of Christ's people so attentive and occupied in such friarly toys, that nothing else almost was thought or heard in the Church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin *Mary*: But of our justification by faith, of grace, and of the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the Law, of the horror of Sin, of difference between the Law and the Gospel, of the true liberty of Conscience, *&c.* no mention or very little was heard. Wherefore in this so blind a time of darkness it was much needful and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his Church, and send down his gracious Reformation, which also he did: For shortly upon the same, through the gracious excitation of God, came *Martin Luther*, of whom the order of story now requireth we should, and will intreat, (Christ willing) after the story of *Richard Hunne*, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

The wretchedness of the Time considered.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope *Julius*, and of his warlike affairs, for which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the Council of *Turone* in *France*, *Anno* 1510. and yet all this could not asswage the furious affection of this Pope, but the same year he invaded the City of *Mutina* and *Mirandula* in *Italy*, and took them by force of war. Which Pope *Julius* not long after, in the year of our Lord 1512. refusing peace offered by *Maximilian* the Emperor, was encountred by *Lewis* the French King, about *Ravenna*, upon Easter-day, where he was vanquished, and had of his Army slain to the number of sixteen thousand. *Ex Chron. Carion.* And the year next following, *Anno* 1513. this Apostolical Warriour, which had reigned his keys unto the River of *Tybris* before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the See of *Rome*, Pope *Leo* the tenth; about the compass of which time great mutations and stirs began to work, as well in States Temporal, as especially in the State of the Church.

Anno 1510. Pope Julius playeth the Warrior.

Anno 1512. The Pope overcome in Battel.

Anno 1513. The death of Pope Julius.

Pope Leo 10.

Pope *Leo* 10. in *Rome*, *Anno* 1513
Charles 5. Emperor of *Germany*, *Anno* 1519
Francis King of *France*, *Anno* 1515
Henry 8. King of *England*, *Anno* 1509
James 5. King of *Scotland*, *Anno* 1514
} reigned { 9, 39, 32, 38

The state and succession of Princes.

In the time of which Pope, Emperor, and Kings of *England* and of *France*, great alterations, troubles, and turns of Religion were wrought in the Church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in *Italy*, *France Germany*, *England*, and all *Europe*; such as have not been seen (altho much groaned for) many hundred years before: as in further discourse of this History (Christ willing) shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of *Richard Hunne*, and certain other godly-minded Persons here in *England*, afflicted for the Word of Christ's Gospel in great multitudes, as they be found and taken out of the Registers of *Fitzjames* Bishop of *London*, by the faithful help and industry of *R. Carket*, Citizen of *London.*

The History of divers good Men and Women, persecuted for Religion in the City and Diocese of the Bishop of London; *briefly extracted out of the Registers of* Richard Fitzjames.

Ex Registris Fitzjames.

AMongst and beside the great number of the faithful Martyrs and Professors of Christ, that constantly in the strength of the Holy-Ghost gave their lives for the testimony of his Truth, I find recorded in the Register of *London*. between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1517, the names of divers other persons, both Men and Women, who in the fulness of that dark and misty time of Ignorance had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which indued them to the knowledg of his Truth and Gospel, and were diversly troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same: notwithstanding by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the Catholick Seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature, (not then fully strengthned in God) it was again in them for the time suppressed and kept under, as appeareth by their several abjurations made before *Richard Fitzjames*, then Bishop of *London*, (in his time a most cruel Persecutor of Christ's Church) or else before his Vicar-general deputed for the same. And forasmuch as many of the Adversaries of God's Truth have of late days diligentially and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their publick Assemblies, and yet do, asking, Where this our Church and Religion was within these fifty or sixty years? I have thought it not altogether vain, somewhat to stop such lying crakers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the

The profession of the Protestants no new Doctrine.

the chief and principal matters for which they were so unmercifully afflicted and molested: thereby to give to understand, as well the continuance and consent of the true Church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our Faith, tho not in like perfection of knowledg and constancy in all: as also by the way something to touch what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant Prelates shamed not in that time of blindness to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offences, yea, such as deserved death both of body and soul. But lest I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

Anno 1510.	*Joan Baker.*	
	William Pottier.	
	John Forge.	
	Thomas Goodred.	
	Thomas Walker, alias *Talbot.*	
	Thomas Forge.	
	Alice Forge.	
	John Forge, their Son.	
	William Couper.	
	John Catverton.	
	John Woodrof.	
Anno 1511.	*Richard Woolman.*	
	Roger Hilliar.	
	Alice Couper.	
	Thomas Austy.	
	Joan Austy.	
	Thomas Grant.	
	John Garter.	
	Christopher Ravins.	
	Dyonise Ravins.	
	Thomas Vincent.	
	Lewis John.	
	Joan John.	Anno
	John Web, alias *Baker.*	1512.
	John Houshold.	1517.
	Robert Rascal.	
	Elizabeth Stanford.	1518.
	George Browne.	
	John Wrige.	
	John Soutake.	
	Richard Butler.	
	John Samme.	
	William King.	1521.
	Robert Durdant.	
	Henry Woolman,	
	Edmund Spilman.	
	John Higger, alias *Noke*, alias *Johnson.*	1523.
	Henry Chambers.	1526.
	John Higgins.	
	Thomas Egleston.	1527.

Here followeth the particular Examination of all those here above named.

To these were divers and sundry particular Articles (besides the common and general fort accustomably used in such cases) privately objected, even such as they were then accused of either by their Curate, or other their Neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several Process, I mind therefore briefly only to touch so many of their Articles, as may be sufficient to induce the Christian Reader to judg the sooner of the rest, being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometime they were charged most slanderously with horrible and blasphemous Lies against the Majesty and Truth of God; which as they utterly denied, so do I know for this present deep secret in silence, as well for brevities sake, as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying Generation. But to our purpose.

Ex Regist. R. Fitzjames.

Joan Baker.

THE chiefest Objection against *Joan Baker* was, That she would not only her self not reverence the Crucifix, but had also perswaded a Friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the Crucifix, but in God which is in Heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead Images, which be but stocks and stones; and therefore she was sorry that ever she had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other Idols. Also, that she did hold opinion that the Pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady *Tong* (who was not long before that time burned) died a true Martyr of God; and therefore she wished of God, that she her self might do no worse than the said Lady *Tong* had done.

Against worshipping of the Crucifix or Cross.

Testimony for the Lady Young, Martyr.

William Pottier.

UNto *William Pottier*, besides divers other false and slanderous Articles, (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's Passion) it was also alledged, That he should affirm there were six Gods: the first three was the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghost; the fourth was a Priest's Concubine being kept in his chamber; the fifth was the Devil; and the sixth, that thing that a Man fetteth his mind most upon.

False slander of the Adversaries.

Answer.

The first part of this Article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly, the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of Deity. As to the other three he answered, That K. Hen. 8. *a Priest delighting in his Concubine, made her as his God: Likewise a wicked Person, purfilling in his sin without repentance, made the Devil his God. And lastly, he granted, that he once hearing of certain Men, which by the singing and chattering of Birds would seek to know what things were to come either to themselves or others, said, that those Men esteemed their Birds as Gods; and otherwise he spake not.*

AMongst the manifold and several Articles objected against *Thomas Goodred*, *Thomas Walker*, *Thomas Forge*, *Alice Forge* his Wife, *John Forge* their Son, *John Catverton*, *John Woodrof*, *Richard Woolman*, and *Roger Hilliar*, (as that they should speak against Pilgrimages, praying unto Saints, and such like) this principally was propounded, That they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar; and further, had concealed and consented unto their Teachers and Instructors in that Doctrine, and had not, according to the Laws of the Church, accused and presented them unto the Bishop or his Ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against *Richard Woolman*, for that he termed the Church of *Paul's* a House of Thieves, affirming, that the Priests and other Ecclesiatical Persons there were not liberal givers unto the poor (as they ought) but rather takers away from them what they could get.

Tho. Goodred, Tho. Walker, Tho. Forge, &c.

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence.

Likewise as *Thomas Austy*, *Joan Austy* his Wife, *Thomas Grant*, *John Garter*, *Christopher Ravins*, *Dyonise Ravins* his Sister, *Thomas Vincent*, *Lewis John*, *Joan John* his Wife, and *John Web*, were of one fellowship and profession of Faith with divers of the last before recited: so were they almost all apprehended about one time, and chiefly burthened with one opinion of the Sacrament. Which declareth evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of some to behold the manifest truth, even in those things whereof the Papists make now greatest vaunt, and brag of longest continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against Pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English Books repugning the Faith of the Romish Church, as the four Evangelists, *Wickliff's* Wicket, a Book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. *John*, the Epistles of St. *Paul* and *James*, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide: and good cause why; for as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that Kingdom, with the true knowledg of Christ and his Gospel.

Tho. Austy, Joan Austy, &c.

Against transubstantiation and corporal presence.

It was further particularly objected against *Joan John*, the Wife of *Lewis John*, That (besides the premises) the learned and maintained, that God commanded no Holy-days to be kept, but only the Sabbath-day, and therefore she would keep none but it; nor any Fasting-days, affirming, that to fast from sin was the true Fast. Moreover, that she had despised the Pope, his pardons and pilgrimages; insomuch that when any poor body asked an alms of her in the worship of the Lady of *Walsingham*, she would strait answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Lady of *Walsingham* help thee: and if she gave any thing unto him, she would then say, Take this in the worship of our Lady in Heaven, and let the other go. Which declareth, that for lack of better instruction and knowledg, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true Saints of God departed, tho otherwise she did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead Images. By which example, as also by many others (for shortness sake at this present omitted) I have just occasion to condemn the wilful subtilty of those, that in this bright shining light of God's truth, would yet under colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the having of Images in the Church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they never worshipped the dead Images, but the things that the Images did represent. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compell these poor simple people thus openly in their recantations to abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward Images only, and not against the thing represented, which many of them (as appeareth partly by this example) in their ignorant simplicity confessed might be worthipped? Howbeit, God be thanked, (who ever in his mercy continue it) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take fuck place in the hearts of the Elect

Against Holy-days.

Against Pilgrimages and adoration of Images.

K.Hen.8.

of God as they have done heretofore, eſpecially ſeeing the Word of God doth ſo manifeſtly forbid as well the worſhipping of them, as alſo the making or having of them for order of Religion.

William Couper and his Wife.

IT was alledged againſt *William Couper*, and *Alice Couper* his Wife, that they had ſpoken againſt Pilgrimages, and worſhipping of Images: but chiefly the Woman, who having her child on a time hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earneſtly perſuaded by ſome of her ignorant Neighbours to go on pilgrimage to St. *Laurence* for help of her child, ſaid, That neither St. *Laurence*, nor any other Saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on Pilgrimage to any Image made with Man's hand, but only to Almighty God; for Pilgrimages were nothing worth, ſaving to make the Prieſts rich. *Vide plura inferiùs.*

Againſt Invocation of dead Images

John Houſhold, &c.

UNto *John Houſhold*, *Robert Raſcal*, and *Elizabeth Stamford*, as well the Article againſt the Sacrament of the Altar was objected, as alſo that they had ſpoken againſt praying to Saints, and had deſpiſed the authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and others of his Clergy. But eſpecially *John Houſhold* was charged to have called them Antichriſts and Whoremongers, and the Pope himſelf a ſtrong Strumpet, and a common Baud unto the World, who with his Pardons had drowned in blindneſs all Chriſtian Realms, and that for money.

Anſwer to tranſubſtantiation and authority of the Pope.

George Browne.

Anſwer to adoration of the Croſs.

ALſo among divers other ordinary Articles propounded againſt *George Browne*, theſe were counted very hainous and heretical: Firſt, that he had ſaid, that he knew no cauſe why the Croſs ſhould be worſhipped, ſeeing that the ſame was an hurt and pain unto our Saviour Chriſt in the time of his paſſion, and not any eaſe or pleaſure; alledging for example, that if he had had a Friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that Gallows or Water, by the which his Friend died, rather worſe for that than better. Another Objection was, That he had erroneouſly, obſtinately, and malicioufly ſaid, (for ſo are their words) That the Church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched ſomewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel tho they counted it erroneous and malicious; for take away their Gain, and farewel their Religion. They alſo charged him to have refuſed holy Water to be caſt about his chamber, and likewiſe to have ſpoken againſt Prieſts, with other vain matters.

Againſt Immoderate riches of the Popes Clergie.

John Wiker.

THe greateſt matter wherewith they burthened *John Wiker* was, That he had often and of long time kept company with divers perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy, (as they termed them) and had received them into his Houſe, and there did ſuffer and hear them ſundry times read erroneous and heretical Books, contrary to the Faith of the Romiſh Church; and did alſo himſelf conſent unto their Doctrine, and had many times ſecretly conveyed them from the taking of ſuch as were appointed to apprehend them.

Jo. Southake, Richard Butler, &c. Their ſeverall Articles.

Againſt the Real preſence

LIke as the greateſt number of thoſe before mentioned, ſo were alſo *John Southake*, *Richard Butler*, *John Sam*, *William King*, *Robert Durdant*, and *Henry Woolman*, eſpecially charged with ſpeaking words againſt the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and alſo againſt Images, and the reſt of the ſeven Sacraments. Howbeit they burthened the laſt five perſons with the reading of certain Engliſh Heretical Books, accounting moſt blaſphemouſly the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, written by the four Evangeliſts, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently in the eighth Article objected by *Thomas Bonner* Doctor of Law, Chancellor and Vicar-general unto *Richard Fitzjames* then Biſhop of *London*, againſt the ſaid *Richard Butler*, the very words of which Article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to inſert, which are theſe: *Alſo we object to you, that divers times, and eſpecially upon a certain Night, about the ſpace of three years laſt paſt, in* Robert Durdant's *Houſe of* Yuer-Coart *near unto* Staines, *you erroneouſly and damnably read in a great Book of Herſy of the ſaid* Robert Durdant's, *all that ſame Night, certain Chapters of the Evangeliſts in Engliſh, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and concluſions of Herſy, in the preſence of the ſaid* Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, *and divers other ſuſpected Perſons of Herſy, then being preſent, and*

Reading of Engliſh Books.

Of theſe mention ſhe more hereafter in the Table following.

hearing your ſaid erroneous Lectures and Opinions. To the ſame effect and purpoſe tended the tenor of ſome of the Articles propounded againſt the other four. Whereby (as alſo by others like before ſpecified) we may eaſily judg what reverence they, which yet will be counted the true and only Church of Chriſt, did bear to the Word and Goſpel of Chriſt, who ſhamed not to blaſpheme the ſame with moſt horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and concluſions of Hereſy. But why ſhould we marvel thereat, ſeeing the Holy-Ghoſt in ſundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there ſhould come ſuch proud and curſed ſpeakers, which ſhall ſpeak lies through hypocriſy, and have their Conſciences marked with an hot Iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us alſo pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Chriſt Jeſus, he would (if it be to his glory) either turn and mollify all ſuch hearts, or elſe (for the peace and quietneſs of his Church) he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

The death of Rich. Fitzjames, Bp of London.

About this time *Richard Fitzjames* ended his life, after whoſe death *Cuthert Tonſtall* (afterward Biſhop of *Durham*) ſucceeded in the See and Biſhoprick of *London*; who ſoon upon his firſt entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footſteps of his Predeceſſor, cauſed *Edmund Spilman*, Prieſt, *Henry Chambers*, *John Higgins*, and *Thomas Egleſton* to be apprehended, and ſo to be examined upon ſundry like Articles as before are expreſſed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and the rigor of death, or elſe through hope of his flattering promiſes, (ſuch was their weakneſs) he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true profeſſed Faith touching the holy Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, which was, That Chriſt's corporal Body was not in the Sacrament, but in Heaven; and that the Sacrament was a figure of his Body, and not the Body it ſelf.

Cuthert Tunſtall, Biſhop of London.

The real preſence denied.

MOreover, about the ſame time there were certain Articles objected againſt *John Higges*, alias *Noke*, alias *Johnſon*, by the ſaid Biſhop's Vicar-general, amongſt which were theſe: Firſt, That he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal Man to have two Wives at once, as for a Prieſt to have two Benefices. Alſo, that he had in his cuſtody a Book of the four Evangeliſts in Engliſh, and did often read therein: and that he favoured the Doctrines and Opinions of *Martin Luther*, openly pronouncing, that *Luther* had more learning in his little finger, than all the Doctors in *England* in their whole bodies; and that all the Prieſts in the Church were blind, and had led the People the wrong way. Likewiſe it was alledged againſt him, that he had denied Purgatory, and had ſaid, that while he was alive he would do as much for himſelf as he could, for after his death he thought that Prayers and Almeſdeeds could little help him.

Againſt a Prieſt to have two Benefices.

Teſtimony touching Martin Luther.

The manner of Popiſh Penance.

Theſe and ſuch like matters were they wherewith theſe poor and ſimple Men and Women were chiefly charged, and as hainous Hereticks excommunicated, impriſoned, and at laſt compelled to recant: and ſome of them in utter ſhame and reproach (beſides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the Croſs in Proceſſion, or elſe at a Sermon) were enjoined for a penance (as they termed it) as well to appear once every year before their Ordinary, as alſo to wear the ſign of a faggot painted upon their ſleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during all their lives, or ſo often and long as it pleaſed their Ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous and open puniſhing of them, they meant (as it ſhould ſeem) utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledg of Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel. But the Lord be evermore praiſed, what effect their wicked purpoſes therein have taken, theſe our moſt lightſom days of God's glorious Goſpel do moſt joyfully declare.

THere were alſo troubled, beſides theſe, certain others more ſimple and ignorant, who, having but a very ſmall ſmack or taſte of the Truth, did yet at the firſt (as it may ſeem) gladly conſent unto the ſame; but being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only aſſigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the Croſs, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongſt which I find two eſpecially: the one a Woman, called *Ellen Heyer*, to whom it was objected, That ſhe had neither confeſſed her ſelf unto the Prieſt, nor yet received the Sacrament of the Altar by the ſpace of four years,

The troubles of Ellen Heyer and Rob. Barkeway.

Submiſſion would not be taken of the charitable Catholicks.

years, and notwithſtanding had yearly eaten fleſh at Eaſter, and after, as well as others that had received the ſame, contrary to the uſual manner and converſation of all other Chriſtian People.

The other was a Man named *Robert Berkeway*, who (beſides moſt wicked blaſphemies againſt God, which he utterly denied) was charged to have ſpoken heinous words againſt the Popes holy and bleſſed Martyr, *Thomas Becket*, calling him Micher and Thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus have I, as briefly as I could, ſummarily collected the principal Articles objected againſt theſe weak, infirm, and earthly Veſſels; not minding hereby to excuſe or condemn them in theſe their fearful falls and dangerous defections, but leaving them unto the unmeaſurable rich mercies of the Lord, I thought only to make manifeſt the unſatiable bloody Cruelty of the Popes Kingdom againſt the Goſpel and true Church of Chriſt, nothing mitigating their envious rage, no, not againſt the very ſimple Idiots, and that ſometimes in moſt frivolous and irreligious caſes. But now leaving to ſay any further herein, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other ſomewhat more ſerious matters.

The Death and Martyrdom of William Sweeting, *and* John Brewſter.

Will. Sweeting, John Brewſter, Martyrs.

IN ſearching and peruſing of the Regiſter, for the collection of the Names and Articles before recited, I find that within the compaſs of the ſame years there were alſo ſome others, who after they had once ſhewed themſelves as frail and unconſtant as the reſt, (being either therewith pricked in conſcience, or otherwiſe zealouſly overcome with the manifeſt truth of God's moſt ſacred Word) became yet again as earneſt profeſſors of Chriſt as ever they were before, and for the ſame profeſſion were the ſecond time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were moſt cruelly burned. Of which number were *William Sweeting*, and *John Brewſter*, who were both burned together in *Smithfield* the eighteenth day of *October*, in the year of our Lord 1511. The chiefeſt cauſe of Religion alledged againſt them in their Articles, was their faith concerning the Sacrament of Chriſt's Body and Blood, which becauſe it differed from the abſurd, groſs, and Capernaitical opinion of the new Schoolmen, was counted as moſt hainous Hereſy. There were other things beſides objected againſt them, as the reading of certain forbidden Books, and accompanying with ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected of Hereſy. But one great and hainous offence counted amongſt the reſt, was their parting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their firſt abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or ſo long as it ſhould pleaſe their Ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapſe, until they were diſpenſed withal for the ſame. The breach of this injunction was eſteemed to be of no ſmall weight, and yet the matter well and throughly conſidered, it ſeemeth by their confeſſions, they were both thereunto by neceſſity enforced. For the one, named *Sweeting*, being for fear of the Biſhop's cruelty conſtrained to wander the Countries to get his poor living, came at length unto *Colcheſter*, where by the Parſon of the Parith of *Mary Magdalen*, he was provoked to be the Holy-Water Clerk, and in that conſideration had that infamous badg firſt taken away from him. The other (which was *Brewſter*) left off his at the commandment of the Controller of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Houſe, who hiring the poor Man to labour in the Earl's houſhold-buſineſs, would not ſuffer him working there to wear that counterfeit cognizance any longer. So that (as I ſaid) neceſſity of living ſeemeth to compell both of them at the firſt to break that Injunction: and therefore if Charity had born as great ſway in the hearts of the Popes Clergy, as did Cruelty, this trifle would not have been ſo hainouſly taken, as to be brought againſt them for an Article, and cauſe of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, as well all godly love, as alſo all humane reaſon and duties are quite forgotten. Well, to be ſhort, what for the cauſes before recited, as alſo for that they had once already abjured, and yet (as they term it) fell again into relapſe, they were both (as you have heard) in the end burned together in *Smithfield*; altho the ſame parties (as the Regiſter recordeth) did again before their death fearfully forſake their former revived conſtancy, and ſubmitting themſelves unto the diſcipline of the Romiſh Church, craved abſolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, becauſe many of the Regiſters notes and records in ſuch caſes may rightly be doubted of, and ſo called into queſtion, I refer the certain knowledg thereof unto the Lord, (who is the trier of all truths) and the external judgment unto the godly and diſcreet Reader: Not forgetting yet by the way (if that the report ſhould be true) upon ſo juſt an occaſion, to charge that Catholick Clergy, and their wicked Laws, with a more ſhameleſs tyranny and unchariteble cruelty than before: for if they nothing ſtay their bloody malice towards ſuch as ſo willingly ſubmit themſelves unto their mercies; what favour may the faithful and conſtant profeſſors of Chriſt look for at their hands? I might here alſo aſk of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Chriſt, (whoſe true and only Church they ſo ſtoutly brag to be) who in the ſeventeenth chapter of St. *Luke* ſaith, *If thy brother ſin againſt thee ſeven times in a day, and ſeven times in a day turn to thee, ſaying, It repenteth me; thou ſhalt forgive him.* But what go I about to alluge them unto the following of the Rule and Counſel of him, unto whoſe Word and Goſpel they ſeem moſt open and utter enemies? Wherefore not purpoſing to ſtay any longer thereupon, but leaving them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord, let us now hereunto adjoin the ſtory of one *John Browne*, a good Martyr of the Lord, burnt at *Alſford* about this fourth year of King *Henry* the eighth, whoſe ſtory hereunder followeth.

No mercy in the Popes Church.

John Browne, *Father to* Richard Browne, *which* Richard *was in Priſon in* Canterbury, *and ſhould have been burned, with two more beſides himſelf, the next day after the death of Queen* Mary, *but by the proclaiming of Queen* Elizabeth *they eſcaped.*

John Brown burned in Alſford about the 26th year of King Henry 8.

THe occaſion of the firſt trouble of this *John Browne*, was by a Prieſt ſitting in *Gravefend*-Barge. *John Browne*, being the ſame time in the Barge, came and fate hard by him; whereupon, after certain communication, the Prieſt asked him; Doſt thou know, ſaid he, who I am? thou ſitteſt too near me, thou ſitteſt on my clothes: No, Sir, ſaid he, I know not what you are. I tell thee I am a Prieſt. What, Sir, are you a Parſon, or Vicar, or a Lady's Chaplain? No, quoth he again, I am a Soul-Prieſt, I ſing for a Soul, ſaith he. Do you ſo, Sir, quoth the other, that is well-done; I pray you Sir, quoth he, where find you the Soul when you go to Maſs? I cannot tell thee, ſaid the Prieſt. I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the Maſs is done? I cannot tell thee, ſaid the Prieſt. Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to Maſs, nor where you leave it when the Maſs is done, how can you then ſave the Soul? ſaid he. Go thy ways, ſaid the Prieſt, thou art an Heretick, and I will be even with thee. So at the landing, the Prieſt taking with him *Walter More*, and *William More*, two Gentlemen Brethren, rode ſtraightways to the Archbiſhop *Warham*; whereupon the ſaid *John Browne* within three days after, his Wife being churched the ſame day, and he bringing in a Meſs of Pottage to the Board to his Gueſts, was ſent for, and his feet bound under his own horſe, and ſo brought up to *Canterbury*, neither his Wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went, nor whither he ſhould: and there continuing from Low-Sunday, till the Friday before Whitſunday, his Wife not knowing all this while where he was; he was fet in the ſtocks overnight, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at *Alſford*, *Anno* 1517. The ſame night, as he was in the ſtocks at *Alſford* where he and his Wife dwelt, his Wife then hearing of him, came and ſate by him all the night before he ſhould be burned: to whom he declaring the whole ſtory how he was handled, ſhewed and told, how that he could not ſet his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones; and told her, how by the two Biſhops *Warham* and *Fiſher*, his feet were heat upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, to make me, ſaid he, to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I ſhould deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee, ſaid he, therefore, good *Elizabeth*, continue as thou haſt begun, and bring up thy children vertuouſly in the fear of God. And ſo the next day, on Whitſunday Even, this godly Martyr was burned. Standing at the Stake, this Prayer he made, holding up his hands:

Clifted of Weeps Bailiff arreſted, and one Brare of Wilmſlow rough, with two of the Biſhops ſervants, let him upon the horſs, and ſo carried him away.

K. Hen. 8.

O Lord, I yield me to thy Grace,
Grant me mercy for my Trespace;
Let never the Friend my Soul chace.
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
Let never my Soul come in Hell-heat.

Into thy hands I commend my Spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of Truth.

And so he ended.

Ex testimonio Aliciæ Browne, *ejus filiæ, cujus mariti nomen discebatur* Strat. *in par. ibi S. Puleri.*

At the Fire the said *Chilton*, Bailiff Arrant, had cast in his children also, for they would spring (said he) of his ashes.

This blessed Martyr, *John Browne*, had born a faggot seven years before, in the days of King *Henry* the seventh.

As it is the property of Satan ever to malign the prosperous estate of the Saints of God, and true professors of Christ; so ceaseth he not continually to stir up his wicked members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his envious nature so greedily delireth; if not always openly by colour of tyrannical Laws, yet at leastwise by some subtil practice of secret Murther. Which thing doth most plainly appear, not only in a great number of the blessed Martyrs of Christ's Church mentioned in this Book, but also and especially in the discourse of this lamentable History that now I have in hand, concerning the secret and cruel murthering of *Richard Hunne*, whose Story here consequently ensueth, decerped and collected partly out of the Registers of *London*, partly out of a Bill exhibited and denounced in the Parliament-house.

The Story of Richard Hunne.

Richard Hunne Martyr.

THere was in the year of our Lord 1514, one *Richard Hunne*, Merchant-Tailor, dwelling within the City of *London*, and Freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his life, and worthily reputed, and taken not only for a Man of true dealing and good substance, but also for a good Catholick Man. This *Richard Hunne* had a child at nurse in *Middlesex*, in the Parish of St. *Mary Maxfield*, which died: by the occasion whereof one *Thomas Dryfield* Clerk, being Parson of the said Parish, sued the said *Richard Hunne* in the Spiritual Court for a bearing-Sheet, which the said *Thomas Dryfield* claimed unjustly to have of the said *Hunne*, for a Mortuary for *Stephen Hunne*, Son of the said *Richard Hunne*, which *Stephen* being at nurse in the said Parish, died, being of the age of five weeks, and not above. *Hunne* answered him again, That foralmuch as the Child had no propriety in the Sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the Priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loth to lose his pretended Right, alcited him to appear in the Spiritual Court, there to answer the matter. Whereupon the said *Richard Hunne* being troubled in the Spiritual Court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the Law of this Land, and pursued a Writ of *Præmunire* against the said *Thomas Dryfield*, and other his Aiders, Counsellors, Proctors, and Adherents, as by the process thereof is yet to be seen. Which when the rest of the Priestly Order heard of, greatly disdaining that any Layman should so boldly enterprize such a matter against any of them, and fearing also, that if they should now suffer this Priest to be condemned at the suit of *Hunne*, there would be thereby ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the Laity to do the like with the rest of the Clergy in such like cases; they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him for that he had already done, fought all means they possibly could how to intrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel Laws. And thereupon making secret and diligent Inquisition, and seeking all corners they could against him, at length they found a means how to accuse him of Heresy unto *Richard Fitzjames* then Bishop of *London*, and so did, who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his Chaplains) caused him thereupon to be apprehended and committed unto prison within the *Lollards* Tower at *Paul's*, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him.

Anno 1514.

The dissolute behaviour of the Popes holy Catholicks to be noted.

Richard Hunne committed to Lollards Tower.

This *Richard Hunne* being clapt in the *Lollards* Tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of Dr. *Horsey*, the Bishop's Chancellor, (a Man more ready to prefer the Clergies cruel tyranny, than the truth of Christ's Gospel) was brought before the Bishop at his Manor of *Fulham*, the 24 day of *December*, in the year before mentioned, where within his Chappel he examined him upon these Articles following, collected against him by the said *Horsey* and his Complices:

The Articles objected against Rich. Hunne.

First, that he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the Laws of Almighty God, that Tithes, or paying of Tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the Covetousness of Priests.

2. Item, *That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, that Bishops and Priests be the Scribes and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to death.*

3. Item, *That he had read, taught, preached, &c. That Bishops and Priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the Law of God, but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministring, neither giving.*

4. Item, *Where and when one* Joan Baker *was detected and abjured of many great Heresies, (as it appeareth by her Abjuration) the said* Richard Hunne *said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, That he would defend her and her opinions, for a Kimfive hundred Marks.*

5. Item, *Afterwards (where and when the said* Joan Baker, *after her Abjuration, was enjoined open Penance according to her demerits) the said* Richard Hunne *said, published, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, The Bishop of* London *and his Officers have done open wrong to the said* Joan Baker, *in punishing her for Heresy; For her sayings and opinions be according to the Laws of God: wherefore the Bishop and his Officers are more worthy to be punished for Heresy than she is.*

6. Item, *That the said* Richard Hunne *hath in his keeping divers English Books prohibited and damned by the Law; as the* Apocalypse *in English,* Epistles *and* Gospels *in English,* Wicklifs *damnable Works, and other Books containing infinite Errors, in the which he hath been a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.*

Particular Answer unto these several Objections in the Register I find none, saving that next under them there is written in his name, with a contrary hand, these words following: *As touching these Articles, I have not spoken them as they be here laid; howbeit unadvisedly I have spoken Words somewhat sounding to the same, for the which I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me to my Lord's charitable and favourable Correction.* Which they affirm to be written with *Hunne's* own hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discreet wisdom of the Reader indifferently judg, by the whole sequel of this Process. And further, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself to the charitable and favourable correction of the Bishop, (for the which, even by their own Law, in cases of most heinous Heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned) except perhaps they will account horrible Murther to be but the Bishop's favourable correction. Again, It seems they had very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was his Answer and Hand-writing; for the Register, or some other for him, appointed to record the same, hath certified it as of hear-say from others, and not of his own proper sight and knowledg, as the words noted in the margin of the Book, adjoining to the foresaid Answer, plainly do declare, which are these; *Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Ricardi Hunne, ut dicitur.* Now if he had any sure ground to stablish this Certificate, I doubt not but he would instead of *ut dicitur*, have registred the names of the Affistants at the time of his examination, (which he confesseth to be many) as generally they do in all their Acts, especially in cases of Heresy, as they term it. But how scrupulous those good fellows that spared not so shamelessly to murther him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let, as I said, the indifferent judgment of the godly wise discern.

This Answer findeth of forging and crafty packing.

Crafty packing of the murdering Papists.

Arguments and Reasons proving this Answer not to be of Rich. Hunne.

This Examination ended, the Bishop sent him back again

K. Hen. 8.

A description of ye Lollards Tower, where M. Richard Hunne was murthered.

Richard Hunne sent back again to Lollards Tower.

again the same day unto the *Lollards* Tower; and then, by the appointment of Dr. *Horsey*, his Chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of *Charles Joseph* the Sumner, unto *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, a Man by whose simpleness in wit (tho otherwise wicked) the subtil Chancellor thought to bring his devillish pretended Homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did, by his Murthers suborned, within two nights next then following accomplish, as is plainly proved hereafter, by the diligent Enquiry, and final Verdict of the Coroner of *London* and his Inquest, made by order of the Laws in that behalf limited But when this usual practice of the Papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly-wiles for the crafty colouring of this Mischief: and therefore the next morning after they had in the night committed this Murther, *Spalding* (I doubt not but by the counsel of his Maister Chancellor) gat himself out of the way into the City, and leaving the Keys of the Prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the Sumners boy which accustomably did use to carry *Hunne* his meat and other necessaries that he needed; thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such fort as they left him, they might by his relation be thought free from any suspition of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished. For the Boy the same morning (being the fourth day of *December*) having the the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the Bishop's Sumners, went about ten of the Clock into the Prison, to serve the Prisoner as he was wont to do; and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gave knowledg thereof immediatly unto the Chancellor, being then in the Church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose for such News; who forthwith got unto him certain of his Collegues, and went with them into the Prison, to see that which his own wicked Conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, alto then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the People by their Officers and Servants, that *Hunne* had desperately hanged himself. Howbeit the People having good experience as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the Man, as also of the devillish malice of his Adversaries the Priests, judged rather, that by their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof arose great contention; for the Bishop of *London* on the one side, taking his Clergies part, affirmed stoutly that

Richard Hunne found hanged in the Lollards Tower.

The Coroner findeth on the death of Hunne.

Heresy laid to Hunne after his death.

that *Hunne* had hanged himself: The Citizens again on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret Murther, caused the Coroner of *London*, according to Law, to chuse an Inquest, and to take good view of the dead Body, and so to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the Bishop and his Chaplains were then driven to extremity of shifts: and therefore minding by some subtil shew of Justice to stop the mouths of the People, they determined, that in the mean while as the Inquest was occupied about their charge, the Bishop should for his part proceed *Ex Officio*, in case of Heresy against the dead Person; supposing, most like, that if the Party were once condemned of Heresy, the Inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy Murther. This determination of theirs they did immediatly put in practice, in order as followeth:

Richard Hunne privily murdered by murderers in the Lollards Tower.

First, besides the Articles before mentioned, which they affirm were objected against him in his life-time, Dr. *Hed* did now also after his death collect certain others out of the Prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the Bishop's hands, which he diligently perused, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose, as appeareth by the tenor of the Articles, which are these:

Dr. Hed gives matter of the dead.

Ex Registr. Fitzjames Lond.

1. First, the said Book damneth all holy Canons, calling them Ceremonies and Statutes of sinful Men and cunning, and calleth the Pope *Sathanas* and *Antichrist*.

New Articles commenced against Hunne after his death.

2. *Item*, it damneth the Pope's Pardons, saying they be but Leasings.

3. *Item*, The said Book of *Hunne* saith, That Kings and Lords called Christian in name, and Heathen in conditions, defile the Sanctuary of God, bringing Clerks full of Covetousness, Heresy and Malice, to stop God's Law, that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

4. *Item*, The said Book saith, that Lords and Prelates pursue fully and cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the Law of God, and cherish them that preach sinful Mens Traditions and Statutes, by which he meaneth the holy Canons of Christ's Church.

5. *Item*, That poor Men and Idiots have the truth of the holy Scriptures, more than a thousand Prelates, and religious Men, and Clerks of the School.

6. *Item*, That Christian Kings and Lords set Idols in God's House, and excite the People to Idolatry.

7. *Item*, That Princes, Lords, and Prelates so doing, be worse

K.Hen.8. worse than *Herod* that purſued Chriſt, and worſe than Jews and Heathen Men that crucified Chriſt.

8. *Item*, That every Man, (wearing by our Lady, or any other Saint or Creature, giveth more honour to the Saints than to the Holy Trinity, and ſo he ſaith they be Idolaters.

9. *Item*, He ſaith that Saints ought not to be honoured.

10. *Item*, He damneth Adoration, Prayer, Kneeling, and offering to Images, which he calleth Stocks and Stones.

11. *Item*, He ſaith, that the very Body of the Lord is not contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, but that Men receiving it ſhall thereby keep in mind that Chriſt's Fleſh was wounded and crucified for us.

12. *Item*, He damneth the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with all degrees and faculties in it, as Art, Civil, Canon, and Divinity; ſaying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledg of the Laws of God and holy Scripture.

Anbody Maſter of Corck which confeſſed that the Word of God to be tranſlated. 13. *Item*, He defendeth the tranſlation of the Bible and holy Scripture into the Engliſh Tongue, which is prohibited by the Laws of our Mother Holy Church.

Theſe Articles thus collected, as alſo the others before ſpecified, they cauſed, for a more ſhew of their pretended Juſtice and Innocency, to be openly read the next Sunday following, by the Preacher at *Pauls-Croſs*, with this proteſtation made before.

The Biſhops Proteſtation at Pauls-Croſs againſt Richd. Hunne. Maſters and Friends, for certain cauſes and conſiderations, I have in commandment to rehearſe, ſhew, and publiſh here unto you, the Articles of Herely upon which *Richard Hunne* was detected and examined: And alſo other great Articles and damnable Points and Opinions of Herely contained in ſome of his Books, be come to light and knowledg here ready to be ſhewn.

And therewith he read the Articles openly unto the People, concluding with theſe words:

And Maſters, if there be any Man deſirous to ſee the ſpecialty of theſe Articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this Book or not, for ſatisfying of his mind let him come to my Lord of *London* and he ſhall ſee it with good will.

Moreover, here I counſel and admoniſh, that if there be any Perſons that of their ſimpleneſs have been familiar and acquainted with the ſaid *Richard Hunne* in theſe Articles, or have heard him read upon this Book, or any other ſounding to Herely, or have any like Books themſelves, let them come unto my Lord of *London* betwixt this and Candlemaſs next, and acknowledg their fault, and they ſhall be charitably intreated and dealt withal, ſo that both their Goods and Honeſty ſhall be ſaved: and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the Proceſs of the Law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigor of the Law be executed againſt them.

After which open publication and admonition, the Biſhop at ſundry times examined divers of his Prieſts, and other Lay-Perſons, upon the contents of both theſe Articles. Among which Examinates there was a Man-ſervant and a Maid of the ſaid *Hunne's*, who altho they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehenſion, no, not in ſuch points as the Biſhop chiefly objected againſt him. But yet the Prieſts (though whoſe procurement this Miſchief was firſt begun) ſpared no whit ſtoutly and maliciouſly to accuſe him, ſome in the contents of the firſt Articles, and ſome in the ſecond. Wherefore having now, as they thought, ſufficient matter againſt him, they purpoſed ſpeedily to proceed to his condemnation. And becauſe they would ſeem to do all things formally, and by preſcript Order, they firſt drew out certain ſhort and ſummary Rules, by which the Biſhop ſhould be directed in this ſolemn Seſſion, which are theſe:

Ex Regiſtr. Fitzjames, Lond.

1. Firſt, let the Biſhop ſit in his Tribunal-Seat in our Ladies Chappel.

2. Secondly, let him recite the cauſe of his coming, and take Notaries to him to enact what ſhall be there done.

Mark the manner of this proceeding. 3. Thirdly, let him declare, how upon Sunday laſt at *Pauls-Croſs*, he cauſed to be publiſhed a general Monition or Denunciation, that all Fautors and Maintainers of *Richard Hunne* ſhould come in as by this day, and ſubmit themſelves: And let him ſignify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already.

4. Fourthly, let him proteſt and ſay, that if there remain any yet behind, which have not appeared according to the former Monition and Denunciation, yet if they will come and appear, and ſubmit themſelves, they ſhall be heard and received with grace and favour.

5. Fifthly, let the Biſhop, or ſome other at his appointment, recite the Articles objected againſt *Richard Hunne* in the time of his Life, and then the other Articles likewiſe, which were out of his great Book of the Bible extracted.

6. Sixthly, Let the Anſwers and Confeſſions of the ſaid *Richard Hunne* ſummarily be recited, with the Atteſtations made to the ſame Articles. Alſo let his Books be exhibited, and then *Thomas Brooke* his Servant be called for.

7. Seventhly, let it be openly cried at the Quire-Door, That if there be any which will defend the Articles, Opinions, Books, or the Memory of the ſaid *Richard Hunne*, let them come and appear, and they ſhall be heard as the Law in that behalf ſhall require.

8. Eighthly, let it be openly cried as in manner before, for ſuch as be receivers, favourers, defenders or believers of the ſaid *Richard Hunne*, that all ſuch do appear and ſubmit themſelves to the Biſhop, or elſe he intendeth to proceed to the Excommunication of them in general, according to the exigence of the Law in that behalf.

9. Ninthly, let the Biſhop ſpeak to the ſtanders-by, and to them of the Clergy which ſit with him upon the Bench, demanding of them, what their Judgment and Opinion is touching the Premiſes? and whether they think it convenient and agreeable for him to proceed to the Sentence againſt the ſaid *Richard Hunne* in this part to be awarded?

10. Tenthly, After their conſent and counſel given, let the Biſhop read out the Sentence.

11. Finally, after the Sentence read, let the Biſhop appoint the publication and denunciation of the foreſaid Sentence to be read at *Paul's-Croſs*, or elſewhere, as to him ſhall ſeem expedient, with a Citation likewiſe generally againſt all them that be receivers, favourers, and believers of the ſaid *Hunne*, to give to underſtand why he ought not further to proceed againſt them, &c.

A ſolemn Proceſs of Fitzjames Biſhop of London againſt Richd. Hunne being dead.

Now according to the tenour of theſe Preſcripts and Rules, the Biſhop of *London*, accompanied with the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Lincoln*, ſat in Judgment the ſixteenth day of *December* then next following, within the place by the ſame appointed; adjoining alſo unto them as Witneſſes of their proceedings, ſix publick Notaries, his own Regiſter, and about twenty five Doctors, Abbots, Priors, and Prieſts of name, with a great Rabble of other common anointed Catholicks. Where after a ſolemn Proclamation made, that if there were any that would defend the Opinions and Books of *Richard Hunne*, they ſhould preſently appear and be heard according to Law, he commanded all the Articles and Objections againſt *Hunne* openly to be read before the Aſſembly: and then perceiving that none durſt appear in his defence, by the advice of his Aſſiſtants, he pronounced the Sentence definitive againſt the dead Carcaſe, condemning it of Herely, and thereupon committed the ſame unto the Secular Power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous Decree was ſo ſoberly accomplished in *Smithfield* the twentieth day of the ſame month of *December*, (being full ſixteen days after they had thus barbarouſly murdered him) to the great grief and diſdain of all the People. And becauſe the Biſhop in his Sentence definitive uſeth a more formal and ample Order of Words than accultomably is uſed in others, and alſo pretendeth full hypocritically in the beginning, as it were by way of Induction, divers cauſes that moved him to proceed againſt the dead Carcaſe; I thought good therefore here to inſert the ſame, as a final concluſion of their crafty-coloured Tragedy, the tenour whereof is this:

The Corps of Richard Hunne burned after his death.

The Sentence definitive againſt Richd. Hunne after his death.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Cum nuper (pendente ſacra Synodo, & generali Prelatorum & Cleri Provincie Cantuarenſis *Convocatione, in Eccleſia noſtra Cathedrali Sancti* Pauli *London, per Prelatos & Clerum Provincie* Cantuarienſis, *actualiter ibidem exercita) contigiſſet, quod quidam* Richardus Hunne *de Parochia Sancte* Margarete in Brigſtreet Lond. *de & ſuper crimine hereticæ pravitatis notatus & diffamatus exiſtiſſet: Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus, Dominus* Willielmus *miſeratione divina* Cantuarienſis *Archiepiſcopus, totius* Angliæ *Primas, & Apoſtolice ſedis Legatus, ipſius venerabilis Cœtus & Convocationis Caput & Preſidens, ex vehementibus & violentis (quas contra eundem* Richardum Hunne *ſuper hæretica pravitate tunc habebat) preſumptionibus contra eundem* Richardum, *debitam facere inquiſitionem cupiens, ut (ſi vatione hæreſis hujuſmodi membrum fuiſſet à corpore Chriſti myſtico præciſum) ipſum ad caput & corpus (id eſt, Chriſtum, ſanctaq; matris Eccleſie unitatem) per ſalutaria monita & condignam penitentiam revocatet & reduceret: ac idem* Richardus *inter ſimplices & devotas Chriſti fidelium & Catholicorum animas corrando, & ſiccantia hæretica ſeminando, fidelium mentes macularet & infoceret, & ſiniſtris ac perverſis aſſertionibus & opinionibus, à veritatis ſemita & vera fide Chriſtiana aberrare faceret; ad effectum citandi eum ad comparendum coram dicto reverendiſſimo Patre & Domino Archiepiſcopo, ſuisq; Cooperiopis & Suffraganeis, cæteriq; aliis Concionie ſive facre Synodi Prelatis, ſuper premiſſis reſponſurum perquiri fecit & mandavit. Verum idem* Richardus *apprehendi non potuit. Unde dictus reverendiſſimus Pater ſuum tam pium, tam ſanctum & laudabile propoſitum ad effectum producere non potuit. Quod cum nos* Richardus *permiſſione divina* Londinenſis *Epiſcopus, dicti* Richardi *Ordinarius, (cui etiam tanquam de hæreſi ſuſpectus, idem* Richardus *à multis retroactis temporibus delatus & detectus exiſteret) intellexeremus, non volentes nec audentes predicta facinora ſilentio & conniventibus oculis pertranſire & pretermittere, ne ob noſtram negligentiam, & corporem ſanguis, ejus in diſtricte examine, ſive Dei judicio, de manibus noſtris requiratur, volentes certiorari & informari an ea que de ipſo & contra eum nobis delata & dicta fuerant, veritate aliqua ſuffulcirentur, & an in luce vel in tenebris ambularet, an forteſſe vois morbida exiſtent, innocuas animas gregi dominici peſtifera hæreſi corrumpere & infocere, ad informandum animum noſtrum, ipſum coram nobis vocandum, & ſuper premiſſis diligenter interrogandum & examinandum, omnibusq; juribus & rationibus, que ſecundum canonicas ſanctiones erant faciendis, ejus animam pio & paterno zelantes affectu, deſcendimus & properavimus: contra quem objectis judicialiter & propoſitis publicè in judicio articulis, & de ſuper quibus nobis (ut præfertur) delatus, detectus, & notatus fuerat. 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* What final obſtinacy is was in him, when you ſay before that by ſeveral hand-writing he ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhops favourable correction.

Dr. Horſey Chancellor, Charles Joſeph and Spalding-men decrees of Richard Hunne.

Notwithſtanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead Body, and their fair and colourable ſhew of Juſtice, yet the Inqueſt no whit ſtayed their diligent ſearching out of the true cauſe and means of his death. Inſomuch that when they had been divers times called both before the King's Privy-Council, (his Majeſty himſelf being ſometime preſent) and alſo before the chief Judges and Juſtices of this Realm, and that the matter being by them throughly examined, and perceived to be much bolſtered and born withal by the Clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending; they found by good proof, and ſufficient evidence, that Doctor *Horſey* the Chancellor, *Charles Joſeph* the Sumner, and *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, had privily and maliciouſly committed this Murther, and therefore indicted them all three as wilful Murderers. Howbeit, through the earneſt ſuit of the Biſhop of *London* unto Cardinal *Wolſey*, (as appeareth by

H. 8. by his Letters hereafter mentioned) means was found, that at the next Sessions of Goal-delivery the King's Attorney pronounced the Indictment against Dr. *Horsey* to be false and untrue, and him not to be guilty of the Murder. Who, being then thereby delivered in Body, having yet in himself a guilty Conscience, got him unto *Exeter*, and durst never after for fhame come again unto *London*. But now that the truth of all this may feem more manifeft and plain unto all Mens eyes, here fhall follow, word by word, the whole Enquiry and Verdict of the Inqueft, exhibited by them unto the Coroner of *London*, and fo given up and figned with his own hand.

The Verdict of the Inquest.

The Verdict of the Inquest.

THe fifth and the fixth day of *December*, in the fixth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the eighth, *William Barnwell*, Coroner of *London*, the day and year abovefaid, within the Ward of *Caſtle-Baynard* of *London*, affembled a Queft, whofe names afterward do appear, and hath fworn them truly to enquire of the death of one *Richard Hunne*, which lately was found dead in the *Lollards-Tower* within *Paul's* Church of *London*: Whereupon all we of the Inqueft together went up into the faid Tower, where we found the body of the faid *Hunne* hanging upon a Staple of Iron, in a Girdle of Silk, with fair countenance, his head fair kembed, and his bonnet right fitting upon his head, with his eyne and mouth fair cloſed, without any ſtaring, gaping, or frowning, alſo without any driveling or ſpurging in any place of his body: Whereupon by one aſſent all we agreed to take down the body of the faid *Hunne*, and as ſoon as we began to heave the body it was looſe: whereby by good adviſement we perceived that the girdle had no knot about the ſtaple, but it was double-caſt, and the links of an iron chain, which did hang on the ſame ſtaple, were laid upon the ſame girdle whereby he did hang: Alſo the knot of the girdle that went about his neck, ſtood under his left ear, which cauſed his head to lean towards his right ſhoulder. Notwithſtanding there came out of his noſtrils two ſmall ſtreams of blood to the quantity of four drops; ſave only theſe four drops of blood, the face, lips, chin, dublet, collar, and ſhirt of the faid *Hunne* was clean from any blood. Alſo we find that the ſkin both of his neck and Throat, beneath the girdle of ſilk, was freſh and failed away, with that thing which the Murderers had broken his Neck withal. Alſo the hands of the ſaid *Hunne* were wrung in the wriſts, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound. Moreover, we find that within the ſaid priſon was no mean whereby a Man might hang himſelf, but only a Stool, which Stool ſtood upon a Bolſter of a Bed, ſo tickle, that any Man or Beaſt might not touch it ſo little, but it was ready to fall: whereby we perceived, that it was not poſſible that *Hunne* might hang himſelf, the Stool ſo ſtanding. Alſo all the girdle from the ſtaple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Alſo it was not poſſible that the ſoft ſilken girdle ſhould break his neck or ſkin beneath the girdle. Alſo we find in a corner, ſomewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcel of blood. Alſo we find upon the left ſide of *Hunne* Jacket, from the breaſt downward, two great ſtreams of blood. Alſo within the flap of the left ſide of his Jacket we find a great clutter of blood, and the Jacket folden down thereupon; which thing the ſaid *Hunne* could never fold nor do after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth plainly to us all, that the neck of *Hunne* was broken, and the great plenty of blood was ſhed before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find, by God and all our Conſciences, that *Richard Hunne* was murdered. Alſo we acquit the ſaid *Richard Hunne* of his own death.

Alſo there was an end of a Wax-candle, which, as *John* Bell-ringer ſaith, he left in the Priſon burning with *Hunne* that ſame Sunday at night that *Hunne* was murdered; which Wax-candle we found ſticking upon the Stocks, fair put out, about ſeven or eight foot from the place where *Hunne* was hanged, which candle after our opinion was never put out by him, for many likelihoods which we have perceived. Alſo at the going up of Maſter Chancellor into the *Lollards* Tower, we have good proof that there lay on the Stocks a Gown, either of Murrey, or Crimſon in grain, furred with Shanks, whoſe Gown it was we could never prove, neither who bare it away. All we find, that Maſter *William Horſey*, Chancellor to my Lord of *London*, hath had at his commandment both the rule and guiding of the ſaid Priſoner. Moreover, all we find, that the ſaid Maſter *Horſey*, Chancellor, hath put *Charles Joſeph* out of his Office, as the ſaid *Charles* hath confeſſed, becauſe he would not deal and uſe the ſaid Priſoner ſo cruelly, and do to him as the Chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithſtanding the deliverance of the Keys to the Chancellor by *Charles* on the Saturday at night before *Hunne's* death, and *Charles* riding out of the Town, on that Sunday in the morning enſuing, was but a Convention made betwixt *Charles* and the Chancellor to colour the Murder. For the ſame Sunday that *Charles* rode forth, he came again to the Town at night, and killed *Richard Hunne*, as in the depoſitions of *Julian Littel*, *Thomas Chicheley*, *Thomas Simonds*, and *Peter Turner*, doth appear.

After colouring of the Murder betwixt *Charles* and the Chancellor conſpired, the Chancellor called to him one *John Spalding*, Bell-ringer of *Paul's*, and delivered to the ſame Bell-ringer the Keys of the Lollards-Tower, giving to the ſaid Bell-ringer a great charge, ſaying, I charge thee to keep *Hunne* more ſtraitly than he hath been kept, and let him have but one meal a day; moreover, I charge thee let no body come to him without my licence, neither to bring him Shirt, Cap, Kerchief, or any other thing, but that I ſee it before it come to him. Alſo before *Hunne* was carried to *Fulham*, the Chancellor commanded to be put upon *Hunne's* Neck a great Collar of Iron, with a great Chain, which is too heavy for any Man or Beaſt to wear, and long to endure.

Proofs of Hunnes death.

Moreover, it is well proved, that before *Hunne's* death the ſaid Chancellor came up into the ſaid *Lollards*-Tower, and kneeled down before *Hunne*, holding up his hands to him, praying him of Forgiveneſs of all that he had done to him, and muſt do to him. And on Sunday following the Chancellor commanded the Peenitentiary of *Paul's* to go up to him, and ſay a Goſpel, and make for him holy Water, and holy Bread, and give it to him, which he did: and alſo the Chancellor commanded that *Hunne* ſhould have his dinner. And the ſame dinner-time *Charles's* Boy was ſhut in Priſon with *Hunne*, which was never ſo before; and after dinner, when the Bell-ringer fet out the Boy, the Bell-ringer ſaid to the ſame Boy, Come no more hither with meat for him till to-morrow, for my Maſter Chancellor hath commanded that he ſhould have but one meal a day: and the ſame night following *Richard Hunne* was murdered, which Murder could not have been done without conſent and licence of the Chancellor, and alſo by the witting and knowledg of *John Spalding* Bell-ringer; for there could no Man come into the Priſon but by the keys, being in *John* Bell-ringer's keeping. Alſo as by my Lord of *London's* Book doth appear. *John* Bell-ringer is a poor innocent Man. Wherefore all we do perceive, that this Murder could not be done but by the commandment of the Chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of *John* Bell-ringer.

The witneſs of Charles Joſeph, Sumner.

Charles Joſeph, within the Tower of *London*, of his own free will, and unconſtrained, ſaid, That Maſter Chancellor deviſed and wrote with his own hand all ſuch Herefies as were laid to *Hunne's* charge: record *John God*, *John True*, *John Palmere*, *Richard Gibſon*, with many other. Alſo *Charles Joſeph* ſaith, That when *Richard Hun* was ſlain, *John* Bell-ringer bare up the ſtairs into the *Lollards* Tower a Wax-candle having the keys of the doors hanging on his arm: and I *Charles* went next to him, and Maſter Chancellor came up laſt: and when all we came up, we found *Hunne* lying on his Bed, and then Maſter Chancellor ſaid, Lay hands on the Thief; and ſo all we murdered him: and then I *Charles* put the girdle about *Hun's* neck: and then *John* Bell-ringer and I *Charles* did heave up *Hun*, and Maſter Chancellor pulled the girdle over the ſtaple, and ſo *Hun* was hanged.

The

The Depoſition of Julian Littell *late Servant of* Charles Joſeph, *by her free will, unconſtrained, the ſixth Year of our Sovereign Lord King* Henry *the Eighth, within the Chappel of our Lady of* Bethleem, *ſhewed to the Inqueſt.*

The Witneſs of Julian Littel, againſt Ch. Joſeph.

FIrſt, *Julian* ſaith, that the Wedneſday at night, after the death of *Richard Hunne*, *Charles Joſeph* her Maſter came home to his Supper: Then *Julian* ſaid to him, Maſter, it was told me that ye were in Priſon. *Charles* anſwered, It is merry to turn the Penny: and after Supper *Charles* truſſed up a parcel of his Goods, and with help of *Julian*, bare them into Mr. *Porter's* Houſe to keep: and that done, *Charles* ſaid to *Julian*; *Julian*, if thou wilt be ſworn to keep my counſel, I will ſhew thee my mind. *Julian* anſwered, Yea, if it be neither Felony nor Treaſon. Then *Charles* took a Book out of his Purſe, and *Julian* ſware to him thereupon. Then ſaid *Charles* to *Julian*, I have deſtroyed *Richard Hunne*. Alas Maſter, ſaid *Julian*, how? he was called an honeſt Man. *Charles* anſwered, I put a wyre in his Noſe. Alas, ſaid *Julian*, now be ye caſt away and undone. Then ſaid *Charles*, *Julian*, I truſt in thee that thou wilt keep my counſel: And *Julian* anſwered, Yea, but for God's ſake Maſter ſhift for your ſelf. Then *Charles* ſaid, I had lever than 100 pound it were not done; but what is done, cannot be undone. Moreover *Charles* ſaid then to *Julian*, Upon Sunday when I rode to my Couſin *Barington's* houſe, I tarried there and made good cheer all day till it was night; and yet before it was midnight I was in *London*, and had killed *Hun*: and upon the next day I rode thither again, and was there at dinner, and ſent for Neighbours, and made good chear. Then *Julian* asked *Charles*, Where ſet you your Horſe that night you came to Town, and wherefore came you not home? *Charles* anſwered, I came not home for fear of bewraying. And then *Julian* asked *Charles*, Who was with you at the killing of *Hun*? *Charles* anſwered, I will not tell thee. And *Julian* ſaith that upon the Thurſday following *Charles* tarried all day in his houſe with great fear: and upon Friday following, early in the morning before day, *Charles* went forth, as he ſaid, to *Paul's*; and at his coming in again he was in a great fear, ſaying haſtily, Get me my Horſe; and with great fear and haſte made him ready to ride; and bad Mr. *Porter's* Lad lead his Horſe into the Field by the backſide: and then *Charles* put into his ſleeve his Maſe, or Maſor, with other Plate borrowed of Mr. *Porter*, both Gold and Silver, but how much I am not ſure: and *Charles* went into the Field after his Horſe, and *Julian* brought his Budget after him. Alſo upon Friday in Chriſtmaſs week following, *Charles* came home late in the night, and brought with him three Bakers and a Smith of *Stratford*, and the ſame night they carried out of *Charles's* his Houſe, all his Goods by the Field ſide, to the Bell in *Shoreditch*, and early in the morning conveyed it with Carts to *Stratford*.

Moreover *Julian* ſaith, that the Saturday at night before the death of *Hun*, *Charles* came home, and brought with him a Gunard, ſaying, it was for *Hun*; and *Charles's* Boy told to *Julian*, that there was alſo ordained a piece of freſh *Salmon*, which *John Bellringer* had.

Alſo *Charles* ſaid to the ſaid *Julian*, Were not this ungracious Trouble, I could bring my Lord of *London* to the doors of Hereticks in *London*, both of Men and Women, that be worth a thouſand pounds; but I am afraid that the ungracious Midwife ſhall bewray us all.

Alſo *Charles* ſaid unto Mrs. *Porter* likewiſe & more largely, ſpeaking of the beſt in *London*: Whereto Mrs. *Porter* anſwered, The beſt in *London* is my Lord Mayor. Then *Charles* ſaid, I will not ſcuſe him quite, for that he taketh this Matter ſo hot.

Whereas *Charls Joſeph* ſaith he lay at *Neckil* with a Harlot, a Man's Wife, in *Barington's* Houſe, the ſame Night that *Richard Hun* was murdered, and there abode until the morrow at eleven of the clock; and thereupon brought before the King's Council, for his purgation, the forſaid Baud *Barington's* Wife, and alſo the forſaid Harlot: this purgation we have proved all untrue, as right largely may appear, as well by the Depoſition of *Julian Littel*, as of *Thomas Chicheley* Tailor, *Thomas Simonds* Stationer, of *Robert Johnſon* and his Wife, of *John Spalding* Belringer: Alſo of *Peter Turner* Son-in-law of the foreſaid *Charles Joſeph*; who ſaid before, to an honeſt Woman, a Wax-chandler's Wife, that before this day ſeventh night *Hun* ſhould have a miſchievous death, &c. Alſo of *John Ederby* Baker, to whom *John Spalding* himſelf declared theſe words, that there was ordained for *Hun* ſo grievous penance, that when Men hear of it, they ſhall have great marvel thereof, &c. Beſides the Depoſition moreover of *Allen Creſwell* Waxchandler, and *Richard Horſenaite* Bailiff of the Sanctuary Town, called *Godſture* in *Eſſex*. Which Teſtimonies and Depoſitions hereafter follow.

The Witneſs of Peter Turner.

K. Hen. 8. The witneſs of John Spalding likewiſe.

The Depoſition of Allen Creſwell *Waxchandler.*

THe ſaid *Allen* ſaith, That *John Granger* ſervant with my Lord of *London*, in my Lord of *London's* Kitchen, at ſuch time as the ſaid *Allen* was fearing *Hun's* Coffin, that *Granger* I ſay, told him, that he was preſent with *John Bellringer* the ſame Sunday at night that *Richard Hun* was found dead in the morrow, when the Keeper ſet him in the Stocks; informach that the ſaid *Hun* deſired to borrow the Keeper's Knife: and the Keeper asked him what he would do with his Knife; and he anſwered, I had lever kill my ſelf than to be thus entreated. This Depoſition the ſaid *Allen* will prove as far forth as any Chriſtian Man may; ſaying, that *Granger* ſhewed to him theſe words of his own free will and mind, without any queſtion or enquiry to him made by the ſaid *Allen*. Moreover the ſaid *Allen* ſaith, that all the evening *Granger* was in great fear.

The Depoſition of Richard Horſenail, *Bailiff of the Sanctuary-Town called* Godſture *in* Eſſex.

THe ſaid *Richard* ſaith, That the Friday before Chriſtmaſs day laſt paſt, one *Charles Joſeph*, Sumner to my Lord of *London*, became a Sanctuary-Man, and the aforeſaid Friday he regiſtred his Name; the ſaid *Charles* ſaying it was for the ſafeguard of his Body, for there be certain Men in *London* ſo extream againſt him for the death of *Richard Hun*, that he dare not abide in *London*. Howbeit the ſaid *Charles* ſaith, he knowledgeth himſelf guiltleſs of *Hun's* death; for he delivered the Keys to the Chancellor by *Hun's* life. Alſo the ſaid Bailiff ſaith, that *Charles* paid the Duty of the ſaid Regiſtring, both to him and Sir *John Studley* Vicar.

The Copy of *Richard Fitzjames's* Letter, then Biſhop of *London*, ſent to Cardinal *Wolſey*.

The Letter of the Biſhop of London to Cardinal Wolſey.

I *Beſeech your good Lordſhip to ſtand ſo good Lord unto my poor Chancellor now in Ward, and indicted by an untrue Queſt, for the Death of* Richard Hun, *upon the only Acculſation of* Charles Joſeph *made by pain and dureneſs; that by your interceſſion it may pleaſe the King's Grace to have the matter duly and ſufficiently examined by indifferent Perſons of his diſcreet Council, in the preſence of the Parties, e're there be any more done in the Cauſe; and that upon the innocency of my ſaid Chancellor declared, it may further pleaſe the Kings Grace to award a Plackard unto his Attorney to confeſſe the ſaid Indictment to be untrue, when the time ſhall require it: for aſſured am I, if my Chancellor be tried by any twelve Men in* London, *they be ſo maliciouſly ſet*, In favorem hæreticæ pravitatis, *that they will caſt and condemn any Clerk, tho he were as innocent as* Abel. Quare ſi potes beate Pater, adjuva infirmitates noſtras, & tibi in perpetuum devinctierimus. *Over this, in moſt humble wiſe I beſeech you, that I may have the King's gracious Favour, whom I never offended willingly; and that by your good means I might ſpeak, with his Grace and you: and I with all mine ſhall pray for your proſperous eſtate long to continue.*

Your moſt humble Orator *R. L.*

Laſtly, now it remaineth to infer the Sentence of the Queſtmen, which followeth in like ſort to be ſeen and expended, after I have firſt declared the words of the Biſhop ſpoken in the Parliament-houſe.

The words that the Biſhop of London *ſpake before the Lords in the Parliament-houſe.*

Memorandum, That the Biſhop of *London* ſaid in the Parliament-houſe, that there was a Bill brought to the Parliament, to make the Jury that was charged upon

K. Hen. 8. the death of *Hun*, true Men: and faid and took upon his Conficience, that they were falſe perjured Caitifs: and faid further to all the Lords there being, For the love of God look upon this Matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine houſe for Hereticks: And faid, that the faid *Richard Hun* hanged himſelf, and that it was his own deed, and no Mans elſe. And furthermore faid, that there came a Man to his Houſe, whoſe Wife was appeached of Hereſy, to ſpeak with him; and he ſaid that he had no mind to ſpeak with the ſame Man; which Man ſpake and reported to the Servants of the ſame Biſhop, that if his Wife would not hold ſtill her Opinions, he would cut her Throat with his own hands: with other words.

The Sentence of the Inqueſt, ſubſcribed by the Crowner.

The Sentence of the Inqueſt.

THe Inquiſition intended and taken at the City of *London*, in the Parifh of St. *Gregory*, in the Ward of *Bayard Caſtle* in *London*, the ſixth day of *December*, in the ſixth year of the Reign of King *Hen.* 8. before *Thomas Barnwel* Crowner of our Soveraign Lord the King within the City of *London* aforeſaid. Alſo before *James Turford* and *John Mandy*, Sheriffs of the ſaid City, upon the ſight of the Body of *Richard Hun*, late of *London* Tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollards Tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful Men of the ſame Ward, and of other three Wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the cuſtom of the City aforeſaid, to enquire how, and in what manner wife the ſaid *Richard Hun* came unto his death: and upon the Oath of *John Bernard*, *Thomas Stert*, *William Warren*, *Henry Abraham*, *John Aborom*, *John Turner*, *Robert Allen*, *William Marler*, *John Burton*, *James Page*, *Thomas Pickhill*, *William Burton*, *Robert Bridgwater*, *Thomas Buſted*, *Gilbert Howell*. *Richard Gibſon*, *Chriſtopher Craſton*, *John Good*, *Richard Holt*, *John Palmere*, *Edmund Hudſon*, *John Aranſill*, *Richard Cooper*, *John Tim*: The which ſaid upon their Oaths, that where the ſaid *Richard Hun*, by the commandment of *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, was impriſoned and brought to hold in a Priſon of the ſaid Biſhops called *Lollards Tower*, lying in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, in the Parifh of St. *Gregory*, in the Ward of *Bayard Caſtel* aforeſaid; *William Horſey* of *London* Clerk, otherwiſe called *William Herſie*, Chancellor to *Richard* Biſhop of *London*; and one *Charles Joſeph* late of *London* Sumner, and *John Spalding* of *London*, otherwiſe called *John Bellringer*, feloniouſly as Felons to our Lord the King, with force and arms againſt the peace of our Soveraign Lord the King, and dignity of his Crown, the fourth day of *December*, the ſixth year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord aforeſaid, of their great malice, at the Parifh of Saint *Gregory* aforeſaid, upon the ſaid *Richard Hun* made a fray, and the ſame *Richard Hun* feloniouſly ſtrangled and ſmothered, and alſo the Neck they did break of the ſaid *Richard Hun*, and there feloniouſly hew him and murdered him; and alſo the Body of the ſaid *Richard Hun*, afterward the ſame fourth day, year, place, parifh, and ward aforeſaid, with the proper Girdle of the ſame *Richard Hun*, of ſilk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the Priſon aforeſaid, made faſt, and ſo hanged him, againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord the King, and the Dignity of his Crown: and ſo the ſaid Jury hath found upon the Holy Evangeliſts, that the ſaid *Wil. Horſey* Clerk, *Charles Joſeph*, and *John Spalding*, of their ſet malice, then and there feloniouſly killed and murdered the ſaid *Richard Hun* in manner and form above-ſaid, againſt the Peace of our Soveraign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

Subſcribed in this manner:

Thomas Branwell, *Crowner of the City of* London.

Rich. Hun cleared by the Inqueſt, that no man had hanged himſelf.

The Parliament taketh with Richard Hun.

AFter that the twenty four had given up their Verdict, ſealed and ſigned with the Crowner's Seal, the Cauſe was then brought into the Parliament-houſe, where the truth was laid ſo plain before all Mens faces, and the fact ſo notorious, that immediatly certain of the bloody murderers were committed to Priſon, and ſhould no doubt have ſuffered what they deſerved, had not the Cardinal by his authority practiſed for his Catholick Children, at the ſuit of the Biſhop of *London*. Whereupon the Chancellor, by the King's Pardon, and ſecret ſhifting, rather than by God's Pardon and his deſerving, eſcaped, and went, as is ſaid, to *Exceter*, &c. Nevertheleſs tho juſtice took no place where favour did ſave, yet becauſe the innocent Cauſe of *Hun* ſhould take no wrong, the Parliament became ſuiters unto the King's Majeſty, that whereas the Goods of the ſaid *Hun* were confiſcate into the King's hands, it would pleaſe his Grace to make reſtitution of all the ſaid Goods unto the Children of the ſaid *Hun*. Upon which motion, the King of his gracious diſpoſition, did not only give all the foreſaid Goods unto the foreſaid Children under his broad Seal yet to be ſeen, but alſo did ſend out his Warrants (which hereafter ſhall follow) to thoſe that were the cruel Murderers, commanding them, upon his high diſpleaſure, to deliver all the ſaid Goods, and make reſtitution for the death of the ſaid *Richard Hun*: all which Goods came to the ſum of fifteen hundred pounds Sterling, beſides his Plate and other Jewels.

The Tenor of the King's Letter in the behalf of *Richard Hun*.

The King's Letter for the reſtitution of Huns goods.

TRuſty and Wellbeloved, We greet you well. Wheresa by the complaint is to us made, as well as alſo in our high Court of Parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot *of our City of* London *Draper, and* Margaret *his Wife, late Daughter of* Richard Hun: *And whereas you were indicted by our Laws, of and for the death of the ſaid* Richard Hun, *and the ſaid Murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our Records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of* December, *in the ſixth year of our Reign; the ſame we abhor; Nevertheleſs we of our ſpecial grace, certain ſcience, and meer motion, pardoned you upon certain conſiderations us moving: for the intent that the Goods of the ſaid* Richard Hun, *and the adminiſtration of them, were committed to the ſaid* Roger Whapplot. *We then ſuppoſed and intended your amendment, and reſtitution to be made by you to the Infants, the Children of the ſaid* Richard Hun; *as well for his death, as for his goods, embezzled, waſted, conſumed, by your tyranny and cruel act ſo committed, the ſame being of no little value: and as hitherto ye have made no recompence, according to our Laws, as might ſtand with Equity, Juſtice, right and good Conſcience, and for this cauſe due ſatisfaction ought to be made by our Laws: Wherefore we will and exhort, and otherwiſe charge and command you, by the Tenour of theſe our ſpecial Letters, that ye ſatisfy and recompence the ſaid* Roger Whapplot, *and the ſaid* Margaret *his Wife, according to our Laws in this caſe, as it may ſtand with right and good conſcience, elſe otherwiſe at your further peril; ſo that they ſhall have no cauſe to return unto us, for their further remedy eſſſoons in this behalf, as ye in the ſame tender to avoid our high diſpleaſure: otherwiſe that ye upon the ſight hereof, ſit all exceſſes apart, and repair unto our preſence, at which your hither coming you ſhall be further advertiſed of our mind.*

From our Mannor, &c.

Defence of Richard Hun *againſt Sir* Thomas More *and* Alen Cope.

Defence of Rich. Hun.

IDoubt not but by theſe Premiſes, thou haſt (Chriſtian Reader) ſufficiently to underſtand the whole diſcourſe and ſtory of *Richard Hun*, from top to toe. Firſt how he came in trouble for denying the bearing-Sheet of his young Infant departed: then how he was forced for ſuccour of himſelf to ſue a *Præmunire*: and thereupon what conſpiracy of the Clergy was wrought againſt him, what ſnares were laid, what fetches were practiſed, and Articles deviſed to inſnel him in the Trap of Hereſy, and ſo to impriſon him. Furthermore, being in Priſon, how he was ſecretly murdered; after his murder, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning, laſtly, how his death was inquired by the Crowner, and cleared by acquittal of the Inquell. Moreover, how the cauſe was brought into the Parliament, and by the Parliament the King's Precept obtained for reſtitution of his Goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous ſtory, with all the branches, and particular evidences of the ſame, taken out as well of the publick Acts, as of the Biſhop's Regiſters, and ſpecial Records remaining in the cuſtody of *Dunſtan Whapplot*, the Son of the Daughter of the ſaid *Richard Hun*, and there to be ſeen. I thought here to unwrap and diſcover ſo much the more, for three ſpecial purpoſes:

Three purpoſes conſidered.

Firſt, as is requiſite, for teſtimony and witneſs of Truth falſly ſlandered, of Innocency wrongfully condemned, and of the Party cruelly oppreſſed.

The ſecond cauſe moveth me for Sir *Thomas More*'s Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jeſt poor ſimple Truth out of countenance.

The third cauſe which conſtraineth me, be the Dialogues of *Alanus Copus*; which two, the one in Engliſh, the other in Latin, railing and barking againſt *Richard Hun*, do double-wiſe charge him, both to be an Heretick, and alſo a deſperate Homicide of himſelf. Which as it is falſe in the one, ſo it is to be found as untrue in the other, if ſimple Truth, which hath few Friends, and many times cometh in Truth, which hath few Friends, and many times cometh in crafty handling, might freely come to indifferent hearing. Wherefore as I have hitherto deſcribed the order and manner of his handling, with the Circumſtances thereof, in plain and naked narration of Story, ſimply laid out before all Mens faces; ſo ſomething here to intermit, in the defence as well of his oppreſſed cauſe, as alſo in diſcharge of my ſelf, I will now compendiouſly anſwer to both theſe foreſaid Adverſaries, ſtopping, as it were, with one buſh two gaps; and the mouths alſo, if I can, of them both together.

Anſwer for Rich Hun againſt Sir Tho. More Knight.

Sir T. More having many good vertues had one great vice.

The Perſon of Sir Tho. More countervailed.

The Reaſons of Sir Tho. More refuted.

The circumſtances of Hun's hanging conſidered.

Utopia Mori.

And firſt againſt Sir *Thomas More*, albeit in Degree worſhipful, in Place ſuperior, in wit and Learning ſingular, if his judgment in Chriſt's matters had been correſpondent to the ſame, being otherwiſe a Man with many worthy Ornaments beautified: yet being but a Man, and one Man, I lay and object againſt the Perſon of him, the perſons and cenſures of twenty four Queſtmen, the depoſition of ſo many Jurates, the judgment of the Crowner, the approbation of the Parliament; and laſtly, the King's Bill aſſigned for reſtitution of his goods, with his own broad Seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the Perſon and Credit of Sir *Thomas More*.

Now as touching his Reaſons: whereas he coming in with a ſlim-ſtam of a Horſe-milk or a Milk-horſe (in his own terms I ſpeak) thinketh it reſolution good enough, becauſe he could not ſee him taken by the ſleeve which murdered *Hun*: againſt theſe Reaſons unreaſonable of his, I alledg all the Evidences and demonſtrations of the Hiſtory above prefixed, to be conſidered, and of all indifferent Men to be peiſed.

Firſt, How he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair kembed, his bonnet right on his head, with his eine and mouth fair cloſed, without any driveling or ſpurging. His body being taken down, was found looſe (which by hanging could not be) his neck broken, and the ſkin thereof beneath the throat, where the girdle went, fret and forced away; his girdle notwithſtanding being of ſilk, and ſo double caſt about the ſtaple, that the ſpace of the girdle between the ſtaple and his neck, with the reſidue alſo that went about his neck, was not ſufficient for his head to come out at. His hands moreover wrung in the wriſts, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and ſhirt-collar unſtained with any blood: whenas notwithſtanding in a manner ſomewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great quantity of blood was found. Alſo, whereas the ſtaple whereon he hanged was ſo that he could not climb thereto without ſome mean, there was a ſtool ſet up upon the bolſter of a bed, ſo fickle, that with the leaſt touch in the World it was ready to fall: and how was it poſſible that *Hun* might hang himſelf upon that ſtaple, the ſtool ſo ſtanding? Beſides the confeſſion moreover of *Charles Joſeph*'s own mouth to *Julian Littell*, of *Robert Johnſon*, *John Spalding* the Bell-ringer, *Peter Turner*, and others. All which Teſtimonies and Declarations being ſo clear and undeniable, may ſuffice (I truſt) any indifferent Man to ſee where the truth of this caſe doth ſtand: unleſs Mr. *More* being a Gentleman of *Utopia*, peradventure after ſome ſtrange guiſe of that Country, uſeth to carry his eyes not in his head, but in his affection, not ſeeing but where he liketh, nor believing but what he liſteth.

Finally, where Sir *Thomas More*, ſpeaking of himſelf, ſo concludeth, That he hearing in the matter what well might be ſaid, yet could not find contrary but *Hun* to be guilty of his own death: ſo in as many words to anſwer him again, I perufing and ſearching in the ſtory of *Rich. Hun* what may well be ſearched, cannot but marvel with my ſelf, either with what darkneſs the eyes of Mr. *More* be dazled, not to ſee what is ſo plain: or elſe with what conſcience he could diſſemble that which ſhame cannot deny.

Ex publicis actis ecclesiæ Reginæ Lond.

And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Sir *Thomas More*.

Anſwer to Alan. Copus for R. Hun.

Thirdly, Touching the Dialogues of *Allen Cope*, which had rather the Biſhop's Chancellor and Officers to be recounted among thieves and murderers, than *Hun* to be numbred among the Martyrs; I have herein not much to ſay, becauſe himſelf faith but little: and if he had ſaid leſs, unleſs his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But foraſmuch as he ſaying not much, ſendeth us to ſeek more in *More*; ſo with like brevity again I may ſend him to *William Tindall* to ſhape him an anſwer. Yet notwithſtanding left *Cope*, in ſaying ſomething, ſhould think *Hun*'s innocent cauſe to lack ſome friends which will not or dare not adventure in defence of Truth; ſomewhat I will anſwer in this behalf.

Hun murdered not by himſelf, but by others.

And firſt touching this murder of *Hun* not to be his own wilful act, but the deed of others; beſides the demonſtrations above premiſed to Sir *Thomas More*, now to Mr. *Cope*: If I had no other evidences but only theſe two, I would require no more; that is, his cap found ſo ſtreight ſtanding upon his head, and the ſtool ſo tottering under his feet. For how is it, I will not ſay like; but how is it poſſible for a Man to hang himſelf in a ſilken girdle double caſt about a ſtaple, in ſuch thortneſs, that the ſpace of the knot could not well compaſs his head about, and yet have his cap ſo ſtreight fet upon his head as his was?

Not poſſible for Hun ſo hanging ſhould hang himſelf.

Again, How is it poſſible, or can it be imagined for him to hang himſelf, climbing up by a ſtool which had no ſtay for him to ſtand upon, but ſtood ſo tickle, that if he had touched the ſame never ſo little, it muſt needs have fallen?

Cope denieth Rich. Hun to die a Martyr.

But *Cope* being ſomething more provident in this matter, ſeemeth to exceed not altogether ſo far as doth Mr. *More*. For he, underſtanding the caſe to be ambiguous and doubtful, ſo leaveth it in ſuſpenſe, not determining that *Hun* did hang himſelf, and yet not admitting that he died a Martyr, no more than they which are quelled by thieves and murderers by high-ways ſide. Well, be it ſo as *Cope* doth argue, that they which die by the hands of Felons and Murderers in theeviſh ways, be no Martyrs; yet notwithſtanding this his own ſimilitude, comparing the Biſhop's Chancellor and Officers to Thieves and Murderers, doth grant at leaſt that *Hun* died a true Man, altho no Martyr. Now if the cauſe be it, and not the pain, that maketh a Martyr, in pondering the cauſe why *Hun* was ſlain, we ſhall find it not altogther like to the cauſe of them which periſh by Thieves and Robbers. For ſuch commonly, becauſe of their goods, and for ſome worldly gain to be fought by their death, are made away, and being true Men, may peradventure have the reward, altho not the name of Martyrs: Whereas this Man's death being wrought neither for money, nor any ſuch temporal lucre to redound to his Oppreſſors; as it hath another cauſe, ſo may it have another name, and deſerve to be called by the name of Martyrdom. Like as *Abel* being ſlain by wicked *Cain*, albeit he had no opinion of Religion articulate againſt him, but of ſpite only and of malice was made away, yet notwithſtanding is juſtly numbred among the Martyrs: ſo what let to the contrary, but that *Hun* alſo with him may be reckoned in the ſame Society, ſeeing the cauſe wherefore they both did ſuffer, proceedeth together out of one Fountain? And what moreover if a Man ſhould call *Naboth* (who for holding his right inheritance was ſlain) a Martyr, what great injury ſhould he do either to the name, or cauſe, or the perſon, worthy to be carped at? Againſt *Tho. Becket*, you know Mr. *Cope*, no ſpecial Article of Faith was laid, wherefore he died: And why then do you beſtow upon him ſo devourly the title of a Martyr, for withholding that from the King, which by the Law of God, and of the Realm, did belong unto him; and cannot ſuffer *Hun* to be tituled for a Martyr, dying in his own right, by the hands of ſpiritual Thieves and Homicides, as you your ſelf do term them? But what do I ſtrain my travel any farther to prove *Hun* a Martyr, when as *Cope*'s own confeſſion doth import no leſs, tho I ſaid nothing? For what if I ſhould take no more but his own very words, and ſay, that he was known to be an Heretick, as *Cope* doth affirm? What could I ſay more, ſeeing he died for his Hereſy, to prove him to die a Martyr? For to die an Heretick with the Papiſts, what is it elſe (to ſay truth) but to die with God a Martyr?

The cauſe, not the pain, maketh a Martyr.

The cauſe of Abel's death and of Hun's compared.

Cope Dial 6. pag. 847.

Cope Ibid.

But howſoever it pleaſeth either Sir *Thomas More* to jeſt, or *Allen Cope* to ſcold out the matter, and to file

K. Hen. 8. *Richard Hun* for a known and desperate Heretick: yet to all true godly disposed Men, *Hun* may well be known to be a godly and vertuous Person, no Heretick, but faithful and sound, save that only he seemed rather half a Papist: at least no full Protestant, for that he reforted daily to Masse, and also had his Beads in Prison with him, after the Catholick manner; albeit he was somewhat enclined (as may appear) toward the Gospel. And if the name of a Martyr be thought too good for him, yet I truft Mr. *Cope* will stand (o good Master to him, to let him at least be a Martyr's Fellow. But what now if I go further with Mr. *Cope*, and name *Richard Hun*, not only for a Martyr, but also commend him for a double Martyr? *Certes*, as I suppose, in so saying I should affirm no less than truth, nor any thing more than may truly be said, and justly proved: But to give and grant this contention unto the Adversary, which notwithstanding might be easily proved: Let us see now the proofs of Mr. *Cope*, how he argueth that *Richard Hun* is no Martyr: because (faith he) true Men being killed in high-ways by Thieves and Murderers, are not therefore to be counted Martyrs, &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of *Hun*, but as in true Men killed by Thieves and Murderers? They that are killed by Thieves and Murderers are killed for some prey, or money about them: And what prey or profit was in the death of *Hun*, let us see, to redound to them which oppressed him? If it were the Mortuary, or the bearing-Cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the *Premunire*, the danger thereof pertained to the Priest, and not to them. If they feared left the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole Church, then was the cause of his death not private but publick, tending to the whole Church and Clergy of *Rome*: and so is his death not altogether like to the death of them which for private respects are killed of Thieves and Murderers.

Hun no full Protestant.

But he was an Heretick, faith *Cope*. By the same reason that *Cope* taketh him for an Heretick, I take him the more to be accepted for a Martyr: for by that way which they call Hereſy, the living God is ſerved, and by no way better. And if he were an Heretick, why then did they not proceed againſt him as an Heretick while he was alive? When they had him at *Fulham* before them, if they had been ſure to intrap him in that ſnare, why did they not take their advantage when they might with leaſt jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for an Heretick? why made they ſuch haſte to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the ſentence of the Law, having the Law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved an Heretick while he lived, and therefore thought it beſt to make him away privily, and to ſtop the *Premunire*, and afterward to ſtop the purſuit of his death by making him an Heretick. And therefore were Articles deviſed by the Chancellor (as is proved before by the witneſs of *Ch. Joſeph* and another) againſt him, and he condemned for an Heretic, and all his favourers alſo, whoſoever durſt ſtir to take hispart, and thereupon was committed to the ſecular Power, and burned. Wherein they did him double wrong: firſt in that they burned him for an Heretick, having before ſubmitted himſelf to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the Biſhop's Regiſters by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was againſt their own Laws. Again, if he had not ſubmitted himſelf at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him before they knew him and heard him ſpeak (as *Tindal* ſaith) whether he would recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for an Heretick, yet to be killed and burned of them for an Heretick, that taketh not from him the name of a Martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double Martyr.

The cauſe of Hun's ſecret murder diſcuſſed.

Craftie practiſe.

Hun had double wrong.

Furthermore, as touching the Chancellor he argueth, that there was no cauſe why he ſhould attempt any ſuch violence againſt him, both for his Age, for his Dignity, for his Learning, and for the greateſt of his own Peril which might enſue thereof. Who, if he had maligned the Man, and had been ſo diſpoſed to work his deſtruction, had means otherwiſe without danger to bring that about, having him within his danger convict and faſt tied for Hereſy. Whereunto I anſwer, that to all this matter ſufficient hath been anſwered by the ſtory it ſelf of his death above ſpecified. Whereby the manner of his death, by circumſtances of his handling and hanging, by his Neck broke, by his Body looſe, by his Skin fretted, by his Wriſts wrung, by his Girdle in ſuch ſhortneſs double caſt about the ſtaple, by his Cap right upon his Head, by his Hair kembed, by his Eyes cloſed, by the cake of Blood found in the floor, by his Shirt-collar, Doublet, Jacket, and other outward parts of his garments without drop of Blood unſpotted, by the ſtool ſo ſtanding upon the bolſter, by the Chancellor's murrey Gown found the day after upon the Stocks, the wax Candle fair put out: Furthermore, by the Verdict of the Inqueſt, by the Atteſtation of the Witneſſes ſworn, by the Crowner's Judgment, by the Aſſent of the Parliament, by the King's Letters affigned, and broad Seal for reſtitution of his goods and finally, by the confeſſion of the Parties themſelves which murdered him, &c. and yet thinketh *Cope* to make Men ſuch fools, having yet their five wits, to ween yet that *Hun* did hang himſelf, after ſo many demonſtrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of this ſtory may appear? And tho it were, as it was, unlike, and hard for a Man to believe, that Dr. *Horſey*, a Man of ſuch Age, Dignity, and Learning, would ſo much forget himſelf to attempt ſuch a villany; yet ſo great is the Devil ſometimes with Man, where God permitteth, that he worketh greater things than this, and more uncredible. For who would have thought it like that *Cain* would ever have killed *Abel* his own natural Brother? which was more than for a Biſhop's Chancellor to kill a Citizen: yet ſo he did. And where *Cope* pretendeth the cauſes of anger and deſperation whereby *Hun* did hang himſelf, how is it like, or who ever did hear, a Man being in ſuch extremity of deſperation, to ſtand firſt trimming himſelf, and kembing his head, before he go to hang himſelf? No more credit is alſo to be given to that which followeth in the ſame *Cope*, where he ſaith, that *Rich. Hun* being in Priſon, was convict of Hereſy. By the which word Convict, if he mean that *Hun* was proved an Heretick, that is falſe; for that he being at *Fulham* examined upon certain Articles, both denied the Articles to be true as they were objected; and alſo if they were true, yet he ſubmitted himſelf to their favourable correction; and therefore not ſtanding obſtinately in the ſame, could not be proved an Heretick. And if by this term Convict, he mean that he was by ſentence caſt; ſo was *Hun* never caſt by any ſentence for an Heretick, ſo long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing anſwer for himſelf. And becauſe this untruth ſhould not go without his fellow, ſee how he hudleth up one falſe narration in the neck of another; affirming moreover, that *Hun* was caſt in- to Priſon before he entred his Suit of *Premunire* againſt the Priest. Which is utterly falſe and untrue, both diſagreeing to other ſtories, and alſo refuted by the words of Sir *Tho. More* his own Author; who reporteth, that *Hun* (in ſuing his *Premunire* againſt the Priest) being ſet upon a glory of Victory, made his boaſt among his friends, that he truſted to have the matter long ſpoken of, and to be called *Hun's* caſe. *Hee Morus*. Whereby it appeareth that *Hun* was not then in Priſon chapt up for Hereſy, but was abroad ſeeking counſel among the Lawyers, and boaſting among his friends, as writeth *More, Lib. 2. Dial.*

Cope's reaſons anſwered.

Manifeſt untruth in Cope.

Another untruth noted in Cope.

Cope hudles up untruths.

Another untruth noted in Cope.

Tho. Morus, Dial. lib. 3.

After this heap of untruths above paſſed, add yet further another Copy of *Cope's* falſe dealing: who ſeeking all corners and every-where how to pick matter againſt my former Hiſtory, chargeth me with arrogancy, as tho I took ſo highly upon me to undo and derogate from the King's Acts and Judgments in the acquittal of Dr. *Horſey*. If it ſo pleaſed the King to acquit Dr. *Horſey* by his gracious Pardon, I am not againſt it, neither do I deny but the King ſo did: neither do I ſay, nor ever did, but that the King of his ſuperemineint Prerogative may ſo do: and wherein then do I unrip or looſe the King's Acts here done and concluded? But if the queſtion be this, Whether Dr. *Horſey* with his

Another untruth noted in Cope.

Cope's reaſon anſwered.

Another untruth noted.

Cope's reaſon why Hun ſhould hang himſelf.

But *Cope* yet proceeding in his hot choler againſt *Rich. Hun*, after he hath made him firſt no Martyr, and then an Heretick, thirdly he now maketh him alſo a murderer of himſelf, and faith, that no other Man was any part of his death but only his own hands, and that either for indignation and anger, or for deſperation, or for ſome cauſe he knoweth not what. And in his *Epilogue* to make it probable, he alledgeth the example of one, but nameleſs, who in Queen *Mary*'s time in like ſort went about to hang himſelf, had he not been taken in the manner and reſcued.

Anſwer to Copes cavillation.

his Conjurates, did kill *Richard Hun* or no: then do I ſay, that the Pardon of the King doth not take away the Verity of the Crime committed, but removeth away the Penalty of the Law deſerved: and ſo if the life of them was ſaved by way of pardon (as Mr. *More* himſelf ſeemeth not to deny) then was it not through their innocency claiming Juſtice, that they eſcaped, but through petition ſtanding in need of Mercy. For what needeth Pardon where Juſtice abſolveth? Yea, who ſueth Pardon, but in ſo doing muſt yield himſelf guilty? for Pardon never cometh lightly, either with God or Man, except the Crime be firſt confeſſed. Wherefore if they eſcaped by Juſtice, as *Cope* pretendeth, how then doth Mr. *More* ſay, they were ſaved by Pardon? and if they eſcaped by Pardon, how then doth *Cope* ſay they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the Sentence of the King's Attorney in the King's Name did abſolve them as unguilty, according as the King was then informed by the Cardinal and ſuit of Friends; yet afterward the King, being better informed by the Parliament, and the Truth better known, deteſted and abhorred their Fact, and yet continued his Pardon unto them, as by the King's own Acts and his Broad Seal appeareth, yet remaining in Records to be ſeen.

The eſcaping of Horſey came rather of favour than of his demerits.

Proofs that Hun did not hang himſelf.

And as touching my former Hiſtories ſet forth in Latine and in Engliſh, which ſpake firſt of the fore-man of the Queſt, then of the King's Attorney, to be laboured with ſome gifts or money: as *Cope* hath yet proved no untruth in my ſaying, ſo leſs can he find any repugnance or diſagreeing in the ſame. For he that ſpeaketh of bribing, firſt of one perſon, and then afterwards of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary, I think, to himſelf, but rather doth compaſſehend that in the one Book, which he before leaveth out in the other; and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, ſeeing that which is ſaid may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was: for how is it otherwiſe like or poſſible, but that there muſt needs be found ſome privy packing in this matter, ſeeing after ſuch evidence found and brought in by the Crowner's Inqueſt and Jury of twenty four choſen Perſons, after ſo many marks and tokens of the murder ſo clear and demonſtrable, and laid forth ſo plain to the eyes of all the World, that no Man could deny, or not ſee the ſame; yet through the handling of the foreſaid Attorney, and of the Foreman of the Queſt, the Murderers were born out and confeſſed to be no Murderers. If ſuch bolſtering out of matters and partiality were then ſuch a rare cafe in the Realm of *England*, in the time of Cardinal *Wolſey*, who then under the King and in the King's Name did what he liſt; then let it ſeem untrue in my former ſtories that I have written. And yet the words of my ſtory, which *Cope* carpeth at ſo much, be not mine, but the words of *Edward Hall* his own Author. Wherefore if his diſpoſition be ſo ſet, that he muſt needs be a cenſurer of other Mens writings, let him expoſtulate with *Hall* and not with me.

In Ed. Hall, in vit. Hen. 8. Anno 6.

But I truſt the Reader too much in this matter of *Richard Hun*, being of it ſelf ſo clear, that no indifferent Judg can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be ſatisfied. Wherefore to return again to the purpoſe of our ſtory intermitted in the Table above, containing the Names of them which about this time of *Richard Hun* were forced to deny and abjure their profeſſed Opinions, mention was made of *Elizabeth Stamford, John Houſhold*, and other more, abjuring about the year of Lord 1517. Whoſe vexation and weakneſs, altho it be pitiful to behold, yet to conſider the confeſſion of their Doctrine in thoſe ancient days, it is not unprofitable. Wherein we have to ſee the ſame form and knowledg of Doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders; which is now publickly received, as well touching the Lord's Sacrament of his Body, as alſo other ſpecialities of ſincerity. And altho they lacked then publick authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the Goſpel, which the Lord's mercifull Grace hath given us now; yet in ſecret knowledg and underſtanding they ſeemed then little or nothing inferior to theſe our times of publick Reformation: As may appear by this confeſſion of *Elizabeth Stamford* here-under written; which only may ſuffice for example, to underſtand what ripe knowledg of God's Word was then abroad, altho not in Churches publickly preached, for danger of the Biſhops, yet in ſecret wiſe taught and received of divers.

Elizabeth Stamford. *Anno* 1517.

The teaching of the former times to be conſidered.

In number of whom was this *Elizabeth Stamford*, who being brought and examined before *Fitzjames* Biſhop of *London*, Anno 1517. confeſſed, *That ſhe was taught by one* Thomas Beele, *(ſometime dwelling at* Henley*) theſe words eleven years before: That Chriſt feedeth, and faſt nouriſheth his Church with his own precious Body, that is, the Bread of Life coming down from Heaven: this is the worthy Word that is worthily received, and joined unto Man to be in one Body with him. Sooth is it that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wiſely deeming of the Holy Sacrament, Chriſt's own Body: this is not received by chewing of Teeth, but by bearing with Ears, and underſtanding with your Soul, and wiſely working thereafter. Therefore ſaith St. Paul, I fear me amongſt us, Brethren, that many of us be feeble and ſick; therefore I counſel us Brethren to riſe and watch, that the great day of Doom come not ſuddenly upon us, as the Thief doth upon the Merchant.* Alſo the ſaid *Beele* taught and ſhewed her, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chriſt, but very Bread: And that the Sacrament was the very Body of Chriſt put upon the Croſs, after a divine and myſtical manner. And moreover, that the ſaid *Thomas Beele* did many times and oft teach her this foreſaid leſſon, that ſhe ſhould confeſs her ſins to God, and that the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences were nought worth, and profited not, and that worſhipping of Images and Pilgrimages are not to be done.

K. Hen. 8. Thomas Beele.

To this *Elizabeth Stamford*, may alſo be annexed the Doctrine and Confeſſion of *Joan Sampſon*, Wife of *John Sampſon* Carpenter, of *Aldermanbury* in *London*: Againſt whom, being cited and examined before the Biſhop of *London*, certain witneſſes were produced: who upon their Oath, being ſworn, did detect and denounce the ſaid *Joan Sampſon* in theſe Articles and Opinions following:

Joan Sampſon.

Articles of Joan Sampſon.

1. That the being in her labour, what time *Joan Sampſon* her Predeceſſor, then being alive, was with her, and after the manner then of Women, called much upon the help of the Virgin *Mary*, ſhe ſpitting thereat, was in ſuch ſort agrieved, that the other party was compelled to forſake the houſe.

2. Alſo, that ſhe ſpake againſt Pilgrimage, and the worſhipping of the Bleſſed Virgin, and of all Saints, affirming that there is none Holy but One.

3. *Item*, another time, in the hearing of one *Margaret Amworth*, when ſhe and other Women were invocating the bleſſed Virgin to help in Womans labour, ſhe ſtood againſt them, and contumeliouſly ſpake againſt the Invocators.

4. *Item*, that ſhe ſpeaking againſt the Pilgrimage of our Lady of *Wilſdon* (as ſhe was then called) and of Saint Saviour at *Barmſey*, called the ſaid Saint Savicur, *Sym Sanyer*.

5. *Item*, for having two certain Books in Engliſh, one bigger, and another leſſer, which ſhe committed to one *John Aſtead* a Cook; which Books in the Regiſter be not named.

6. *Item*, that the ſaid *Joan Sampſon*, at a ſupper, in the hearing of certain Men, and of a certain Widow named *Joan White*, ſpake openly in contempt of the Sacrament of the Altar, ſaying, that the Prieſts were Idolaters which did lift up the Bread over their heads, making the people to worſhip it, and making the people to believe that it was the Lord's Body; and that it was better to eat the Altar-cloth, if it might be eaten and digeſted as eaſily as the other.

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Here follow moreover the names of divers other which in the Regiſters be ſpecified to abjure: As,

Thenamesof divers Perſons which abjured.

William Jacum Carpenter.	*Robert Pope.*
John Stradling.	*John Greſſe* of Stafford.
John Newman Shereman.	*John Bean* of the Pariſh of St. *Stephen.*
Robert Boſtod.	*John Bol.*
Thomas Edward Dyer.	*Richard Weſcot.*
Richard Dewar.	*William Croſſe.*
Richard Apulby.	*Geo. Lund* Prior of St. *Sithe.*
John Oxburne.	*Henry Coll.*
Robert Roger.	*William Man.*
John Eton.	*William Sweting.*
John Chapman.	*Jacob Brenſter.*
William Chaken.	*Sabine Mande.*
Richard Mildnal.	*John Spencer.*
John Hatebot.	*Patrike Dowdal, alias Copper.*
Jacob Sturdey.	*Robert Aleyn.*
Thomas Purnal Tailor.	*John Bitam.*
John Bitam.	*John Finch* Cook.
Robert Hutton Pinner.	*John Southwicke.*

K. Hen. 8. John Southwick.

AGainſt this *John Southwick* laſt named it was laid and objected, that when one *Rivelay*, coming from the Church of the *Grey-Fryars* in *London*, had ſaid to his Wife (aſking where he had been) that he had heard Maſs, and had ſeen his Lord God in form of Bread and Wine over the Prieſt's head; the aforeſaid *John Southwicke* there preſent anſwered again and ſaid; Nay, *William*, thou ſaweſt not thy Lord God, thou ſaweſt but Bread and Wine and the Chalice. And when the ſaid *William* anſwered again in the ſame words as before, ſaying, I truſt verily that I ſaw my Lord God in form of Bread and Wine, and this I doubt not: the other replying again, anſwered and ſaid as before; Nay, I tell thee thou ſaweſt but only a Figure or Sacrament of him, the which is in ſubſtance Bread and Wine, *&c.* This was in the Year of our Lord 1520. In which he was compelled to abjure.

Confent of Doctrine.

All theſe above-named, in one Key of Doctrine and Religion, did hold and concord together: againſt whom were objected five or ſix ſpecial matters; to wit, for ſpeaking againſt worſhipping of Saints, againſt Pilgrimage, againſt invocation of the bleſſed Virgin, againſt the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and for having Scripture-Books in Engliſh: which Books eſpecially I find to be named, as theſe, the Book of the four Evangeliſts, a Book of the Epiſtles of *Paul* and *Peter*, the Epiſtle of St. *James*. a Book of the *Apocalyp*, and of Antichriſt, of the *Ten Commandments*, and *Wickliffe's* Wicket, with ſuch other like.

John Stilman Martyr.

Anno 1518.

IT would aſk a long tractation, and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good Men and Women, beſides theſe above-reherſed, which in thoſe days recanted and abjured about the beginning of King *Henry's* Reign and before: among whom yet notwithſtanding ſome there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made ſtrong in the profeſſion of his Truth, and conſtant unto death: of which number one was *John Stilman* by name, who about *September* 23, in the Year of our Lord 1518, was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Biſhop of *London*, at his Manor of *Fulham*, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithſtanding his former Recantation, Oath, and Abjuration, made about eleven years then paſt, before *Edmund* then Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, as well for ſpeaking againſt the worſhipping, praying, and offering unto Images; as alſo for denying the carnal and corporal preſence in the Sacrament of Chriſt's Memorial: yet ſince that time he had fallen into the ſame Opinions again, and ſo into the danger of relapſe: and further had highly commended and praiſed *John Wickliffe*, affirming that he was a Saint in Heaven, and that his Book called the *Wicket* was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was ſent from thence unto the Lollards Tower at *London*, and *October* 22, then next enſuing, was brought openly into the Conſiſtory of *Pauls*, and was there judicially examined by *Thomas Hed* the Biſhop's Vicar-general, upon the contents of theſe Articles following:

Joh. Stilman Martyr.

Wickliffes Wicket. Fox Regiſt. Eccleſiaſtes London.

Articles laid againſt John Stilman.

1. Firſt I object unto you, that you have confeſſed before my Lord of *London* and me *D. Hed* his Vicar-general, That about twenty years paſt, one *Stephen Moone* of the Diocеſs of *Winchester*, (with whom you abode ſix or ſeven years after) did teach you to believe that the going on Pilgrimage and worſhipping of Images, as the Lady of *Walſingham* and others, were not to be uſed. And alſo about aſ-

Years of Antiquity to be noted.

terwards one *Richard Smart*, who was burned at *Saliſbury* about fourteen or fifteen years paſt, did read unto you *Wickliffe's* Wicket, and likewiſe inſtructed you to believe that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the Body of Chriſt: all which things you have erroneouſly believed.

A godly Martyr. Rich. Smart burned at Saliſbury, Ann. 1505.

Wickliffes Wicket.

2. *Item*, You have divers times read the ſaid Book called *Wickliffe's Wicket*, and one other Book of the Ten Commandments which the ſaid *Richard Smart* did give you, and at the time of your firſt apprehenſion you did hide them in an old Oke, and did not reveal them unto the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, before whom you were abjured of Hereſy about eleven years ſince; where you promiſed by Oath upon the Evangeliſts, ever after to believe and hold as the Chriſtian Faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the ſaid Hereſies, or any other, upon pain of relapſe. And further, you there promiſed to perform all ſuch penance as the ſaid Biſhop of *Saliſbury* did enjoin you: who then enjoined you upon the like pain, not to depart his Diocеſs without his ſpecial licenſe.

3. *Item*, It is evident that you be relapſed, as well by your own confeſſion, as alſo by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the ſaid place where you had hidden your Books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the foreſaid Diocеſs, without the licenſe of the Biſhop, and brought them with you to *London*, where now being attached and taken with them upon great ſuſpicion of Hereſy, you are brought unto the Biſhop of *London*: by reaſon of which your demeanour, you have ſhewed both your impenitent and diſſembled converſation from your errors, and alſo your unfaithful abjuration and diſobedience unto the authority of our mother holy Church, in that you performed not the penance; in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured, and alſo relapſed, in that you departed the ſame Diocеſs without licence.

4. *Item*, You be not only (as afore is ſaid) impenitent, diſobedient, voluntarily perjured and relapſed by this your foreſaid heretical demeanour, but alſo ſithence your laſt attachement upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy, you have maliciouſly ſpoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my Lord of *London*, your Ordinary, and me, judicially ſitting at *Fulham*, that you were ſorry that ever you did abjure your ſaid Opinions, and had not ſuffered then manfully for them, for they were and be good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them to die for it. And furthermore, you have ſpoken againſt our holy Father the Pope, and his Authority, damnably ſaying that he is Antichriſt, and not the true ſucceſſor of *Peter*, or Chriſt's Vicar on earth: and that his Pardons and Indulgences, which he granteth in the Sacrament of Penance, are naught, and that you will none of them. And likewiſe that the College of Cardinals be Limbs of the ſaid Antichriſt: and that all other inferior Prelats and Prieſts are the Synagogue of Satan. And moreover you ſaid, that the Doctors of the Church have ſubverted the Truth of holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds, and therefore their works be naught, and they in Hell: but that *Wickliffe* is a Saint in Heaven, and that the Book called his *Wicket* is good, for therein he ſheweth the Truth. Alſo you did with that there were twenty thouſand of your Opinion, againſt us Scribes and Phariſees, to ſee what you would do for the defence of your Faith. All which Hereſies you did afterward erroneouſly affirm before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and then ſaid that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithſtanding his earneſt perſwations to the contrary: and therefore for theſe Premiſes you be evidently relapſed, and ought to be committed to the ſecular Power.

Wickliffes Wicket.

After theſe Articles thus propounded, and his conſtant perſevering in the Truth perceived, Dr. *Hed* Vicar-general, *October* 25. by his Sentence definitive, did condemn him a relapſed Heretick, and ſo delivered him the ſame preſent day unto the Sheriffs of *London*, to be openly burned in *Smithfield*.

Thomas Man Martyr.

NExt to *John Stilman* above-mentioned, followeth in this order of bleſſed Martyrs, the perſecution and condemnation of *Thomas Man*: who *March* 29, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in *Smithfield*. This *Thomas Man* had likewiſe been apprehended for the profeſſion of Chriſt's Goſpel about ſix years before, *Auguſt* 14. 1511. and being at that time brought before Dr. *Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was by him examined upon divers and ſundry Articles, the effect whereof are theſe:

Tho. Man Martyr.

The Articles of Tho. Man.

1. Firſt, That he had ſpoken againſt Auricular Confeſſion, and denied the corporal Preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

2. *Item*, That he believed that all holy Men of his Sect were only Prieſts.

3. *Item*, That he had affirmed that the Father of Heaven was the Altar, and the ſecond Perſon the Sacrament; and that upon the Aſcenſion day the Sacrament aſcended unto the Altar, and there abideth ſtill.

4. *Item*, That he believed not aright in the Sacrament of Extream Unction.

5. *Item*,

K. Hen. 8.

The burning of John Stillman

The burning of Thomas Man

5. *Item*, That he had called certain Prieſts, meanly arrayed, pilld Knaves.

6. *Item*, That he had ſaid that Pulpits were Prieſts lying Stools.

7. *Item*. That he had believed that Images ought not to be worſhipped, and that he neither believed in the Crucifix, nor yet would worſhip it.

8. *Item*, That he had affirmed that he heard ſay, the Word of God and God to be all one, and that he that worſhily receiveth the Word of God, receiveth God.

9. *Item*, That he had ſaid that the Popiſh Church was not the Church of God, but a Synagogue: and that holy Men of his Sect were the true Church of God.

For theſe and ſuch-like matters was he a long time impriſoned, and at laſt, through frailty and fear of death, was content to abjure and yield himſelf unto the judgment of the Romiſh Church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but alſo from thenceforth to remain as Priſoner within the Monaſtery of *Oſney* beſides *Oxford*, and ſo to bear a Faggot before the firſt Croſs, at the next general Proceſſion within the Univerſity. Howbeit not long after, the Biſhop having need of the poor Man's help in his houſhold buſineſs, took him out of the ſaid Monaſtery, and placed him within his own Houſe until his buſineſs was ended; and then (his turn once ſerved) he appointed Dr. *Wvilcocky* his Vicar-general, that in his judicial Seſſion within the Priory of *Frideſwide* at *Oxford*, he ſhould aſſign him to remain within the ſaid Priory, and not to depart thence without licenſe of the Prior for the time being, upon pain of relapſe: and upon like pain he alſo enjoined him to wear the ſign of a Faggot under his uppermoſt garment, until he were diſpoyled withal for the ſame. All which notwithſtanding, he (being belike both ſorry for his offence in denying the Truth, and alſo weary of his ſervile and priſon-like bondage) bethought himſelf how he might beſt eſcape their cruel hands; and therefore after a while ſeeing good opportunity offered him, he fled the diocеſs and juriſdiction of *Lincoln*, and ſeeking abroad in other Countries for work, thereby to ſtain his poor life, he moſt commouly abode, ſometime in *Eſſex*, ſometime in *Suffolk*; where alſo he aſſociated and joined himſelf unto ſuch godly profeſſors of Chriſt's Goſpel as he there could hear of. But within few years after (ſuch is the cruel rage of Satan and his wicked Members, which never ſuffer the Godly long to continue untroubled) he was again accuſed of relapſe by the Inqueſt of the Inquiſition of *London*, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before *Richard Fitzjames* then Biſhop of *London*, and *Feb.* 9. 1518. he was examined by *Dr. Hed* the Biſhop's Vicar-general, within his Palace at *London*: where the ſaid *Hed*, judicially aſſiſted with divers of his Complices, declared firſt unto *Man*, that forſomuch as he was ſince his firſt abjuring, again detected and accuſed, by certain credible and honeſt Perſons, of the ſame Hereſies which he had once before recanted: And further (contrary to the order of Penance enjoined him by the late Biſhop of *Lincoln*) he had departed the Priory of St. *Frideſwide* and the Diocеſs of *Lincoln*, without leave either of the Biſhop or Prior; and was now alſo found within the Diocеſs of *London*, and that without his badg aſſigned him by the ſaid Biſhop's Vicar-general: he therefore as Chancellor and Vicar-general unto the Biſhop of *London*, deputed for that purpoſe, did then mean to proceed againſt him as a relapſer, by order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws in that behalf provided. Wherefore he appointed him to appear again in the Conſiſtory of *Pauls*, *Feb.* 12. next after, there to anſwer unto ſuch Articles as then ſhould be propounded againſt him. At which day and place, the Chancellor (firſt reciting the cauſes above-mentioned, why he did then proceed againſt him) objected unto him theſe Articles following:

Th. Man ſent to the Monaſtery of Oſney.

Th. Man ſent to the Monaſtery of Frideſwide.

Th. Man fled out of the Monaſtery.

Tho. Man firſt apprehended.

The cauſe of his Martyrdom.

Articles againſt Thomas Man.

1. Firſt, That he was of the Diocеſs of *London*.

2. *Item*, That he was a Chriſtian Man, and profeſſed Chriſt's Faith, and the determinations of holy Church concerning the ſeven Sacraments, and other Articles of the Catholick Faith.

Againſt the real preſence in the Sacrament.

3. *Item*, That it was not lawful for any Man (eſpecially a lay-man) erroneouſly and obſtinately to hold, teach, or defend any Opinion contrary unto the determinations of the ſaid Church; and that the Perſon ſo doing is an Heretick.

4. *Item*, That within one of the twelve months of the year of our Lord 1511, he had been detected before the Biſhop of *Lincoln* that then was, of divers points of Hereſy; as that he had affirmed, that the very Body and Blood of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but material Bread and Wine, and that he had received it at *Eaſter* as holy Bread: and likewiſe had affirmed, that the Crucifix and other Images in the Church, were not to be worſhipped; and alſo, that confeſſion made unto a Prieſt was of none effect; with divers other-like Opinions and Hereſies.

5. *Item*,

K. Hen. 8.

5. *Item*, That for these and such-like points of Heresy he had been abjured in St. *Mary's* Church at *Oxford*, before Dr. *Wilcocky* Chancellor unto the said Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the month of *October*, in the year last abovesaid, and there did renounce them and all other, promising to fall no more into the like.

6. *Item*, That there also he had taken a solemn Oath, to do such Penance as should be enjoined him by the Authority of the said Bishop.

7. *Item*, That then he was enjoined to abide within the Monastry of *Oseney* by *Oxford*: and also there to bear a Fagot before the first Cross in the general Procession.

8. *Item*, That after a certain time that he had been in the Monastry of *Oseney*, the Bishop of *Lincoln* (for certain causes) took him into his own house and service, respiting his Penance for a time.

9. *Item*, That afterwards, which was *Octob.* 9. 1512. the said Bishop's Chancellor judicially sitting in the Chapter-house of the Priory of St. *Frideswide* in *Oxford*, did enjoin him that he should tarry within the said Priory, and not go out of the gates thereof, without license of the Prior for the time being, until he had other commandment from the Bishop, upon pain of relapse: And further, that he should from thenceforth, upon the like pain, wear a sign of a Fagot under his uppermost garment.

10. *Item*, That after his abjuration, and since the premises thus done, he was yet again detected to the Bishop of *London* by open fame, and declounced by worthiful and credible persons, that he had used like false Errors and Heresies, and had spoken and taught certain conclusions of Heresy against the Christian Faith, and determinations of holy Church: and that he had fallen into the like Heresies as before his abjuration, both against the Sacrament of the Altar, against Pilgrimages and worthipping of Images: and had blaspheméd our blessed Lady, calling her *Maiby*.

He meant some Image or Picture of the Virgin, set up in some blind place to be worshipped.

11. *Item*, That when he wrought with one *John Bater*, in *Stratford Langthorne* in Rogation-week then three years past, and being bidden by the said *Bater's* Wife to go and hear the Gospel, he answered and said unto her, I will not go there, go you if you list, ye shall have as much need for it, as to put your finger in the fire and to burn it.

12. *Item*, That in times past, for fear of abjuration, he had fled from *Colchester* to *Newbery*, and after that unto *Hamersham*, and had there dammably accompanied with Hereticks, and had taught heresies among them: and also since the time of his abjuration he had said, that he and his Wife had turned six or seven hundred people unto those Opinions which he was abjured of, and others also, contrary to Christ's Faith, and determinations of Holy Church.

His answer unto these Articles was, that as touching the first nine, he granted them in part to be true; confessing to the second, that he was a true Christian, and did profess the true Christian Faith; but the contents of the last three he utterly denied to be true; affirming for certain answer unto the Eleventh Article, that at the time mentioned in the same, he did not work in the Town of *Stratford*.

False witness. Upon which answer, the Chancellor called forth two Witnesses to be sworn and examined against him, willing him that if he had any just matter against any of them, he should refute them. But to what purpose this his fair offer and trivial shew of upright Justice served, I cannot see: For notwithstanding that he charged one of the Witnesses with theft and adultery, (for that having a Wife of his own, he did yet run away with another Man's Wife and Goods) and also alledged that the other was too young to be a sworn Witness in case of life and death: yet were they both still retained and allowed by the Chancellor, and sworn not to depart away or hide themselves, but to be always ready to justify that which they had to say against the said *Thomas Man*: and so for that time as well they as also all the rest were commanded to depart, and the Prisoner sent again to his Prison.

False witness received against Thomas Man.

And here in the order of the Oath ministred unto these Witnesses, I find one note (the thinketh) worthy prefent remembrance, both for that it is mentioned in the Process, and also because it somewhat openeth the foolish, ridiculous, and feigned figurative ceremonies of the Papists, who do attribute a spiritual signification almost unto all their doings. The Register, discounting at large the manner of their Oath, hath these words: *Ad Sanctæ Dei Evangelia juravit ficte, tribus mediis digitis erectis, & super librum positis, in signum Trinitatis, & fidei Catholicæ: & duobus reliquis pollice & auriculari) suppositis & suppressis, & sub libro positis, in signum damnationis corporis & animæ, si non deposuerunt veritatem in hac parte.* That is to say; *He caused them to swear upon the Holy Evangelists, with their three middle fingers stretched out right, and laid upon the Book in sign of the Trinity, and Catholick Faith, and the other two (to wit, the thumb and the little finger) put downwards under the Book, in token of damnation of Body and Soul, if they did not depose the truth in the matter.* This ceremonial order and exposition of theirs, as it is of their own fond invention, without any ground or example of the Scriptures of God, so mind I to leave it still unto themselves, with other their apish toys and riddles, as things worthy to be laughed at; and will now further proceed with the rest of this Process which I have in hand.

The ceremonial manner of the Papists ministring of their Oath.

The 15th of *February*, D. *Hed* the Chancellor again judicially sitting in the Consistory at *Pauls*, commanded *Thomas Man* to be brought before him, and there causing the Articles objected against him by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, with his order of Abjuration and Penance, and also his own Articles last propounded, to be first read; he called forth a third Witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of Justice, and nothing against Law, he therefore appointed unto the said *Thomas Man* certain Doctors and Advocates of the Arches, as his Counsellors to plead in his behalf. Which was even like as if the Lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the Wolf, or the Hare to the Hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, which were both moft wicked haters and abhorrers of his Christian Profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that Antichristian Law, by the which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the 20th, and also the 23d days of the same month of *February*, in their several Sessions, he seeing his own Negation, and their Objections taking no place against their sworn Witnesses, had no other thing to alledge for himself, but that, through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the Bishop of *Lincoln*, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of Counsel, God knoweth: and yet Dr. *Raynes* being one of his chief assigned Advocates, instead of advice, could by his subtil questioning then make him confess, that certain talk whereof one of the Witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past: which, because it was since his reconciation, was rather an accusation of himself, than an excusing: and therefore it is easy to judg with how favourable and upright hearts they took upon them to be his Advocates and Defenders. The Chancellor likewise charged him upon the same 23d day, that since his last imprisonment he had said unto *Robert Clun*y the Bishop's Sumner, and his Keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceive for his part in this matter, the Laws of the Church were grounded upon *Pilat* and *Caiphas*. Which Objection he granting to be true, the Chancellor did for that time dismiss the Court, until the first day of *March* next following. Upon which day (minding to make quick dispatch) he in few words asked *Man*, what matter he had to allege for himself why he should not then (considering the Premisses) be pronounced a relapsed Heretick, and receive such punishment by the secular Power, as to such was due by order of Law? But he having no other allegations than before, which might take place with them, was finally condemned as an Heretick. And notwithstanding that, as the Register noteth (but how truly God only knoweth) he did again forfake his former renewed profeffion of Christ's Gospel, and yielded himself unto the Bishop of *Rome*, requiring to be absolved from his curse of Excommunication, and contented to do such Penance as they should enjoin him, he was put over *March* 29, delivered by Dr. *Hed* unto the Sheriff of *London*, to be then presently burned with this Protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the Sheriff that he would receive this Person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigor. The words to be marked in their Sentence be these: *Rogamus attentè in & visceribus Jesu Christi, ut hujusmodi digne feveritatem ultio & executio*

The Man again called by Dr. Hed Chancellor.

Agnus Lupe Commiffus.

The Laws of the Church of Rome grounded upon Pilat and Caiphas.

The Popish Chancellor would not seem to consent to his death, but yet could find him to the Shambles to be killed.

executio de eis & contra te in hac parte fienda taliter moderetur, ut non sit rigor rigidus, neque manfuetudo diffoluta, sed ad falutem & fanit atem animæ tuæ, &c. That is, we desire, in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity, of thee, and against thee in this part, may so be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigour, nor yet no dessolute manfuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy Soul, &c. Wherein these Catholick Church-men do well declare, according to the words of *Thomas Man* before expressed, that the Laws of their Church be grounded upon *Pilat* and *Caiaphas*. For like as *Caiaphas* with his Court of *Pharisees* cried against Christ unto *Pilat*: *It is not Lawful for us to put any Man to death; but if thou let him go, thou art not* Cæsar's *Friend.* Even so they, first condemning the Saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the secular Magistrate to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, which bringeth all things to light in his due time, and uncovereth hypocrify at last, that the may be feen and known in her right colours.

Thus *Thomas Man*, the manly Martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust Sentence of *Hed* the Chancellor, was delivered to the Sheriff of *London* sitting on horseback in *Pater-noster-row*, before the Bishop's door, *An.* 1518. he protesting to the said Sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore defired the Sheriff to take him as a Relapser and condemned, to see him punished; *Et tamen citra mortem*, that is, without death, as the words stand in the Register. The Sheriff receiving neither Articles to be read at his burning, nor any Indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to *Smithfield*, and there the same day in the forenoon caused him to be put into God's Angel: according to the words of the said *Tho. Man* before, saying, that if he were taken again of the pild knave Priests, as he called them, he wift well he should go to the Holy Angel, and then be an Angel in Heaven.

Thom. Man burned of the Sheriff without any warrant. An. 1518. mens. Mar. 29. Ex Regist.

In the Deposition of one *Tho. Risby* Weaver of *Stratford-Langthorn*, against the forenamed Martyr *Tho. Man*, it appeareth by the Registers, that he had been in divers Places and Countries in *England*, and had instructed very many, as at *Amersham*, at *London*, at *Billerica*, at *Chelmsford*, at *Stratford-Langthorn*, at *Uxbridge*, at *Burnham*, at *Henley* upon *Thames*, in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, at *Newbery*, and divers places moe: where he himself testifieth, that as he went Weltward, he found a great company of well-disposed Persons, being of the same judgment touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper that he was of, and especially at *Newbery*, where was (as he confessed) a glorious and sweet society of faithful Fauourers, who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last by a certain lewd Person, whom they trusted and made of their Counsel, they were bewrayed; and then many of them, to the number of six or seven-score, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came then (as he confessed) to the Foreft of *Windsor*, where he, hearing of the Brethren which were at *Amersham*, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching 23 years, which was from this present time seventy years agone. And this Congregation of *Buckinghamshire* Men, remained till the time of *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, whereof we shall (Christ willing) hear more anon. Against these faithful Christians of *Amersham*, was great trouble and persecution in the time of *William Smith* Bishop of *Lincoln*, about the Year of our Lord 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called *Abjuratio magna*, the great Abjuration; and they which were noted of that Doctrine and Profession, were called by the name of *known Men*, or *just fast Men*, &c. In this Congregation of the faithful Brethren, were four principal Readers or Instructors. Whereof one was *Tilsworth*, called then Dr. *Tilsworth*, who was burnt at *Amersham*, mentioned in our History before, by the name of *William Tilsley*, whom I suppose to be rather called *Tilsworth*. Another was *Thomas Chase*, called amongst them Dr. *Chase*, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the Bishop of *Lincoln's* Prison at *Woborne*, called *Little-ease*. The third was this *Thomas Man*, called also Dr. *Man*, burned as is here mentioned in *Smithfield*, *Anno* 1518, who, as by his own confession, and no less also by his travel appeareth, was God's Champion, and suffered much trouble by the Priests for the Cause and Law of God. He confeffeth himself in the same Register, that he had turned seven hundred People to his Religion and Doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of Men and Women from *Amersham*, *Uxbridge*, *Burnham*, and *Henley* upon *Thames*, where they dwelt, unto *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, that they might be brought (as he then termed it) out of the Devil's mouth. The fourth was *Robert Cosin*, named likewise among them Dr. *Cosin*.

K. Hen. 8.

Thom. Man a great Reader among the Brethren of Amersham.

Abjuratio Magna. Known Men, or just fast Men, at Amersham. Will. Tilsley, or rather Tilsworth, Martyr. Vide supra. Thom. Chase Martyr. Vide supra.

Robert Cosin Martyr.

Reb. Cosin burnt at Buckingham.

THis *Robert Cosin* seemeth to be the same which in the former part of this History is forementioned, being called by the Name of *Father Robert*, and was burnt in *Buckingham*. Of this *Robert Cosin*, I find in the Registers of *Lincoln*, That he, with *Thomas Man*, had instructed and perswaded one *Joan Norman*, about *Amersham*, not to go on Pilgrimage, nor to worship any Images of Saints. Also when she had bowed a piece of Silver to a Saint for the health of her Child, they diswaded her from the same, and said, that she needed not to confess her to a Priest, but that it was sufficient to lift up her hands to Heaven. Moreover they were charged by the Bishop, for teaching the said *Joan*, that the might as well drink upon the Sunday before Mass, as any other day, &c. *Ex Regist. Joan. Longland.* And thus you see the Doctrine of these good Men, for the which they were in those days abjured and condemned to death.

The reading and doctrine of R. Cosin.

A perilous Heresy.

William Sweeting, alias *Clerke*, Martyr.

Will. Sweeting Martyr.

WIlliam *Sweeting*, otherwise named *Clerke*, first dwelt with the Lady *Percy* at *Darlington*, in the County of *Northampton*, for a certain space, and from thence went to *Boxted* in the County of *Essex*, where he was the Holy-water Clerk the space of seven years: after that, he was Bailiff and Farmer to Mrs. *Margery Wood*, the term of thirteen years. From *Boxted* he departed and came to the Town of St. *Osithe*, where he served the Prior of St. *Osithes*, called *George Lound*, the space of fifteen years and more. Where he had to fumed the Prior by his Perswasions, that the said Prior of St. *Osithe* was afterward compelled to abjure. This *William Sweeting*, coming up to *London* with the forefaid Prior, for suspicion of Heresy, was committed to the Lollard's Tower, under the custody of *Charles Joseph*, and there, being abjured in the Church of St. *Paul*, was craftily induced to bear a Fagot at *Paul's* Cross, and at *Colchester*; and afterward to wear a Fagot upon his Coat all his life. Which he did two years together upon his left fleeve, till at length the Parson of *Colchester* required him to help him in the Service of the Church, and so pluck'd the Badg from his fleeve, and there he remained two years, being the Holy-water Clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to *Rederith* in the Diocefs of *Winchester*, where he was Holy-water Clerk the space of a year. Then he went to *Chelfith*, where he was their Neat-herd, and kept the Townbeafts. In which Town, upon St. *Ann's* day in the morning, as he went forth with his Beafts to the field, the good Man was apprehended and brought before the Bishop, and his Chamber searched for Books; this was *Anno* 1511.

Ex Regist. Ric. Fitz-James, p. 798. Sixscore Abjured, and three or four burnt about Newbery, sixty years ago.

Ex Regist. Ric. Fitz-James, pag. &c.

Geor. Lound Prior of St. Osith abjured.

The Crimes whereupon he was examined, were these:

Crimes objected. The Gospel of St. Matthew.

First, For having much conference with one *William Man* of *Boxted*, in a Book which was called *Matthew*.

Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of *James Brewster*, who had been before abjured.

Against Pilgrimage.

Item, That when his Wife would go on Pilgrimage, he asked of her, What good she should receive by her going on Pilgrimage? adding moreover, that, as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend her business.

Item, That he had learned and received of *William Man*, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the present very Body, but Bread in substance, received in memorial of Christ.

Against Transubstantiation.

Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the same Doctrine to *James Brewster*.

Item,

K. Hen. 8. Againſt Images.

Item, Becauſe he had reproved his Wife for worſhipping the Images in the Church, and for ſetting up Candles before them.

And thus have you all the cauſes and crimes laid againſt this *VVilliam Sweeting* wherefore he was condemned: Who then being asked what cauſe he had why he ſhould not be judged for relapſe? ſaid, he had nothing elſe, but only that he committed himſelf to the mercy of Almighty God.

James Brewſter Martyr.

James Brewſter of Colcheſter Martyr.

With *VVilliam Sweeting* alſo the ſame time was examined and condemned *James Brewſter*, of the Pariſh of St. *Nicholas* in *Colcheſter*. This *James Brewſter* was a Carpenter, dwelling ten years in the Town of *Colcheſter*; and who, being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. *James*, in one *VValker*'s houſe in St. *Clement*'s Pariſh.

About ſix years before, which was *Anno* 1505, he had been abjured by *VVilliam VVarham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the See of *London* being then vacant. And after other Penance done at *Colcheſter*, he was enjoined to wear a Fagot upon his upper garment during his life. Which badg he did bear upon his left ſhoulder near the ſpace of two years, till the Controller of the Earl of *Oxford* plucked it away, becauſe he was labouring in the works of the Earl.

The Crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confeſſed, were theſe:

Crimes Obiected againſt Ja. Brewſter.

Firſt, That he had been five times with *VVilliam Sweeting* in the fields keeping Beaſts hearing him read many good things out of a certain Book. At which reading alſo were preſent at one time *VVoodroof* or *VVoodbinde* a Netmaker, with his Wife; alſo a Brother-in-law of *VVilliam Sweeting*; and another time *Thomas Goodred*, who heard likewiſe the ſaid *VVilliam Sweeting* read.

Item, Becauſe he uſed the company and conference of *Henry Hert* Carpenter of *VVeſtminſter*, and wrought with him in his Science at *VVeſtminſter*.

Item, For having a certain little Book of Scripture in Engliſh, of an old writing, almoſt worn for age, whoſe name is not there expreſſed.

Item, Becauſe he hearing upon a time one Mr. *Bardfield* of *Colcheſter* thus ſay; That he that will not worſhip the Maozim in heart and thought, ſhall die in fight. He asked afterward of *VVilliam Man*, what that word *Maozim* ſhould mean? who told him, that it ſignified as much as the maſſing God, to wit, the Sacrament of the Altar.

Maozim in Dan. 11. is Idol, and ſignifieth as much as Forts and munitions.

Item, That he had much conference with *Henry Hert*, againſt Oblations and Images, and that it was better beſtowed Mony which was given to the Poor, than that which was offered in Pilgrimage.

Item, For that he had communication and conference with *Roger Heliar*, and one *VValker* a Thicker of St. *Clements*, concerning divers ſuch matters of Pilgrimage, offering to Images, worſhipping of Saints, and the Sacrament of the Altar.

A perilous Hereſy. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

Item, When *Thomas Goodred*, *VVilliam Sweeting*, and he, in the fields keeping Beaſts, were talking together of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, and like matters, this *James Brewſter* ſhould thus ſay: Now the Son of the living God help us. Unto whom *VVilliam Sweeting* again ſhould anſwer, Now Almighty God ſo do.

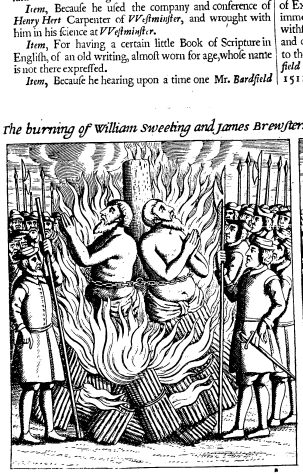
And thus have you the Cauſes likewiſe and Crimes laid againſt *James Brewſter*, upon which he with *VVilliam Sweeting* were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romiſh manner is, Whether he had any cauſe why he ſhould not be adjudged for relapſe; he truſting to find favour and grace in ſubmitting himſelf, ſaid, That he ſubmitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodneſs of him his Judg. And likewiſe did *VVilliam Sweeting* ſubmit himſelf; truſting belike that they ſhould find ſome favour and relief in this humble ſubjecting themſelves unto their goodneſs.

The unmerciful and unchriſtian dealing of the Papiſts.

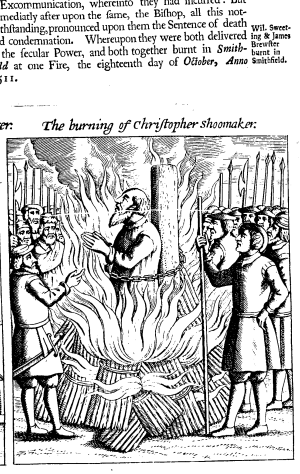
But note here the unmerciful and unchriſtian dealing of theſe Catholick Fathers, who upon their ſubmiſſion were contented to give out a ſolemn Commiſſion, the tenor whereof was to releaſe and pardon them from the ſentence of Excommunication, whereinto they had incurred: But immediatly after upon the ſame, the Biſhop, all this notwithſtanding, pronounced upon them the Sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both delivered to the ſecular Power, and both together burnt in *Smithfield* at one Fire, the eighteenth day of *October*, *Anno* 1511.

Wil. Sweeting & James Brewſter burnt in Smithfield.

The burning of William Sweeting and James Brewſter.



The burning of Chriſtopher Shoomaker.



Chriſtopher

Chriſtopher Shoomaker Martyr.

Chriſtopher Shoomaker Martyr burnt in Newbery.

To theſe bleſſed Saints before-named, we will alſo adjoin *Chriſtopher Shoomaker*; of whom this I find briefly in the Regiſter of Sir *John Longland*'s that the ſaid *Chriſtopher Shoomaker*, a Pariſhioner of great *Miſſenden*, came to the Houſe of *John Say*, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little Book the words which Chriſt ſpake to his Diſciples. And thus coming to his houſe about four times, at every time he read ſomething out of the ſame Book unto him: teaching him not to be deceived in the Prieſts celebration of the Maſs, and declaring that it was not the ſame very preſent Body of Chriſt, as the Prieſts did phantaſie; but in ſubſtance Bread, bearing the remembrance of Chriſt: and taught him moreover, that Pilgrimage, worſhipping and ſetting up Candles to Saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the ſaid *John Say* being taught by this *Chriſtopher*, and alſo confirmed by *John Okenden* and *Robert Pope*, was brought to the knowledge of the ſame Doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that Regiſter concerning *Chriſtopher Shoomaker*: declaring further, that he was burned at *Newbery* about this time, which was *Anno* 1518. And thus much out of the Regiſters of *London*.

In turning over the Regiſters and Records of *Lincoln* likewiſe, and coming to the year of our Lord 1520. and 1521, I find that as the light of the Goſpel began more to appear, and the number of Profeſſors to grow, ſo the vehemency of perſecution, and fire of the Biſhops began alſo to increaſe. Whereupon enſued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and ſundry quarters of this Realm, eſpecially about *Buckinghamſhire* and *Amerſham*, *Uxbridg*, *Henly*, *Newbery*, in the Diocеſs of *London*, in *Eſſex*, *Colcheſter*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, and other places moe. And this was before the name of *Luther* was heard of in theſe Countries among the People. Where fore they are much beguiled and miſinformed, which condemn this kind of Doctrine now received, of Novelty; asking, Where was this Church and Religion forty years ago, before *Luther*'s time? To whom it may be anſwered, that this Religion and form of Doctrine was planted by the Apoſtles, and taught by true Biſhops; afterward decayed, and now reformed again: and altho it was not received nor admitted of the Pope's Clergy before *Luther*'s time, neither yet is yet it was received of other, in whoſe hearts it pleaſed the Lord ſecretly to work, and that of a great number, which both profeſſed and ſuffered for the ſame, as in the former times of this Hiſtory may appear. And if they think this Doctrine be ſo new that it was not heard of before *Luther*'s time, how then came ſuch great perſecution before *Luther*'s time here in *England*? If theſe were of the ſame profeſſion which they were of, then was their cruelty unreaſonable, ſo to perſecute their own Catholick Fraternity. And if they were otherwiſe, how then is this Doctrine of the Goſpel ſo new, or the Profeſſors thereof ſo late ſtart up as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of Ignorance, and for not knowing and conſidering well the Times and Antiquities of the Church which have been before us. Which if they did, they ſhould ſee and ſay, that the Church of *England* hath not lacked great multitudes which ſtuck and followed the ſweetneſs of God's holy Word almoſt in as ample manner, for the number of well-diſpoſed hearts, as now. Altho publick Authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the Goſpel, yet the ſecret multitude of true Profeſſors was not much unequal: certes the fervent Zeal of thoſe Chriſtian dayes ſeemed much ſuperior to theſe our days and times; as manifeſtly may appear by their ſitting up all night in reading and hearing; alſo by their expences and charges in buying of Books in Engliſh, of whom ſome gave *five Marks*, ſome more, ſome leſs, for a Book: ſome gave a load of Hay for a few Chapters of St. *James*, or of St. *Paul* in Engliſh. In which rarity of Books, and want of Teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muſe at: to note in the Regiſters, and to conſider how the Word of Truth notwithſtanding did multiply ſo exceedingly as it did amongſt them. Wherein is to be ſeen no doubt the marvellous working of God's mighty Power: for ſo I find and obſerve in conſidering the Regiſters, how one Neighbour reſorting and conferring with another, eſtſoons with a few words of their firſt or ſecond talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they deſired to perſwade them, touching the truth of God's Word and his Sacraments. To ſee their travels, their earneſt ſeeking, their burning zeals, their readings, their watchings, their ſweet aſſemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the Faithful, may make us now in theſe our days of free profeſſion, to bluſh for ſhame.

K. Hen. 8.

The unlikeneſs of the true Doctrine of the Goſpel.

Ignorance of Antiquity.

Elder times of the Goſpel with theſe latter times compared.

The zeal of our forefathers in following Chriſt's Goſpel.

Four principal Points they ſtood in againſt the Church of *Rome*; in Pilgrimage, in adoration of Saints, in reading Scripture-books in Engliſh, and in the carnal preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament.

Abiuratio magna.

After the great Abjuration aforeſaid, which was under *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, they were noted and termed among themſelves by the name of *known Men*, or *juſt faſt Men*: as now they are called by the name of *Proteſtants*.

Known Men Juſt faſt Men.

The practiſe of Romiſh Prelats.

As they were ſimple, and yet not uncircumſpect in their doings, ſo the crafty Serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent ſubtilty did ſo circumvent them, that they cauſed the Wife to detect the Husband, the Husband the Wife the Father the Daughter, the Daughter the Father, the Brother to diſcloſe his Brother, and Neighbour the Neigbour. Neither were any Aſſemblies nor Readings kept, but both the Perſons and alſo the Books were known, neither was any Word ſo cloſely ſpoken, nor Article mentioned, but it was diſcovered. So ſubtilly and ſlightly theſe Catholick Prelats did uſe their Inquiſitions and Examinations, that nothing was done or ſaid among theſe *known Men*, fifteen or twenty years before, ſo covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious Interrogatories, ſo many Articles and ſuſpicions they had, ſuch Eſpials and privy Scouts they ſent abroad, ſuch authority and credit they had with the King, and in the King's Name; ſuch diligence they ſhewed in that behalf, ſo violently and impudently they abuſed the Book of the peaceable Evangeliſts, wreſting Men's Conſciences upon their Oath, ſwearing them upon the ſame to detect themſelves, their Fathers and Mothers, and other of their Kindred, with their Friends and Neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further proceſs of the Table enſuing (Chriſt willing), which we have collected out of ſome part of the Regiſters of *Lincoln*, ſhall appear.

The practiſes of Prelats.

For the better declaration whereof, firſt here is to be noted by the way, touching the See of *Lincoln*, that after *Will. Smith* ſucceeded *John Longland*. This *VVill. Smith*, altho he was ſomewhat eager and ſharp againſt the poor ſimple Flock of Chriſt's Servants, under whom ſome were burned, many abjured, a great number moleſted, as partly hath been afore declared; yet was he nothing ſo bloody and cruel as was the ſaid *Longland*, which afterward ſucceeded in that Dioceſs. For ſo I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troubleſome affliction of *Buckinghamſhire* Men, where many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he ſent quietly home without punihment and penance, bidding them go home and live as good Chriſtian Men ſhould do. And many, which were enjoined penance before, he did releaſe. This *Smith* died about the year of our Lord 1515. by whom was builded, as is aforeſaid, the College of *Brazen-noſe* in *Oxford*.

Wil. Smith Biſhop of Lincoln.

John Longland Biſhop of Lincoln.

The College of Brazen-noſe in Oxford builded.

Not long after him followed *John Longland*, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful poor Servants of Chriſt: who to renew again the old ſparkles of perſecution, which were not yet utterly quenched, firſt began with one or two of them which had been abjured, whom he thought to be moſt notorious, cauſed them by force of their Oath, to detect and bewray not only their own Opinions touching Points of Religion, but alſo to diſcover all other of their Affinity, which were either ſuſpected or abjured before. And them likewiſe he put to their Oath, moſt violently conſtraining them to utter and confeſs both themſelves, and whom elſe ſoever they knew. By reaſon whereof an incredible multitude of Men, Women, and Maidens, were brought forth to examination, and ſtraightly handled. And ſuch as were found in relapſe were burned.

Sir *John Longland* a grievous perſecutor of Chriſt's poor flock.

The reſt were ſo burdened with ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Penance and Injunction, that either through grief of Conſcience they ſhortly after died, or elſe with ſhame they lived. All which tragical doings and proceedings of the Biſhop againſt theſe *known* and *juſt faſt Men*, in theſe Tables here-

K. Hen. 8. Accuſers. The Parties accuſed. The Crimes objected.

hereunder following (Chriſt granting) ſhall appear, both with the Accuſers, and with the Parties themſelves accuſed, and alſo the Crimes objected.

But before we enter into the Table, it ſhall be requiſite firſt to hear the order and copie of his captious and crafty Interrogatories, wherehy he conſtrained the ſimple poor Men to accuſe and appeach one another: which Interrogatories were theſe in order as followeth.

Interrogatories miniſtred commonly by the Biſhop of Lincoln, *againſt thoſe Examinates here following.*

Captious Interrogatories miniſtred by the Biſhop of Lincoln.

THe Interrogatories or Articles which *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln* uſed moſt commonly to miniſter to theſe Examinates or known Men, in number vvere nine, and are theſe as followeth:

1. Firſt, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the Pariſh of *Amerſham*, had been convented before *VVill. Smith*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, for Hereſy?

2. *Item*, Whether they knew that they ſo convented before the ſaid Biſhop, did err in the Sacrament of the Altar, or in any other Sacrament of the Church: and if they did, in vvhat Sacrament, and in vvhich of them? Alſo vvhether they knew that the ſaid Parties ſo convented did confeſs their errors, and receive penance for the ſame?

3. *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, were of the Society of them ſo convented for Hereſy: and if they vvere, vvhat fellowſhip they had vvith them, and with vvhom?

4. *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, vvere ever converſant vvith ſuch a one (naming the Perſon vvhom they knew ſuſpected) as vvith *Thurſtan Littlepage?* And if they vvere, vvhat converſation they had vvith him, how long, and vvhen: and vvhether they knew the ſaid Perſon to have been ſuſpect of Hereſy?

5. *Item*, Whether they, or any of them, vvere ever converſant vvith him; or him (naming ſome other Perſon vvhom they ſuſpected) as *Alexander Maſtall*: and if they vvere, how, and how long? And vvhether they knew the ſaid Perſon to be ſuſpected of Hereſy?

6. *Item*, Whether they or any of them had been before-time detected of Hereſy, to the Office of the foreſaid *VVilliam* Biſhop of *Lincoln*: And if they vvere, by vvhat perſon or perſons they vvere detected? Or elſe, vvhether they vvere only called by the foreſaid *VVilliam* Biſhop for Hereſy?

7. *Item*, Whether he or they be noted and holden for Hereticks; or be reputed and defamed to be of the ſect of them which were convented for Hereſy? and whether he or they be named for a *known* Man amongſt them?

8. *Item*, Whether he or they have bin ever at any Readings of ſuch as have bin ſo convented for Hereſy?

9. *Item*, Whether he or they vvere ever in any ſecret Communication or Conventicle vvith them? vvhom or vvhich of them he knew to be named and reputed for a *known Man*, or holding againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, or other Sacraments and Articles of Faith? and if they knew any ſuch, to declare vvhere, and vvhen, and vvhat they vvere, and vvho vvere preſent the ſame time?

Theſe Articles and Interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be ſhewed a certain brief ſum compendiouſly collected out of the Regiſters of *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, declaring, in order of a Table, the names firſt of them which by Oath were conſtrained againſt their wills to detect and accuſe other. Secondly, The Perſons that were accuſed. Thirdly, The Crimes to them objected; as in the proceſs of this Table ſhall follow to be ſeen.

And firſt; Foraſmuch as the Biſhop perceived that *Roger Bennet*, *VVilliam Chedwell*, *Edmund Dormer*, *Thomas Harding*, *Robert Andrew*, with ſuch other, were Men eſpecially noted to be of that ſide; therefore to work his purpoſe the better, he began with them; producing the ſame as Witneſſes, to detect firſt *Robert Bartlet* of *Amerſham*, and *Richard* his Brother; underſtanding that theſe forenamed Witneſſes, becauſe they had been abjured before, durſt now do no other, upon pain of relapſe, but needs confeſs whatſoever was put unto them. And therefore becauſe *Robert Bartlet* and *Richard* his Brother, being called before the Biſhop, and ſworn upon their Oath, would confeſs nothing againſt themſelves; the Biſhop, to convict them by Witneſſes, went firſt to *VVilliam Chedwell*, lying ſore ſick in his Bed, cauſing him upon the Evangeliſts to ſwear, whether he knew the foreſaid *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet* to be *known Men*. Which being done, the Biſhop then called before him *Robert Andrew*, *Roger Bennet*, *John Hill*, *Edmund Dormer*, *John Milſent*. *Thomas Bernard*, *Thomas Littlepage*, *John Doſſet*, all *Amerſham* Men: Who being abjured before, as is ſaid, durſt no otherwiſe do but confeſs upon their Oath, that *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet* were *known Men*. And yet the Biſhop, not contented with this, cauſed alſo their two Wives, to wit, *Margaret* the Wife of *Robert Bartlet*, and *Iſabel* the Wife of *Richard Bartlet*, to depoſe and give witneſs againſt their own natural Husbands. Albeit *Iſabel Bartlet*, being ſomewhat more temperate of her tongue, refuſed utterly to confeſs any thing of her Husband, and denied her Husbands words to be true; till at laſt, ſhe being convict of Perjury, was conſtrained to utter the truth, as in the proceſs of this Table following more particularly followeth to be ſeen.

A Table, deſcribing the grievous affliction of good Men and Women in the Dioceſs of Lincoln, *under* John Longland *their Biſhop; with the names both of the Accuſers, and of them that were Accuſed: Alſo with the Crimes to them objected: Out of the Regiſters of the ſaid Dioceſs,* Anno 1521.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	Robert Bartlet, Richard Bartlet *his Brother.*
Will. Chedwell ſick in his Bed. *Robert Andrew.* *Rog. Bennet.* *John Hill.* *Edmund Dormer.* *Joh. Milſent.* *Tho. Bernard.* *Thomas Littlepage.*	THis *Robert Bartlet*, and *Richard* his Brother, were detected by theſe foreſaid Accuſers, to be *known Men*, that is, to be of the ſame Company and Affinity with theſe Jurates, and others that had been abjured before in the time of *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, about the year of our Lord 1508, and that in the houſe of *Thomas Harding* they were ſo noted, by the words of *Harding*'s Wife, who, ſpeaking to *Robert Bartlet*, ſaid, that ſhe was glad that he was converted to Grace, and choſen to Almighty God; requiring him never to forſake that he was called to; for if he did, there was no Sacrifice left for him. Alſo the ſaid *Harding*'s Wife ſpeaking to *Richard Bartlet* coming into her Houſe, ſaid, Here cometh a good Man, and I hope he will be a good Man: but he hath ſo much mind of buying and ſelling, and taking of Farms, that it putteth his mind from all goodneſs. By which words it appeared, ſaid they, that he was a *known Man*. *Item*, That *Robert Bartlet*, ſpeaking to *Harding*'s Wife, ſaid, He had thought to have called *William Tilſworth* falſe Heretick; but now he was better adviſed. *Item*, That they uſed the Lectures and Readings of that Company. This
John Doſſet. *Margaret Bartlet.* *Iſabel Bartlet.*	Theſe being before abjured, were now compelled by Oath to detect.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	This *Robert Bartlet*, and *Richard* his Brother firſt being ſworn, and yet confeſſing nothing before the Biſhop, at laſt were convicted by witneſs, as above appeareth, and noted therefore of Perjury. Wherefore incurring into greater danger, they were conſtrained at their next Examination to utter themſelves, and confeſs what they had both done and ſaid; that is, that the ſaid *Robert* had read unto *Richard* his Brother a parcel of Scripture beginning thus: James *the Servant of God, to the twelve kinds*, &c. *Item*, that he heard *William Tilſworth* ſay, That Images of Saints were but Stocks and Stones, and dead things; and that he taught the ſame to his Brother *Richard*, and concealed the words of *William Tilſworth*. *Item*, That he partly believed *Thomas Maſtal*, teaching him that the true preſence of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament; and likewiſe of Images and Pilgrimages. *Item*, for receiving the Communion at Eaſter without ſhrift, &c.
Foreading Scripture in Engliſh.	
The Brother detecteth the Brother.	*Richard Bartlet* his Brother.
	The Crime whereof *Robert Bartlet* accuſed his Brother *Richard* was this: Becauſe, he ſaid, his Brother *Richard* had been much converſant with *Thurſtan Littlepage*, and had learned of him the counſels and ſecrets of thoſe Men: Alſo that he had learned of him ſome of the Epiſtle of St. *James*, thus beginning: James *the Servant of God, to the twelve kinds*, &c.
The Huſband detecteth the Wife.	*Iſabel Bartlet*, his Wife.
	The cauſe wherein *Robert Bartlet* did detect his Wife, was this: That when the Biſhop's Servant was come for her Husband, ſhe uttered theſe words, ſaying, Alas! he was now an undone Man, and ſhe but a dead Woman.
Robert Bartlet was brought to examination, and cauſed by his Oath to detect,	Furthermore, the ſaid *Robert* being demanded of the Biſhop, Whether he knew *Iſabel* his Wife to be of the Sect of Hereticks before he married her, ſaid, Yea. Being asked again, If he had not been of that Sect, whether then he would have married her? he granted the ſame likewiſe.
The Brother accuſeth the Siſter.	*Agnes Wellis*, his Siſter.
	Furthermore, the ſaid *Robert Bartlet* detected his own Siſter, in that he had twice inſtructed her not to worſhip Images, and alſo had taught her in the Epiſtle of St *James*.
	Elizabeth Dean, Wife of *Richard Dean* of *Weſt-Wicam*.
	Emme Tilſworth, Wife of *William Tilſworth*.
	William Grinder and his Wife.
	John Scrivener.
	Alexander Maſtal.
	William Tilſworth.
	Thurſtan Littlepage.
	John Bartlet, his Brother.
	The ſaid *Robert Bartlet* detected alſo theſe to be of the number of *Known Men*, for that they reſorted many times together, reading and conferring among themſelves, and talking againſt worſhipping of Images, and Pilgrimage. And if any came in amongſt them which was not of their ſide, then they would ſay no more, but keep all ſilence, &c.
The Brother accuſeth his Siſter.	*Agnes Wellis*, Wife of *John Wellis*, his Siſter.
	This *Agnes* was detected of her Brother in three points:

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	K. Hen. 8 *Anno* 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland. Lincoln.
	Firſt, for learning the Epiſtle of St. *James* in Engliſh of *Thurſtan Littlepage*.
	Secondly, For not believing the bodily preſence in the Sacrament.
Rich. Bartlet by his Oath was conſtrained to detect.	Thirdly, For ſpeaking againſt worſhiping of Images, and going on Pilgrimages.
	Old Father *Bartlet*, his Father.
	This *Richard Bartlet* alſo in his Confeſſion ſaid of his Father, that he was a better Man than he was taken for: for the other day there came a Man to him as he was threſhing, and ſaid, God ſpeed Father *Bartlet*, ye work ſore: Yea, ſaid he, I threſh God Almighty out of the Straw.
The Popiſh God Almighty threſhed out of the Straw.	

Againſt this *Agnes Wellis* brought and examined before the Biſhop, were miniſtred theſe Interrogatories, which for certain cauſes I thought here to inſert, for our Poſterity to note and conſider; and they are theſe that follow:

Articles miniſtred to Agnes Wellis.

Articles miniſtred againſt Agnes Wellis.

1. WHether ſhe knew that certain of the Pariſh of *Amerſham* were convented before *William Smith* late Biſhop of *Lincoln* for Hereſy?

2. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew that certain of them, ſo convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy, did err in the Sacrament of the Altar, or in other Sacraments, and what Errors they were, and wherein?

3. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew any other to be ſuſpect of the ſame Hereſy or Sect, beſide them of *Amerſham* ſo convented, who they were, and how many?

4. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been of the ſame company, or ſect, or opinion with them, which were convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy? and if ſhe were, what company ſhe uſed, and whoſe?

5. *Item*, Whether ſhe was at any time converſant with *Thurſtan Littlepage?* and if ſhe were, how oft ſhe had been in his company, how, what time, in what place, who elſe were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhe knew him to be ſuſpected for Hereſy?

6. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew and had been converſant with *Alexander Maſtal?* and if ſhe were, how, when, in what place, who were preſent, for what cauſes, and whether ſhe knew him ſuſpected for Hereſy?

7. *Item*, Whether ſhe was ever detected to the Office of *W. Smith*, late Biſhop of *Lincoln*, at what time, or ſince the time that *Littlepage* and *Maſtall* were convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy? and whether ſhe was then called and convented before the Biſhop for Hereſy, or not?

8. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been, or is now noted, had, holden, reputed, or defamed to be of the ſame Sect with *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or other convicted of Hereſy? and whether ſhe be, or hath been nominated for a *Known Woman* among them?

9. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been preſent at any time at the readings or conferrings between *Thurſtan Littlepage* and other Convicts?

10. *Item*, Whether *Thurſtan Littlepage* did ever teach her the Epiſtle of St. *James*, or the Epiſtles of St. *Peter* or *Paul* in Engliſh? and whether ſhe had repeated oft-times the Epiſtle of St. *James* unto the ſaid *Thurſtan*, in the preſence of *Richard Bartlet* her Brother? For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.

11. *Item*, Whether *Richard Bartlet* her Brother did teach her at any time the Epiſtle of St. *James?* and if he did, how oft, and in what place?

12. *Item*. Whether ſhe had been inſtructed by *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or by any other in the foreſaid Sect, that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the true Body of Chriſt, but only the ſubſtance of Bread?

13. *Item*, Whether ſhe had been inſtructed by *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or any other, that Pilgrimage was not to be uſed, nor the Images of Saints to be adored?

14. *Item*, Whether ſhe did credit the ſaid *Thurſtan Littlepage*, or any other, teaching her in the Premiſes? and whether ſhe did believe or expreſly conſent with them in the foreſaid Articles?

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

15. *Item*, Whether that *Robert Bartlet* her Brother did ever teach her the Epiſtle of St. *James* ? and if he did, how often, and where ?

16. *Item*, Whether the ſaid *Robert Bartlet* had taught her, that Pilgrimage was not to be uſed, and that Images were not to be adored ?

17. *Item*, Whether ſhe knew ſuch a Law and Cuſtom among them, that ſuch as were not of that ſort did contract matrimony only with themſelves, and not with other Chriſtians ?

18. *Item*, Whether ſhe did ever hear *Thurſtan* or any other ſay, that they only which were of their Doctrine were true Chriſtians ?

19. *Item*, When ſhe came to receive, and was confeſſed, whether ſhe did utter and confeſs her Hereſies to the Prieſt ?

Captious Articles.

Unto theſe captious and cruel interrogatory Articles miniſtred againſt *Agnes Wellis*, ſhe anſwered negatively almoſt to all of them, refuſing to utter any Perſon unto the Biſhop. But ſoon after, being otherwiſe ſchooled, I cannot tell how, by the Catholicks, ſhe was compelled to detect both her ſelf, her Brother *Robert Bartlet*, *Thurſtan Littlepage*, and alſo *Iſabel Morwin*, Wife of *John Morwin*, &c.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
Iſabel Bartlet was then brought and examined before the Biſhop; where ſhe	Being aſked whether ſhe ſpake theſe words following to her Husband, at the coming of the Biſhop's Man; Alas! now are you an undone Man, and I but a dead Woman?
	Firſt, ſhe ſtood in long denial of the ſame; and altho her Husband gave witneſs againſt her, yet ſtood ſhe that her Husband ſaid not truth. At laſt ſhe was compelled to grant thoſe words to be ſpoken; and then being aſked what ſhe meant by them? thus ſhe excuſed her ſelf, That her Husband had been unkind to her a long time, and therefore ſhe deſired to depart from him; whereupon now for ſorrow ſhe ſpake theſe words, &c.
ſhe excuſeth her own words.	The which words her Husband did excuſe ſomething otherwiſe, ſaying, That his Wife ſpoke thoſe words between the Threſhold and the Hall-door, becauſe of a vehement fear of the loſs of her Goods.
	Richard Hobbes of *Hichenden*. *Henry Hobbes* of *Hichendon*. *Hernes* Wife. *Herne* Widow of *Amerſham*. *Thomas Couper* of *Amerſham*, Husbandman.
William Chedwel of *Amerſham*.	*John Stamp*, Wheeler of *Amerſham*. *Alice Harding*, Wife of *Thomas Harding*.
	The Crime laid to *Alice Harding* was this: becauſe when the Prieſt was coming to *Richard Bennet* to give him counſel, ſhe went before, and inſtructed him what he ſhould do.
	William Rogers, Tyler. *William Harding*. *Roger Harding*.
	Theſe were detected by *Roger Bennet*, for that they being admoniſhed to appear before the Biſhop's Chancellor at *Amerſham*, neglected ſo to do.
Roger Bennet by like compulſion of his Oath was cauſed to detect theſe Perſons: For Engliſh Books.	*J. Jennings*, Servant to *James Morden*. *George*, Servant of *T. Tocbel*. *Thomas Gray*, Servant of *Roger Bennet*.
	Theſe were detected for carrying about certain Books in Engliſh.
	William Smith, Wheeler. The Wife of *Jo. Milſent*. The Wife of *W. Rogers*. *Ro. Stamp* and his Wife. The Wife of *Rob. Bartlet*.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
	Theſe good Women here named were detected to the Biſhop by *Roger Bennet*, for that upon the Holy-days, when they go and come from the Church, they uſe to reſort unto one *J. Collingworth*'s Houſe, and there to keep their Conventicle.
	The Wife of *David Lewis*, and her Father.
	This Woman was charged for ſpeaking theſe Words: That the Churchmen in old time did lead the People as the Hen doth lead her Chickens; but our Prieſts do now lead the People to the Devil.
	Agnes Frank, Wife of *William Frank*. *J. George*. *J. Gardiner*. *J. Samme*. *James Morden*.
	Becauſe ſhe turned away her face from the Croſs, as it was carried about on Eaſter-day in the morning at the Reſurrection. *Fol.* 10.
Tho. Rowland put likewiſe to his Oath, did detect,	*John Scrivener* the elder.
	For carrying about Books from one to another.
	Thomas Rowland,
	For theſe words following: If I lie, curſe, ſtorm, ſwear, chide, fight, or threat, then am I worthy to be beat; I pray you, good Maſter of mine, if I offend in any of theſe nine, amend me with a good ſcouring.
	Thomas Chaſe.
	In the like ſort alſo was charged *Thomas Chaſe*, becauſe he heard him twice recite the Epiſtle of St. *James*, beginning: *James the Servant of God, and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to the twelve kinds*, &c.
	Alſo for theſe words: *It was by the days of* Herod *King of the* Jews, *that there was a Prieſt*, Zachary *by name, and he came of the ſort of* Abias, *and his Wife the daughter of* Aaron; *both they were juſt before God, going in all the Commandments*, &c.
James Morden compelled in like manner by his Oath, did detect,	*William Norton*. *Agnes Alſford* of *Cheſham*.
	The cauſe laid to this *Agnes* was for teaching this *James* the words following:
	We be the Salt of the Earth; if it be putrified and waſhed away, it is nothing worth. A City ſet upon an Hill may not be hid. Te teend not a Candle, and put it under a Buſhel, but ſet it on a Candleſtick, that it may give a light to all in the Houſe. So ſhine your Light before Men, as they may ſee your Works, and glorify the Father which is in Heaven. No tittle nor letter of the Law ſhall paſs over till all things be done. And five times went he to the foreſaid *Agnes* to learn this Leſſon. *Item*, That the ſaid *Agnes* did teach him to ſay this Leſſon: *Jeſus ſeeing his People, & he went up to a Hill, was ſet, and his Diſciples came to him; he opened his mouth, and taught them, ſaying, Bleſſed be the poor Men in Spirit, for the Kingdom of Heaven is theirs. Bleſſed be mild Men, for they ſhall weld the Earth.* And twice he came to her to learn this Leſſon. *Ex Regiſt. Longland, fol.* 11. Note, gentle Reader, what herein is here.
	And theſe Leſſons the ſaid *Agnes* was bid to recite before the Biſhops, who ſtraightway enjoined and commanded her, that ſhe ſhould teach thoſe Leſſons no more to any Man, and eſpecially to her Children. *Ex Regiſt. fol.* 11.

The

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
The foreſaid *James Morden* detected	*Richard Alſford*, Smith. *Agnes Alſford*, *Thomas Chaſe*,
	Becauſe theſe two did exhort him thrice, that he ſhould keep the things they ſpake of as ſecret in his Stomach, as a Man would keep a Thief in Priſon.
	Thomas Tredway of *Cheſham*, *Robert Pope*, *John Morden* and his Wife,
	Becauſe they were heard in the preſence of this *James Morden* their Nephew, to recite the Ten Commandments in their Houſe in Engliſh.
	Alice Aiſkins,
	Becauſe of him ſhe learned the *Pater noſter*, *Ave Maria*, and Creed in Engliſh, and the five Marvels of St. *Auſtin*'s; alſo another piece of an Engliſh Book, beginning, Here ſhalbe ſhewn things by which a Man may know whether he ſhall be ſaved, &c.
	Marian Morden his own Siſter,
	Alſo that the did not worſhip Images: And after theſe little thinge he intended to teach her of the Sacrament.
	W. Africke or *Littlepage*. *John Africke* or *Littlepage*. *Emme Harding* or *Africke*. *John Phip*, Phyſician.

To this *James Morden*, with other moe Abjurers, it was enjoined by Biſhop *Smith*, for ſeven years to viſit the Church of *Lincoln* twice a year from *Amerſham*. And when divers had got license of the Biſhop, for length of the Journey, to viſit the Image of our Lady of *Miſſenden* for the ſpace of five years, this *James Morden*, when he could not obtain license ſo to do, yet notwithſtanding for the tediouſneſs of the way went with them to the ſame Image, and thereupon was charged for violating the Biſhop's Injunction.

Alſo becauſe, to get his living, he wrought half a year out of the Dioceſs, when he had been enjoined by the Biſhop not to go out of the Dioceſs of *Buckingham*, *Fol.* 11.

This *James Morden* confeſſed, that he uſed his *Pater noſter* and Creed ſo much in Engliſh, that he had forgot many words thereof in Latin, and therefore was enjoined by Biſhop *Smith* to ſay it no more in Engliſh, but only in Latin; and becauſe he kept not this Injunction, he fell therefore into relapſe.

Accuſers.	*Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*
Roger Bonnet by like compulſion of his Oath was cauſed to detect theſe following to be known Perſons.	*Will. Rogers*, Tiler, and his Wife. *W. Harding*. *Rog. Harding*. *Joan Jenings*. George Servant to *Tho. Tochel*. *Thomas Gray*, Servant of *Roger Bennet*. *Agnes Frank*. *Joan Colingworth*. *W. Smith*. The Wife of *John Milſent*. *Rob. Stampe* and his Wife. The Wife of *Robert Bartlet*. The Wife of *David Lewis* of *Henley*. *John Frier*, Servant to *M. Penne*. *John Tracher*. *John Mordents* Wife. *Richard Alſford*. *W. Liſtlepage* ſometime Apprentice of *John Scrivener*. *Emme* his Wife. *Jo. Scrivener*. *Iſabel Morwin*, for teaching *Copland's* Wife her Errors.
Thomas Halfeaker ſworn upon his Oath, did detect theſe Perſons here following:	*John Milſent* and his Wife. *Roger Harding* and his Wife. *Tho. Bernard*. *Tho. Africke* and his Wife. *W. Rogers*. *W. Harding* and his Wife. *Kat. Bartlet*, the Mother of *Robert* and *Richard Bartlet*. *Tb. Harding* and his Wife. *W. Frank* and *Agnes* his VVife.
	Becauſe theſe coming to the Church, and eſpecially at the Elevation-time, would ſay no Prayers, but ſit mum (as he termed it) like Beaſts. Becauſe *Katharine Bartlet*, being of good health, came but ſeldom to the Church, but feigned her ſelf ſick. And becauſe *Will. Franke* married *Agnes* his Wife, the being before abjured.
	Robert Pope,
The great Abjuration was Anno 1521.	Becauſe he fled away when the great Abjuration was at *Amerſham*; alſo for having certain Engliſh Books. *Fol.* 16. *Emme Africke*, alias *Harding*. *John Africke*. *Henry Milner*. *Herne* Wife, now the Wife of *Waiver*. *William Tilſworth*. *Emme Tilſworth* of *London*. *Thomas Tilſworth* and his Wife. The Wife of *Robert Tilſworth*. *William Glaſbroke*. *Chriſtopher Glaſbroke*, Milner. *Thomas Greve* and *Joan* his Wife. *Thomas Man* by *Briſtow*.
Tb. Holmes detected,	*Henry Milner*, Counted for a great Heretick, and learned in the Scripture. *John Schepard*. The Wife of *John Schepard* of *Dorney*. The elder Daughter of *Roger Harding* of *Amerſham*. *Nic. Stokeley*, Cooper, and his Wife, of *Henley*. *John Clerke*. *Thomas VVilbey* of *Henley*. *VV. Stokeley*. *Hobs* with his Sons of *Hychenden*. The Wife of *John Scrivener* Smith, of *Oxborne*. *Thomas Clerke* the elder. *Thomas Clerke* the younger. *VVigmer Farmer* of *Hichenden*. *Robert Carder*, Weaver. *John Frier* Servant to *M. Pen*. *John Morwin* and *Iſabel* his Wife. *Elizabeth Hover*, Wife of *Henry Hover* of *Little Miſſenden*. *Richard VVhite* Fuller of *Beckenefield*. *Andrew Randal* and his Wife of *Rickmanſworth*, The Father of *Andrew Randal*, Becauſe they received into their Houſe *Thomas Man* flying for Perſecution; and for reading *VVickliffes* VVicket. *Bennet VVard*, Fuller. This *Bennet VVard* was alſo denounced by *John Merſton*, for ſaying, That it booteth no Man to pray to our Lady, nor to any Saint or Angel in Heaven, but to God only, for they have no power of Mans Soul. The VVife of *Bennet Ward* and her Daughter, For ſaying, that *Tho. Pope* was the devouteſt Man that ever came in their Houſe; for he would ſit reading in his Book to Midnight many times. *Tho. Tailor* and his VVife of *Unbridg*. *Rob. Quicke*. *Rob. Coſins*.

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

The foreſaid *Tho. Holmes* detected,

For reading the Scripture in engliſh.

Thomas Clerke and his Wife of *Ware.*
One *Geldener* about *Hertford.*
John Say and *W. Say* his Son of *Little Miſſenden.*
The Wife of *John Wells* of *Amerſham.*
Joan Glasbroke, Siſter to *Will. Glasbroke* of *Harrow on the Hill.*
Tho. Sufan, Wheeler.
John a Lee, Smith.
John Auſty, Sheerman.
John Frier.
Edmund Harding.
John Heron Carpenter of *Hambeldon.*
Henry Miller.
John Phip. He was very ripe in the Scripture.
Emme Wife of *Richard Tilſworth.*
John Phip. He was a Reader or Rehearſer to the other.
John Say of *Miſſenden.*
William Stokeley.
Roger Squire,
For ſaying to *Holmes*, This is one of them that maketh all this buſineſs in our Town with the Biſhop; I pray God tear all the Bones of him.
Roger Herne.
A certain Tanner.

John Butler, Carpenter.
Richard Butler.
William King of *Uxbridge.*
Theſe three ſate up all the Night in the Houſe of *Durdant* of *Iuen Court* by *Stanes*, reading all the night in a Book of Scripture.

John Mucklyf, Weaver,
For ſpeaking againſt Holy Bread and Holy Water.

Tho. Man,
For ſaying, that Chriſt was not ſubſtantially in the Sacrament.

Thomas Stilman.

Jenkin Butler,
For receiving an Engliſh Book given him by *Carder* his Father, who after his Abjuration done before Biſhop *Smith*, fell ſick and died.

Rob. Carder of *Iuer*, Weaver, detected theſe:

Richard Vulford of *Riſlip.*
—— *Hacker.*
Thomas King.

Joan Cocke, the Wife of *Robert Wyswood*, Husbandman,
For deſiring of *Durdant* her Maſter, that he being a *known Man*, would teach her ſome knowledg of God's Law; and deſiring the ſame alſo of the *Butlers.*

Nicholas Durdant of *Stanes.*
Dany Durdant of *Akerwike.*
The Wife of old *Durdant.*
The Wife of *Nicholas Durdant.*

Theſe were detected, for that old *Durdant* of *Iuen-Court*, ſitting at dinner with his Children and their Wives, bidding a Boy there ſtanding to depart out of the Houſe, that he ſhould not hear and tell, did recite certain places unto them out of the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and of the Goſpels.

Rich. White, Father-in-law to *Bennet Ward* of *Beckonsfield.*
He was detected to be a *known Man*, becauſe after the death of Biſhop *Smith* he was heard to ſay theſe words: My Lord that is dead was a good Man, and divers *Known Men* were called before him, and he ſent them home again, bidding them that they ſhould live among their Neighbours as good Chriſtian Men ſhould do. And now, ſaid he, there is a new Biſhop, which is called a bleſſed Man; and if he be as he is named, he will not trouble the Servants of God, but will let them be in quiet.

Marian Mordon was forced upon her Oath to utter,

James Morden her own Brother,
For teaching her the *Pater noſter*, *Ave*, and Creed in Engliſh; and that ſhe ſhould not go on Pilgrimage, nor ſhould worſhip Saints or Images, which ſhe had not done by the ſpace of ſix years paſt, following and believing her Brother.

James Morden was forced upon his Oath to utter,

John Littlepage.
Henry Littlepage.
William Littlepage.
Joan Littlepage.
Richard Morden his Brother of *Cheſham.*
Emme his Wife.
Alice Brown of *Cheſham.*
Radulph Morden his Brother of *Cheſham*,
His Wife.
John Phips.
Elizabeth Hamon.
A Canon of *Miſſenden.*

Tho. Couplland forced by his Oath detected,

Tho. Greve of *London.*
Iſabel Morwin.
The Wife of *Norman* of *Amerſham.*
Tho. Couper of *Woodrow.*

Roger Harding.
W. Grinder,
Becauſe theſe two could not ſay their Creed in Latin.

The Wife of *Robert Stamp* of *Woodrow.*

T. Rowland, *T. Coupland*, *Rich. Stepheny*, and *Roger Bennet* forced by their Oath to accuſe,

Tho. Harding of *Amerſham.*
Alice Harding his Wife,
Becauſe after their Abjuration in Biſhop *Smith*'s time, divers *known Men*, as they then termed them, which were abjured before, had much reſort to their Houſe.

Agnes Squire,
For ſpeaking theſe words: Men do ſay, I was abjured for Hereſy; it may well be a Napkin for my Noſe, but I will never be aſhamed of it.

Jo. Sawcoat upon his Oath did appeach,

The Vicar of *Little Miſſenden.*
Tho. Greve and his Wife.

He was detected, for that he did give to Dr. *Wilcocks* twenty Pounds, to excuſe him that he might not be brought to open Penance.

Thomas Holmes,
For that he was heard to ſay theſe words, after the great Abjuration, when he had abjured, That the greateſt Cobs were yet behind.

R. Sanders of *Amerſham.*
Becauſe he ever defended them which were ſuſpected to be known Men. Alſo becauſe he bought out his Penance, and carried his Badge in his Purſe.

Biſhop

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

John Phip.

Biſhop *Longland* ſeeking how to convict *John Phip* of Perjury, (who, being charged with an Oath, did not anſwer affirmatively unto ſuch Suſpicions as were laid unto him by *Thomas Holmes*, and other ſeveral Accuſers) did examine *Sybil Africk* his own Siſter, upon her Oath to detect *John Phip* her Brother of Relapſe; but ſhe ſo anſwered, that the Biſhop could take by her no great hold of Relapſe againſt him. Wherein is to be noted the ſingular Iniquity and Abuſe in the Church of *Rome*, which by virtue of Oath fetteth the Siſter to procure the Brother's Blood. The like alſo was fought by *Thomas Africk* his Siſter's Husband; but they had by him no vantage.

Jenkin Butler did appeach

John Butler his own Brother,
For reading to him in a certain Book of the Scripture, and perſuading him to hearken to the ſame.
Robert Carder.
Richard Butler his Brother.
Henry Ulman of *Uxbridg.*
Rich. Aſheford of *Walton*, otherwiſe called *Rich. Naſſe*, or *Rich. Treckway.*
William King of *Uxbridg.*

W. Amerden did detect

Iſabel Tracher, Wife of *John Tracher*,
Becauſe ſhe came not to the Church oftner on the Work-days, being admoniſhed both by the Churchwardens, by the Graduates of the Church, and by Dr. *Cockes* Commiſſary, but followed her buſineſs at home. Alſo becauſe ſhe purpoſed to ſet her Daughter to *Alice Harding*, ſaying, that ſhe could better inſtruct her than many other. Alſo becauſe ſhe curſed the Prieſt after he was gone, which had given to her the Euchariſt, ſaying, that he had given to her bitter Gall.

Thomas Clement of *Cheſham.*

Alice Holting,
For that ſhe being great with child, did dine before ſhe went to Church to take her Rites; ſaying, that *Iſabel Tracher* did ſo tell her, that ſhe might dine before ſhe received the Sacrament.

W. Tresoor of *Amerſham.*
For keeping *Thomas Greve* in his Houſe on Eaſter and Chriſtmaſs-day, becauſe he would not come to the Church.

Joan Norman did appeach

Robert Coſin.
Thomas Man.
Alice Harding.
For diſſuading from Pilgrimage, from worſhipping of Images, and from bowing her Money to Saints for health of her Child. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe needed not to confeſs to a Prieſt, but to be enough to lift up her hands to Heaven. Alſo for ſaying, that ſhe might as well drink upon the Sunday before Maſs, as any other day, &c.

Jo. Scrivener forced by his Oath to accuſe

Hen. Miller, Wire-drawer, which from *Amerſham* fled to *Chempford.*
That he abjured and did Penance in *Kent* before, and afterward coming to *Amerſham*, taught them (as he ſaid) many Hereſies.

John Barret Goldſmith of *London.*
Joan Barret his Wife.
Joan his Servant.
Becauſe he was heard in his own Houſe, before his Wife and Maid there preſent, to recite the Epiſtle of Saint *James*, which Epiſtle, with many other things, he had perfectly without book.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

The foreſaid *John Scrivener* forced by his Oath to accuſe,

Alſo becauſe *Joan* his Wife had lent to this *John Scrivener* the Goſpel of St. *Matthew* and *Mark*, which Book he gave to Biſhop *Smith.*

John Merrywether, his Wife, and his Son.
Durdant by *Stanes.*
Old *Durdant.*
Iſabel Wife of *T. Harding.*
Hartop of *Windſor.*
Joan Barret, Wife of *John Barret* of *London.*
Henry Miller.
—— *Stilman.*
—— *Tailor.*
All theſe were accuſed, becauſe at the marriage of *Durdant*'s Daughter they aſſembled together in a Barn, and heard a certain Epiſtle of St. *Paul* read; which reading they well liked, but eſpecially *Durdant*, and commended the ſame.

Tho. Rowland of *Amerſham.*
It was objected to *Tho. Rowland* for ſpeaking theſe words: Ah good Lord! where is all our good communication which was wont to be amongſt us when your Maſter was alive?

Tho. Grove of *London*, Butcher.
Wil. Glasbroke of *Harrow on the Hill.*
Chriſtopher Glasbroke of *London.*
William Tilſworth of *London*, Goldſmith,
Apprentice ſometimes to *John Barret.*
Theſe were appeached becauſe they uſed to reſort and confer together of matters of Religion in the Houſe of *Thomas Man* of *Amerſham*, before the great Abjuration.

John Newman.
He was appeached, becauſe he was preſent in the Houſe of *John Barret*, at the reading of Scripture.
John Wood of *Henley.*
William Wood.
Lewis of *Henley*, Serving-man.
Wilkie and his Son.
This *Wilkie* was appeached, becauſe he taught the Goſpel of *Matthew* to *John Wood* and *William Wood*, after the great Abjuration; and Father *Robert* did teach them St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle, which old Father was after that burned at *Buckingham.*

Father Robert Martyr.

Will. Littlepage forced by his Oath, did accuſe,

Thurſtan Littlepage. Emme his Wife.
This *Thurſtan* had taught him the ſaying of *Solomon*, that *Wrath raiſeth Chiding*; had taught him alſo the *Pater noſter* and *Ave* in Engliſh. His Creed in Engliſh he learnt of his Grandmother. The ſaid *Thurſtan* alſo taught him, Chriſt not to be corporally in the Sacrament.
John Littlepage his Brother.
Alice Wife of *Thurſtan Littlepage.*
Becauſe he was ſaid to have learned the Ten Commandments in Engliſh of *Alice*, *Thurſtan*'s Wife, in his Father's Houſe.
John Frier.
Becauſe this *John Frier* had taught the ſaid *William* the ten Commandments in Engliſh.
Thomas Grove.
Hernes Wife.
The Wife of *John Morwin.*
Richard Bartlet, *Robert Bartlet.*
Thomas Bernard.
Joan Clerk of *Little Miſſenden:* For ſaying, ſhe never did believe in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor ever would believe it.
John Horne of *Amblyden.*

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Accuſers. — *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

His Siſter *Agnes VVard.*
VVard's Wife of *Marlow.*
Nicholas Stokeley.

John Gardiner did appeach,

Becauſe that when this *Gardiner* ſaid, God help us, and our Lady, and all the Saints of Heaven; then ſhe ſaid, What need is it to go to the feet, when we may go to the head?

William Stokeley.
The Wife of *William Deane.*
William Kemſey of *Newbery.*
John Simons and his Wife of *Marlow.*
John Gray of *Marlow.*
David Schyrwood.
William Schyrwood.
Raynold Schyrwood.

John Say did detect Chriſtopher Shoomaker Martyr.

Chriſtopher Shoomaker.
John Okenden.
Robert Pope.

This *Chriſtopher Shoomaker* had been burned a little before at *Newbery.*

Biſhop *Longland* ſeeking matter againſt *Iſabel Morwin*, (of whom he could take no great advantage by examination) called and cauſed *Elizabeth Copland*, her own Siſter, to teſtifie againſt her in manner as followeth:

Elizabeth Copland witneſſeth againſt

Iſabel Morwin, her own Siſter.

Firſt, becauſe in talk together, coming from their Father being at the point of death, *Iſabel* ſaid to her Siſter *Elizabeth*, that all which die either paſs to Hell or Heaven: Nay, ſaid the other, there is between them Purgatory.

Again; When *Elizabeth* came from the Rood of Reſt, *Iſabel* ſaid, that if ſhe knew ſo much as ſhe hath heard, ſhe would go no more on pilgrimage while ſhe lived; for all Saints, ſaid ſhe, be in Heaven. Then asked *Elizabeth*, wherefore Pilgrimage was ordained of Doctors and Prieſts? The other ſaid, for gain and profit. Who hath taught you this, (quoth *Elizabeth*) Man or Woman? Your Curate, I dare ſay, never learned you ſo. My Curate, ſaid ſhe, will never know ſo much. And moreover, ſaid to *Elizabeth* her Siſter, that if ſhe would keep counſel, and not tell her Husband, ſhe would ſay more. And when *Elizabeth* anſwered that ſhe would not tell: but, ſaith the other, I will have you to ſwear: and becauſe ſhe would not ſwear, the other would not proceed any further.

Alice Brown forced by her Oath to detect,

John Tracher of Chetham.

The cauſe why this *John Tracher* was denounced was this: for that he taught her in the Goſpel this Saying of Jeſus, *Bleſſed be they that hear the Word of God, and keep it.* Alſo becauſe he taught her the eight Beatitudes in Engliſh.

M. Tilſworth, becauſe ſhe refuſed to detect other by virtue of her Oath, and denied ſuch matter as by Witneſs and by the Biſhop's Acts were proved againſt her, in pain of relapſe the Biſhop enjoin'd her to make certain Faggots of Cloth, and to wear the ſame both before her upper garment and behind, ſo long as ſhe lived. *Ex Regiſt. Longland.*

VV. Phipp forced by his Oath to detect,

Thomas Africke.

For asking how his Couſin *VViclmore Clerk*, the elder, and *John Phip* did at *Hitchenden?* whether they kept the Laws of God as they were wont?

Roger Parker deceaſed.

Accuſers. — *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

John Phip.

For ſaying that Images are not to be worſhipped, becauſe they are made and carved with Mans hand, and that ſuch ought not to be worſhipped.

John Gardiner.

For that to the ſaid *VVilliam* this *Gardiner* ſaid, that all which are burned for this Sect are true Martyrs.

John Stilman.

John Butler by his Oath was forced to detect,

Thomas Geffrey, firſt of *Uxbridge*, then of *Ipſwich*, Taylor.

For reading and teaching him in the acts and preachings of the Apoſtles. *Item*, for having a Scripture-book in Engliſh; which Book the ſaid *Geffrey* gave to the Biſhop of *London* when he was accuſed.

Item, That the ſaid *Geffrey* ſaid, that true Pilgrimage was, barefoot to go and viſit the Poor, Weak, and Sick; for they are the true Images of God.

Richard Vulford.

This *Vulford* and *Thomas Geffrey* told the ſaid *John Butler*, that the Hoſt conſecrated was not the very true Body of Chriſt.

In proof whereof they ſaid, that let a Mouſe be put in the Pix with the Hoſt, and the Mouſe would eat it up. And for more proof, they declared unto the ſaid *John Butler*, That there were two Prieſts in *Eſſex*, which put a Mouſe in the Pix to a conſecrated Hoſt, and the Mouſe did eat it: Afterward, the fact of theſe Prieſts being known, and brought to the Biſhop, one of the Prieſts was burned for the ſame.

A ſtory of a Mouſe put into the Pix.

John Clerke of *Denham.*

Alſo the ſame *Vulford* and *Geffrey* told him and *John Clerke*, That holy Bread and holy Water were but a vain-glory of the World; for God never made them, but they were Mens Inventions: and that God never made Prieſts, for in Chriſt's time there were no Prieſts.

Moreover, that *Thomas Geffrey* cauſed this *John Butler* divers Sundays to go to *London* to hear Dr. *Colet*.

Dr. Colet commended.

The foreſaid *John Butler* did detect,

Andrew Fuller of *Uxbridg.*

Becauſe this *John Butler* had an old Book of *Richard Vulford.*

Alſo another great Book of *Andrew Fuller*, for which he paid ſix ſhillings and four pence; and another little Book of *Thomas Man*, which he brought to the Biſhop.

Thomas Man.

Moreover, this *Thomas Man* was appeached, becauſe he read to this Depoſer ten years ago, how *Adam* and *Eve* were expelled out of Paradiſe; and for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimage, and worſhipping of Images, and againſt the Singing-Service uſed then in Churches.

This *Thomas Man* was burnt and died a Martyr, of whom mention is made before.

William King.

This *William King* was appeached becauſe he lodged *Thomas Man* in his Houſe upon a certain Holy-day at Divine Service; unto whom reſorted *Richard Vulford*, and *John Clerke*, and this *John Butler*: to whom the ſaid *Thomas Man* declared that Pilgrimage was naught, and that Images were not to be worſhipped.

Rob.

Accuſers. — *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Robert Carder.
——— *Durdant.*
Richard Butler, his own Brother.
VVilliam King.

The foreſaid *John Butler* did detect,

To theſe was laid, That *Thomas Carder* brought this *John Butler* to *Durdants* Houſe at *Iuen-Court* by *Staines*, where was *Richard Butler* his Brother, and *William King* reading in a certain Engliſh Book. At which time *Durdant* deſired them not to tell that he had any ſuch Engliſh Book in his Houſe, left he ſhould be burned for the ſame.

Richard Naſh or *Aſhford.*

Alſo another time, that *John Butler*, with *Richard Butler* his Brother, and *Robert Carder*, went to the Houſe of *Rich. Aſhford* or *Naſh*, to hear the ſame *Aſhford* read in a certain little Book which contained many good things.

Richard Vulman of *London.*

This *Vulman* was detected upon this, for that he would have read to this *John Butler* a certain Engliſh Book, and ſpake againſt Pilgrimage and Images.

John Philip compelled by his Oath to detect,

Henry Ulman and his Wife of *Uxbridg.*
Radolph Carpenter of *London.*
A Daughter of *John Phip.*
A Daughter of *William Phip.*

This *Richard Carpenter* was detected for having certain Books of the *Apocalypſe* in Engliſh. Alſo for that *Carpenter* and his Wife did bring him, and the Wife of *Henry Ulman*, to a Corner-Houſe of *Friday-Street*, where the good Man of the Houſe, having a ſtump-foot, had divers ſuch Books, to the intent they ſhould hear them read.

R. Butler, Jenkin Butler, his own Brethren.
The Mother of *Richard Aſhford.*
Jo. Butler his other Brother.

Theſe were detected, partly for holding againſt the Sacrament of the Altar; partly alſo becauſe they were reading two hours together in a certain Book of the Acts of the Apoſtles in Engliſh at *Chetham* in *Aſhford*'s Houſe.

For reading Books in Engliſh.

The Wife of *Robert Pope.*

For having certain Books in Engliſh, one bound in Boards, and three with Parchment-coverings, with four or five ſheets of Paper written in Engliſh, containing matter againſt the Romiſh Religion. Alſo another Book of the Service of the Virgin *Mary* in Engliſh.

Thomas Stilman.

Thomas Stilman was therefore detected, for that he told *William Phip*, how that he being in *Richard*'s Tower, did climb up the Steeple where the Bells were, and there, cutting the Bell-ropes, did tie two of them together, and ſo by them ſlipped down into *Paul*'s Church-yard, and eſcaped.

Thomas Tredway compelled by his Oath to detect,

John Morden of *Aſhley-Greene.*
Richard Aſhford his Brother.

Theſe were accuſed and detected, becauſe *John Morden* had in his Houſe a Book of the Goſpels, and other Chapters in Engliſh, and read three or four times in the ſame. In which book his Brother *Aſhford* alſo did read once. *Item*, becauſe *John Morden* ſpake againſt Images, and ſpake theſe Words: *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaith in his Goſpel, Bleſſed be they that hear the Word of God, and keep it*, &c.

Accuſers. — *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Agnes Aſhford, his own Mother.
Tredway alſo detected his Mother, for teaching him that he ſhould not worſhip the Images of Saints.

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Likewiſe *Joan Bernard*, being accuſed by *Robert Copland*, was ſworn by her Oath to detect *Thomas Bernard* her own natural Father, for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimage, againſt worſhipping of Saints, and againſt Dirges, and praying for the Dead, and for warning his Daughter not to utter any of all this to her ghoſtly Father.

Joan Bernard detecting her own Father.

The Vicar of *Iuer*, and *Richard Tailor* witneſs, accuſed

Rich. Bernard detecting his own Father.

The like Oath alſo was forced to *Richard Bernard*, that he ſhould in like manner detect *Thomas Bernard* his own natural Father, for teaching him not to worſhip Images, nor to believe in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in God only which is in Heaven; and that he ſhould not utter the ſame to the Prieſt.

Richard Carder.

For defending the cauſe of *Jenkin Butler*, and for ſaying that the Biſhop did him injury.

Item, for ſaying, that if he had known the Biſhop's Man would have fetch'd him to the Biſhop, he would have given him warning thereof before.

Item, for ſaying, That if he ſhould call him, he would confeſs nothing, altho he burned him.

Agnes Carder, Wife of *Richard Carder*, detected

Richard Carder, her Husband.

For ſaying that he ſuſpected that the was too much familiar with the Vicar of *Iuer*; and when ſhe anſwered again, how could he be evil with her, ſeeing he faith Maſs every day, and doth confeſs himſelf before? then her Husband ſaid, that he could confeſs himſelf to a Poſt, or to the Altar.

Where note, that the Biſhop then examining her of that offence, whether ſhe was culpable, and whether ſhe was commonly in the voice of the People defamed with him or no? ſhe confeſſed it ſo to be. Whereupon no other Penalty nor Penance for that crime of Adultery was enjoined her of the Biſhop, but only this, that he ſhould frequent the Vicar's Houſe no more.

John Clerke of *Denham* forced by his Oath to detect,

Richard Vulford of *Riſely.*

For ſpeaking againſt Images, Pilgrimages, Oblations, and againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Againſt Images.

Item, When this *John Clerke* had made a Wheel for Fith, *Richard Vulford* coming by, asked him. When he had made his wheel, whether the wheel now could turn again, and make him? and he ſaid, No. Even ſo (quoth he) God hath made all Prieſts, as thou haſt made the wheel; and how can they turn again, and make God? *John Butler.*

John Maſtal detected

The Daughter of *John Phip* of *Hitchenden.*

For ſaying, that ſhe was as well-learned as was the Pariſh-Prieſt, in all things except only in ſaying of Maſs.

Rob. Rowland, &c.

Alice Sanders, Wife of *Richard Sanders* of *Amerſham.*

For giving Twelve-pence to *Thomas Holmes*, to buy a certain Book in Engliſh for her Daughter; to whom *Thomas Holmes* anſwered again, that a Noble would not ſuffice to buy it.

Another time, for giving Six-pence to the buying of a certain Book in Engliſh, which coſt five Marks.

Another

K.Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers.

Rob. Rowland, Will. Franke, Tho. Houre, Tho. Rowland, Joan Franke, John Baker; All theſe detected,

Joan Franke, Will. Franke the elder, *Will. Franke* the younger, *Alice Tredway* detected

William Carder upon his Oath was forced to detect

Iſabel Gardiner and *John Gardiner* forced by their Oath to detect,

The Vicar of *Wicomb.*

Roger Bennet forced by his Oath to detect,

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

Another time *Thomas Houre* coming from *Oxburne*, ſhe asked, what news? and he ſaid, That many were there condemned of Hereſy, and therefore he would lean to that way no more. Then ſaid ſhe, If he did ſo, he would gain nothing thereby. Whereby he had no more work with her Husband, and after was put from the Holy-water Clerkſhip in that Town.

Another time, for ſaying to *Thomas Rowland* theſe Words: You may ſee how *Thomas Houre* and other, which laboured to have Hereticks detected before Biſhop *Smith*, are brought now to Beggery; you may take example by them.

Joan Colingborne.

For ſaying to one *Joan Timberlake*, and *Alice Tredway*, ten years ago, That ſhe could never believe Pilgrimages to be profitable, nor that Saints were to be worſhipped; and deſired them not to tell their Curate. Which *Alice* immediately cauſed her to be called before the Biſhop.

Iſabel Trocher, Wife of *William Trocher*, his Miſtreſs.

For that ſhe being not ſick, but in good health, and being rebuked divers times of her Husband for the ſame, yet would not go to the Church, but tarried at home, and kept her work, as well Holy-day as Work-day, the ſpace of three years together.

Thomas Rave of *Great-Modlow.*

For ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimages in the company of *Joh* and *Elizabeth Gardiner*, as he was going to our Lady of *Lincolne* for his Penance enjoined by Biſhop *Smith*. Alſo the ſame time as he met certain coming from St. *John Shorne*, for ſaying they were Fools, and calling it Idolatry.

Alſo in the ſame Voyage, when he ſaw a certain Chappel in decay and ruine, he ſaid, Lo, yonder is a fair Milk-houſe down.

Item, when he came to *Lincoln*, he made water in the Chappel at Maſs-time, excuſing afterward that he did it of neceſſity. *Item*, the ſame time, ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, he ſaid, that Chriſt ſitteth in Heaven at the right-hand of the Father Almighty; and brought forth this Parable, ſaying, That Chriſt our Lord ſaid theſe words when he went from his Diſciples and aſcended to Heaven, That once he was in Sinners hands, and would come there no more. Alſo when he came to *Wicomb*, there to do his Penance, he bound his Faggot with a ſilken Lace. Alſo being demanded of Dr. *London*, whether he had done his Penance in coming to our Lady of *Lincoln?* he anſwered, That Biſhop *Smith* had releaſed him to come to our Lady of *Miſſenden* for ſix years; and three years he came, but whether he came any more, becauſe he did not there regiſter his name, therefore he ſaid he could not prove it.

The Wife of *Thomas Potter* of *Hychenden.*

The Wife of *William Tilſworth*, now of *Hawkwell*,

For not thinking Catholickly, that is, after the Tradition of *Rome*, of the Sacrament of the Altar.

The Wife of *Robert Stampe*,

For not accompliſhing her Penance enjoined by Biſhop *Smith*.

Marian Randal.

Accuſers.

Richard Vulford detected

John Sparke.

John Groſar being put to his Oath, detected

John Funge forced by his Oath to detect,

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

John Butler,

For having of him a certain Book in Engliſh, containing a Dialogue between a Jew and a Chriſtian.

His own Wife deceaſed,
John Clerke of *Denham*,

For communing with him againſt Images, Pilgrimages, and the Sacrament of the Altar. Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Thomas Geffrey of *Uxbridg*, and his Wife departed.

For communing againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, worſhipping of Saints, Pilgrimages, *&c.*

Henry Ulman of *Uxbridg*,

For ſpeaking and teaching againſt the Sacrament of the Altar eleven years ago, and ſaying it was but a Trifle.

The Mother of *William King* of *Uxbridg.*
William King.
Robert Carder the elder.
John Baker of *Uxbridg.*

Goldener the elder.
His two Daughters.

For being preſent and hearkning unto *Richard Bennet*, reading the Epiſtle of St. *James* in English. For reading the Scripture.

Emme Siſter of *William Tilſworth*, Martyr.
John Lee Carpenter of *Hatley.*

Here is to be noted, that in the Town of *Cheſham* were two Men, one named *Robert Huſton*, the other *John Sparke*; of which the one called the other Heretick, the other called him again *Thief*. *Sparke*, which called *Huſton* Thief, was condemned to pay for his Slander ten ſhillings; but *Huſton*, which called the other Heretick, paid nothing. It happened that the Wife of this *Sparke* not long after had certain Money ſtoln, for the which the ſaid *Sparke* her Husband ſent for the counſel of two Friars, who gave him counſel to make two Balls of Clay, and to put them in the Water, and in the ſame Balls to incloſe the names of them whom he ſuſpected: and ſo doing, the ſaid *Sparke* came to his Money again. And this was detected to Biſhop *Longland* the ſame time by *Thomas Clement*. But of all this matter there was no Inquiſition made, nor Interrogatories miniſtred, nor Witneſs produced, nor any Sentence given. *Ex Regiſt. Longland. fol.* 50. Witchcraft left of the Biſhop unpuniſhed.

Thomas Tykill.
Thomas Spencer and his Wife.
John Knight.

This *John Groſar* was examined whether he had a Book of the Goſpels in Engliſh? who confeſſed that he received ſuch a Book of *Thomas Tykill*, Morrow-Maſs-Prieſt in *Milk-ſtreet*, and afterward lent the ſame Book to *Thomas Spencer*, which *Thomas Spencer* with his Wife uſed to read upon the ſame. After that it was lent to *John Knight*, who at length delivered the Book to the Vicar of *Rickmanſworth.* For having the Scripture in Engliſh.

Francis Funge and his Brother.
Thomas Clerke.

Francis Funge was examined for ſpeaking theſe words to his Brother *John*, which words he had learned of *Thomas Clerke*: If the Sacrament of the Altar be very God and Man, Fleſh and Blood, in form of Bread, as Prieſts ſay that it is; then have we many

Accuſers.

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

many Gods: and in Heaven there is but one God. And if there were an hundred houſled in one Pariſh, and as many in another, then there muſt be more than one God. I will not deny but it is an holy thing, but it is not the Body of the Lord that ſuffered paſſion for us: for he was once in Man's hands here, and ill intreated, and therefore he will never come in ſinful Mens hands again.

Alſo for ſpeaking theſe Words: The Pope hath no authority to give pardon, and to releaſe any Man's Soul from Sin, and ſo from pain; it is nothing but blinding of the People to have their Money.

Alſo for theſe words, or ſuch like: If a Man do ſow twenty quarters of Corn, as Wheat, or Barley, or other Corn, he ought to deduct his Seed, and of the reſidue to tithe, or elſe he hath wrong, *&c.*

Thomas Clerke,

For ſpeaking againſt the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, unto *Francis Funge*, as before, *&c.*

Robert Rave of *Dorney*,

For ſaying theſe words, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not that Body which was born of the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*.

Item, For ſpeaking ſuch words fourteen years paſt: That Folks were ill occupied, that worſhipped any things graven with Mans hand, for that which is graven with Mans hand is neither God nor our Lady, but made for a remembrance of Saints. Nor ought we to worſhip any thing but God and our Lady, and not Images of Saints, which are but Stocks and Stones.

Edmund Hill of *Penne.*

Robert Freeman, Pariſh-Prieſt of *Orton* by *Colebrook*,

For having and reading upon a ſuſpected Book, which Book when he perceived to be ſeen in his hand, he cloſed it, and carried it to his Chamber.

Thomas Grove and his Wife of *Amerſham.*
Matild Philby Wife of *Edward Philby* of *Chaldwey.*

Joan Gun of *Cheſham*,

Becauſe ſhe inſtructed and taught the ſaid *Hill*, before his Abjuration, in the Epiſtle of St. *James*, and other opinions.

William Atkins of *Great Miſſenden.*
Richard Murden of *Cheſham.*
Emme Murden his Wife.

Joan Gudgame his own Wife,

For being in the ſame opinion of the Sacrament that he was of; who notwithſtanding did ſwear the ſame not to be true that her Husband ſaid.

Alice Naſh or *Chapman* of *Miſſenden.*

One *Haggar* of *London*,

For ſpeaking in their Houſe, *Anno* 1520, theſe words: That there ſhould be a Bartel of Prieſts, and all the Prieſts ſhould be ſlain: and that the Prieſts ſhould a while rule, but they ſhould all be deſtroyed, becauſe they hold againſt the Law of the Holy Church, and for making of falſe Gods, and after that they ſhould be overthrown.

Accuſers.

Tho. Clerke forced by his Oath, did detect

Francis Funge and *Alice* his Wife were put to their Oath to detect,

Henry Dein forced by his Oath to detect,

J. Hill forced by his Oath, did detect,

Will. Gudgame forced by his Oath to detect,

A Prophecy.

Matild Symonds, and *Jo. Symonds* her Husband, put to their Oath, detected

Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.

Item, Another time he ſaid, That Men of the Church ſhould be put down, and the falſe Gods which they make; and after that he ſaid they ſhould know more, and then ſhould be a merry World. K.Hen.8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland. Lincoln.

Chriſtopher Tinker of *Wickam.*

The cauſe of this *Tinker*'s Trouble was, for that he coming to this Man's Houſe, and complaining to him of the poverty of the World, had theſe words: That there was never ſo ungoverned a People, and that they bare themſelves ſo bold upon their Pardons and Pilgrimages, that they cared not whatſoever they did. And ſo he departed.

And ſeven days after that, this *Tinker* coming again, asked him, how his laſt communication with him did pleaſe him? and he ſaid, Well.

Then the Tinker ſaid he knew more, and that he could tell him more, and bad him that he ſhould believe in God in Heaven; for there be many Gods in Earth, and there is but one God; and that he was once here, and was ill dealt with, and would no more come here till the Day of Doom. And that the Sacrament of the Altar was a holy thing, but not the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt that was born of the Virgin: and charged him not to tell this to his Wife, and eſpecially to his Wife's Brother, a Prieſt.

Afterward, as the Prieſt was drying ſinging Bread being wet, which his Siſter had bought, the foreſaid *Thomas Clerke* ſaid, That if every one of theſe were a God, then were there many Gods. To whom the Prieſt anſwered, that till the holy Words were ſpoken over it, it was of no power, and then it was very God, Fleſh and Blood; ſaying moreover, that it was not meet for any Lay-man to ſpeak of ſuch things.

Theſe words of the Prieſt being after recited to the Tinker by the ſaid *Clerke*, then ſaid he, Let every Man ſay what they will, but you ſhall find it as I ſhew you, *&c.* and if you will take the labour to come to my Houſe, I will ſhew you further proof of it, if you will take heed, *&c.*

Thomas Aſtrick, alias *Littlepage*, and his Wife.

To theſe was objected, that they had communication and conference with this *Robert Pope* in the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, before the great Abjuration, in the Town of *Amerſham.*

Tho. Scrivener, Father to *Thomas Holmes* Wife.

Rob. Pope, firſt of *Amerſham*, after of *Weſtenred*, cauſed by his Oath, did detect theſe following:

This *Scrivener* was detected, for that the ſaid *Pope* had of him a Book of the Epiſtles in Engliſh.

Bennet Ward of *Beckenſfield*, and his Father *Edmund Dormer.*

To *Ward* this was laid, that the foreſaid *Pope* had received a Book of the Ten Commandments.

He had alſo the Goſpels of *Matthew* and *Mark.*

Of the ſame *Ward* he learned his Chriſt-croſs-row, five parts of the eight Beatitudes.

Thomas Harding and his Wife.
John Scrivener and his Wife.

Tho.

K.Hen.8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Long: land Lincoln.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Robert Pope of *Weſtbenred*, being before abjured, now again put to his Oath, detected theſe which follow;

Too. Man and his Wife.
Another *Tho. Man* and his Wife.
Thomas Bernard.

Theſe were detected for this, becauſe they had communed and talked with the ſaid *Robert Pope* oftentimes in Books of Scripture, and other matters of Religion, concerning Pilgrimage, adoration of Images, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Body.

Thomas Grove.
Thomas Holmes.
Robert Rave.
William Gudgame and his Wife.
Naſh the elder, and his Wife.
William Gray of *Ethenred*, Milner.
Edward Gray and his Wife of *Eaſtbenred.*
Margery Young Widow of *Eaſtbenred.*
Iſabel More, Siſter to the ſaid *Margery* of *Eaſtbenred.*
Richard Nobis, Fowler, and his Wife, of *Eaſtbenred.*

Richard Colins of *Ginge*, and his Wife.
This *Colins* was among them a great Reader, and had a Book of *Wickliffes* Wicket, and a Book of *Luke*, and one of *Paul*, and a Cloſe of the *Apocalypſe.*
William Colins his Brother.
Thomas Colins, the Father of *Richard* and *William.*
He had a Book of *Paul*, and a Book of ſmall Epiſtles.
John Colins of *Betterton.*
Robert Lyvord of *Steventon.*
William Lyvord of *Steventon.*
Father *Amerſham* of *Steventon.*
——*mart* of *Steventon*, Milner.
Thomas Hall of *Hungerford.*
John Eden of *Hungerford*,
John Ludlow of *Hungerford.*
Thomas New of *VVantage*, Thatcher.
Joan Tailor and her Mother of *Biſſam.*
Humfrey Shoomaker of *Newbery.*
John Semand of *Newbery*, Fiſhmonger.
Robert Geydon and his Wife of *Newbery*, Weaver.
John Edmunds of *Burford.*
This *John Edmunds* was charged for having a Book named *W. Thorpe*; alſo for reading in an Engliſh Book after a Marriage.

Robert Purges and his Wife of *Burford.*
John Colins of *Burford.*
John Colins and his Wife of *Aſthal.*

John Clerke of *Clauſfield.*
This *Clerke* was heard ſay, That all the World was as well hallowed as the Church or Church-yard; and that it was as good to be buried in the Field as in the Church or Church-yard.

VVilliam Gun and his Wife of *Witney*, Tanner.
John Baker of *VVitney*, Weaver.
John Brabant the elder of *Stanlake.*
John Brabant the younger of *Stanlake.*
John Kember of *Hanneybarker.*
VValter Kember his Brother of *Hanneybarker.*
John Rabettes of *Chawley.*
Thomas VVidmore of *Hychenden.*

John Phip.
VVilliam Phip.
For reading a certain Treatiſe upon the *Pater noſter* in Engliſh, which this *John Phip* did read to him, and to his Father.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Rob. Pope, before abjured, did detect theſe here following:

This foreſaid *Robert Pope* moreover detected *Edward Pope* his own Father of *Little Miſſenden*, for hearing the Goſpel of *Matthew* read unto him, and for communing upon the ſame with this *Robert Pope* his Son. He detected likewiſe *Edward Pope* his Brother. The Son detelling the Father.

Furthermore, he detected his own VVife, who had before abjured under Biſhop *Smith*, to continue ſtill in her opinions.

Thomas Clerke the elder of *Hychenden.*
Lawrence Herne of *Hychenden.*
VVilliam Haliday of *Eaſtbenred.*
This *Haliday* was detected for having in his cuſtody a Book of the Acts of the Apoſtles in Engliſh, which the ſaid *Robert Pope* brought unto him at the taking of *Roger Dodde.* For the Scripture in Engliſh.

VVilliam Squire and his Brother of *Schaw.*
Thomas Stephenton and *Matild* his Daughter, of *Cherney.*

Thomas Philip, Pointer,
Laurence Tailor of *London*,
For that theſe two being in the Houſe of *Richard Colins* at *Gynge*, there did read in an Engliſh Book the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*; and *Laurence* did read the firſt Chapter of St. *Luke*'s Goſpel. For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.

Andrew Mayſey of *Burton.*
The Wife of *Richard Colins* of *Gynge.*

John Harris and his Wife.
Alice Colins, Wife of *Richard Colins.*
Theſe being together at *Upton* in *John Harris*'s Houſe, did talk of the *Apocalypſe*, and of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and therefore were ſuſpected, and thus detected. Ex *Regiſt. Longland, fol.* 71.
Item, Becauſe *John Harris* ſpake againſt Pilgrimage, Images, and was heard to talk of ſeven lean and ſeven fat Oxen.

Rob. Colins of *Herford-Wallis*, Maſon.

Thomas Gray of *Weſtbenred*,
For receiving certain Books of this *Robert Pope.*

Margaret Houſe, Wife of *Will. Houſe* of *Eaſtginge*,
For keeping company, and receiving the Doctrine of *Alice Colins.*

John Noſh of *Little Miſſenden.*
Henry Erkin and his Mother, of *Little-Miſſenden.*
Richard Dell of *Miſſenden.*

Rob. Colins, being ſworn upon the Evangeliſts, did detect

Richard Colins of *Gynge*,
Firſt, for that this *Richard Colins* did read unto the ſaid *Robert Colins* the Ten Commandments, and after taught him the Epiſtle of St. *James*, and another ſmall Epiſtle of *Peter*; and after that took him the Goſpel of St. *John* in Engliſh, and bad him read therein himſelf. For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.

Alſo for teaching him not to worſhip Images, nor to ſet up Candles, nor to go on Pilgrimage.

Another crime againſt *Rich. Colins*, becauſe he taught this *Robert*, that in all ſuch things wherein he offended God, he ſhould only ſhrive himſelf to God; and in what things he offended Man, he ſhould ſhrive himſelf to Man.

Alſo

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

Alſo for teaching him, that the Sacrament of the Altar is not very God, but a certain figurative thing of Chriſt in Bread: and that the Prieſt hath no power to conſecrate the Body of Chriſt.

Alſo, for that the ſaid *Richard* did teach him in *Wickliffe's Wicket*, how that a Man may not make the Body of our Lord which made us: and how can we then make him again? The Father is unbegotten, and unmade: the Son is only begotten, and not made; and how then can Man make that which is unmade, ſaid he?

And in the ſame Book of *Wickliffe's Wicket* follow the words of Chriſt thus ſpeaking: If my words be Hereſy, then am I an Heretick; and if my words be Leaſings, then am I a Liar, &c.

Alſo another Crime againſt *Richard Colins*: For having certain Engliſh Books, as *Wickliffe's Wicket*, the Goſpel of St. *John*, the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, *James*, and *Peter*, in Engliſh, an Expoſition of the *Apocalypſe*, a Book of our Lady's Mattens in Engliſh, a Book of *Solomon* in Engliſh, a Book called the *Prick of Conſcience.*

For ſpeaking againſt Idolatry.

John Edmunds of *Burford*, Tailor.
The Crime againſt *John Edmunds*; for having a certain Engliſh Book of the Commandments.

John Colins of *Burford* appeached to the Biſhop the Perſons here named:

John Harris.
The Crime againſt *John Harris*, for communing with him of the firſt Chapter of St. *John*'s Goſpel: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and God.* Alſo for communing of a Chapter in *Matthew*, of the eight beatitudes.
Item, For counſelling him not to go on Pilgrimage to Saints, becauſe they were Idols.

Thomas Hall.
Ro. *Livord*, *W. Livord*, —— *Bruges* and *Joan* his Wife, ——*Harris* and his Wife, *Richard Colins.*
All theſe were detected, for that they being together in *Bruges*'s houſe at *Burford*, were reading together in the Book of the Expoſition of the *Apocalypſe*, and communed concerning the matter of opening the Book with ſeven Claſps, &c.

The foreſaid *Rob. Colins* being ſworn upon the Evangeliſts, did detect theſe Perſons.

John Ledſdall, or *Edon*, of *Hungerford.*
John Colins of *Burford.*
John Colins and his Wife of *Aſthall.*
John Clerke of *Clauſfield.*
The Wife of *Richard Colins* of *Ginge.*

Thomas Colins and his Wife of *Ginge.*
This *Thomas Colins* was charged for having a Book of *Paul* and *James* in Engliſh.

William Colins.
Robard Pope of *Henred.*
Hakker of *Colemanſtreet* in *London.*

Stacy, Brickmaker, of *Colemanſtreet*,
For having the Book of the *Apocalyps.*

Thomas Philip, *Laurence Wharfar* of *London.*
For reading the Epiſtle of St. *Peter* in Engliſh, in the houſe of *Robert Colins* of *Aſthal.*

Joan Colins his own Siſter, of *Aſthal.*
Thomas Colins his Couſin, of *Aſthal.*
Mrs. Briſtow of *London.*
John Colins, Son of *Richard Colins*, of *Ginge.*
Joan Colins, Daughter of *Richard Colins*, of *Ginge.*

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Henry Stacy, Son of *Stacy* of *Colemanſtreet.*
Thomas Stevenſon of *Charney* in *Barkſhire.*
John Brabant in *Stanlake.*
John Baker Weaver of *Witney.*

K.Hen.8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland. Lincoln.

Richard Colins.
The words of *Richard Colins* were theſe: That the Sacrament was not the true Body of Chriſt in Fleſh and Blood; but yet it ought to be reverenced, albeit not ſo as the true Body of Chriſt.

Thomas Colins of *Ginge*, his own natural Father.
The Crime againſt *Thomas Colins*; for that eight years paſt this *Thomas Colins* his Father had taught this *John* his Son, in the preſence of his Mother, the Ten Commandments, and namely, that he ſhould have but one God, and ſhould worſhip nothing but God alone; and that to worſhip Saints, and go on Pilgrimage, was Idolatry. The Son diſcuſed the Father.

Alſo, that he ſhould not worſhip the Sacrament of the Altar as God, for that it was but a Token of the Lord's Body. Which thing ſo much diſcontented this *John Colins*, that he ſaid he would diſcloſe his Father's Errors, and make him to be burned: but his Mother entreated him not ſo to do.

Robert Colins of *Aſthall.*
The Crime againſt *Robert Colins*; that this *Robert* read to him it a certain thick Book of Scripture in Engliſh.

John Edmunds and his Wife.
The Crime laid to *John Edmunds*; For that he read to this *John* the Ten Commandments, and told him that *John Baptiſt* ſaid, that one ſhould come after him, whoſe buckle of his ſhooe he was not worthy to undoe.

Alice Wife of *Gunne* of *Witney.*

John Hakker and his Son of *London.*
This *John Hakker* of *London*, coming to *Burford*, brought a Book ſpeaking of the ten Plagues of *Pharaoh.* Alſo after that, another Book entreating of the ſeven Sacraments.

Laurence Tailor of *Shoreditch.*
Thomas Philip of *London.*
Philip, Servant of *Richard Colins.*
Wainſell Fiſhmonger of the *Vize.*
Joan Robert.
Burges's Wife.
John Boyes and his Brother, a Monk of *Burford.*
Tho. Baker, Father to *Gunn*'s Wife of *Wotteſley.*
Agnes Daughter of *John Edmunds.*
The Mother of *John Boyes* of *Sudbery.*
Edward Red Schoolmaſter of *Burford.*
Robert Hickman of *Lechelade.*

Elenor Higges of Burford.
This *Elenor* was charged, that ſhe ſhould burn the Sacrament in an Oven.

John Through of the Priory of *Burford.*
The Mother of *Robert Burges*'s Wife.

Roger Dods of *Burford*, by his Oath, was compelled to utter theſe Perſons here named:

Sir *John Drury*, Vicar of *Windriſh* in *Wotterſtershire.*
The Crime againſt this Sir *John Drury* was, for that when *Roger Dods* came firſt to him to be his Servant, he ſware him upon a Book to keep his counſel in all things: and after that

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. Joh. Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

that he ſhewed him a certain Woman in his houſe, whom he ſaid to be his Wife: confeſſing moreover the ſaid *Roger Dods*, upon an Embring day, to ſup with Bread and Cheeſe; ſaying, that which goeth into a Man's Body defileth not a Man's Soul; but that which goeth out of the Body, defileth both Body and Soul.

Alſo that the ſaid Vicar taught him the *A, B, C*, to the intent he ſhould have underſtanding in the *Apocalyps*: wherein he ſaid, that he ſhould perceive all the falſhood of the World, and all the truth. He ſaid furthermore unto him, when he had been at the Lady of *Worceſter*, at the Blood of *Hailes*, which had coſt him 18 pence, that he had done as an ill husband, that had ploughed his land, and ſown it, but nothing to the purpoſe; for he had worſhipped Man's handy-work, and caſt away his money, which had been better given to the poor: for he ſhould worſhip but one God, and no handy-work of Man.

Item, When the people would offer Candles, where he was Vicar, to *Mary Magdalen*, he would take them away, and ſay they were Fools that brought them thither.

Roger Dods of *Burford*, by his Oath was compelled to utter theſe perſons here named.

Elizabeth More of *Eaſthonred.*
Robert Pope of *Weſthonred.*

Henry Miller of *Tucke* by *Ware.*

This *Henry* did ſhew to *Roger Dods* a certain ſtory of a Woman in the *Apocalyps*, riding upon a red Beaſt. The ſaid *Henry* was twice abjured.

John Phip of *Hyebenden.*

For reading unto the ſaid *Roger Dods* a certain Goſpel in Engliſh.

William Phip of *Hyebenden*, and *Henry* his Son.

This *William* had exhorted *Roger Dods* that he ſhould worſhip no Images, nor commit Idolatry, But worſhip one God: and told the ſame *Roger*, that it was good for a Man to be merry and wiſe, meaning that he ſhould keep cloſe that was told him, for elſe ſtrait puniſhment ſhould follow.

Roger Parker of *Hyebenden.*

This *Parker* ſaid to *John Phip* for burning of his Books, that he was foul to blame, for they were worth a hundred Marks. To whom *John* anſwered, that he had rather burn his Books, than that his Books ſhould burn him.

The Wife of *Thomas Widemore*, Daughter of *Roger Houſe*, of *Hyebenden.*
Old *Widemore*'s Wife, Siſter to *John Phip* of *Hyebenden.*

For reading the Bible in Engliſh.

John Ledisdall of *Hungerford.*
For reading of the Bible in *Robert Burger*'s houſe at *Burford*, upon Holy-rood day, with *Colins*, *Lyvord*, *Thomas Hall*, and others.

Robert Colins and his Wife; *John Colins* and his Wife.

For buying a Bible of *Stacy* for twenty ſhillings.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

The Father of *Robert Colins.*

This Father *Colins* had been of this Doctrine from the year of our Lord 1480.

Thomas Baker of *Whateley*; *Robert Livord*; *John Sympſon* of *Steventon*; *Thomas Keitley* of *Burford*; *John Clemſon* Servant to the Prior of *Burford*; *James Edmunds* of *Burford*; *William Gun* of *Witney.*

To theſe was laid, that they being in the houſe of *John Harris* of *Upton*, at the marriage of *Joan* the Wife of *Robert Burges*, did read in a Book called *Nicodemus's Goſpel*, that made the Cloth which our Lord was buried in, (as the Regiſter ſaith) and in that Book is the ſtory of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.*

The foreſaid *Roger Dods* of *Burford*, by his Oath, was compelled to utter theſe Perſons here named.

John Baker Weaver of *Witney.*
The Bailiff of *Witney.*

John Hakker; *John Brabant* and his Wife; *John Brabant* his Son, with his Wife; *John Brabant* the younger Son, with his Wife; *Reginald Brabant* of *Stanlake.*

For reading in a certain Engliſh Book of Scripture, they being together in *John Brabant*'s Houſe of *Stanlake.*

For reading the Scripture in Engliſh.

Henry Phip.
The Crime and Detection againſt this *Henry*, was, for that he being asked of this *Dods*, *Anno* 1515, whether he would go to *Wicomb* or not? anſwered again, that he was choſen Roodman, that is, Keeper of the Roodloft, ſaying, that he muſt go and find a Candle before his *Block-Almighty.*

BLOCK-ALMIGHTY.

Oliver Smith of *Newtime* and his Wife.

William Hobbis.
This *William Hobbis* was detected firſt by *Radulph Hobbis* his Brother to Biſhop *Smith*, but was delivered through the ſuit of the Curate of *Weſt-Wickam.*

Philip Brabant, Servant of *Richard Colins.*

Againſt the bodily preſence of the Sacrament.

For ſaying that the Sacrament of the Altar was made in the remembrance of Chriſt's own Body, but it was not the Body of Chriſt.

The Shepherds Kalender was alſo accuſed and detected,

John Edmunds, otherwiſe called *John Ogins* of *Burford*, did detect

Becauſe the ſame *Edmunds* ſaid, That he was perſwaded by this Book, reading theſe words, that the Sacrament was made in the remembrance of Chriſt.

Againſt the bodily preſence.

The Book of *William Thorpe* likewiſe was much complained of, both by this *John Edmunds* and divers other.

Richard Colins of *Ginger.*

This *Richard Colins*, as he was a great doer among theſe good Men, ſo was he much complained upon by divers, and alſo by this *Edmunds*, for bringing with him a Book called the *King of Beame* into their company, and did read thereof a great part unto them, in this *Edmunds* houſe of *Burford.*

The Book called the King of Beame.

Alice

K. Hen. 8. Anno 1521. Ex Regiſt. John Longland Lincoln.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

Alice Colins, Wife of *Richard Colins.*
This *Alice* likewiſe was a famous Woman among them, and had a good memory, and could recite much of the Scriptures, and other good Books: And therefore when any Conventicle of theſe Men did meet at *Burford*, commonly ſhe was ſent for, to recite unto them the declaration of the Ten Commandments, and the Epiſtles of *Peter* and *James.*

For having the ten Commandments in Engliſh.

Joan Colins, Daughter of *Richard* and of *Alice Colins.*

John Edmunds, otherwiſe called *John Ogins* of *Burford*, did detect

This *Joan* alſo, following her Fathers and Mothers ſteps, was noted, for that ſhe had learned with her Father and Mother the Ten Commandments, the Seven deadly Sins, the Seven works of Mercy, the Five Wits bodily and ghoſtly, the Eight Bleſſings, and five Chapters of St. *James* Epiſtle.

The Father accuſeth his own Daughter.

Agnes Edmunds his own Daughter.
This *Agnes Edmunds* was alſo detected by her Father, that he brought her to the houſe of *Richard Colins* to ſervice, to the intent ſhe might be inſtructed there in God's Law; where ſhe had learned likewiſe the ten Commandments, the five Wites bodily and ghoſtly, and the ſeven deadly Sins.

Alice Gunne.
W. Ruſſel of *Colemanſtreet.*
One Mother *Joan.*
Father *John* of *Hungerford.*
Joan Taylor, Servant of *John Harris* of *Burford.*
Thomas Quicke, Weaver, of *Reading.*
Philip Brabant, Weaver.
John Barber, Clerk of *Amerſham.*
John Eding, of *Hungerford.*
One *Brabant*, Brother to *Philip Brabant* of *Stanlake.*

Robert Butterfield.

William Dorſet.
The words of *William Dorſet* were theſe; That Pilgrimage was of none effect; and offering Candles or other things to Saints, ſtood in no ſtead, and was but coſt loſt.

Tho. White, and *Thomas Clerke*, did appeach

Coſt loſt.

Alſo when his Wife was going on Pilgrimage, and he asked, Whither? and ſhe ſaid, To our Lady of *Wilſdon*: Our Lady, ſaid he, is in Heaven.

For ſaying our Lady is not at Wilſdon, but in Heaven.

John Edmunds.
This *John Edmunds* was detected, becauſe that he talking with the ſaid *Baker* of Pilgrimage, bad him go offer his money to the Image of God. When the other asked what that was? he ſaid, that the Image of God was the poor People, blind and lame, and ſaid, that he offended Almighty God in going on Pilgrimage.

John Baker being urged upon his Oath, did diſcloſe

The Image of God.

Will. Phip, adjured by his Oath, did accuſe

The Father accuſeth his own Son.

Henry Phip, his own Son.
For communing with *Roger Dods* againſt Pilgrimage and Adoration of Images.

Henry Phip, being examined and abjured by the Biſhop, was compelled to diſcloſe

His own words ſpoken to *Roger Dods*, ſaying to him, That he muſt light a Candle before his BLOCK ALMIGHTY, being then Rood-man.

BLOCK-ALMIGHTY.

Roger Parker, *William Phip* his own Father,
For talking together againſt Pilgrimage and Idolatry.

Accuſers. | *Parties accuſed, and Crimes objected.*

John Hakker, *Rob. Pope.*
For reading the Holy Scripture in his Father's Houſe, and for ſaying theſe words Chriſt made his Maundy, and ſaid, Take this Bread, eat it; this is my Body: Take this Wine, drink it, this is my Blood: And Prieſts ſay by theſe words, that the Sacrament of the Altar is the Body of Chriſt.

Jo. Brabant, the elder Son of *Joh. Brabant*, did nominate

John Brabant his Father, and his Mother,
For being preſent when *Hakker* was reading the Scripture in their houſe.

Philip Brabant his Uncle.
The words of *Philip Brabant* were theſe; That it was deadly ſin to go on Pilgrimage.

Concerning this *John Brabant*, here is to be noted the form and effect of the Biſhop's examination; asking and demanding thus of the ſaid *Brabant*; *An unquam audivit Johannem Hakker legentem ſacram Scripturam contra determinationem Eccleſiæ?* That is, Whether he ever heard *John Hakker* read the Holy Scripture againſt the determination of the Church? By the which words, if he mean that it is againſt the determination of the Church to read the Holy Scripture, it may thereby appear to be a blind Church. And if they mean that the holy Scripture containeth any ſuch thing in it which is againſt the determination of the Church, then it appeareth their Church to be contrary unto God, ſeeing it determineth one thing, and God's Word another.

Ex Regiſtro J. Longland Lincoln. Fol. 85.

John Baker did detect

Robert Pope, *Richard Nobbis*, *John Edmunds*,
For ſpeaking againſt going on Pilgrimage, and Image-worſhip.

John a Lee denounced

John a Weedon.
When this *John à Lee* had told the ſaid *Weedon*, how the Biſhop had ſaid in his Sermon theſe words; That all which were of the Sect of Hereticks, believed that God was in Heaven, but they believed not that the Body of Chriſt on the Altar was God. To this he anſwering again, ſaid; Yea, be bold in that word, deriding the Biſhop in ſo ſaying.

William Dorſet of *Kings-Langley*,
For ſaying that Images ſtood for nothing, and that Pilgrimage ſerved to ſpend folks money, and nothing elſe.

Joan Steventon denounced

Alice Colins,
For teaching the ſaid *Joan Steventon* in Lent the Ten Commandments, thus beginning; I am thy Lord God which led thee out of the Land of *Egypt*, and brought thee out of the Houſe of Thraldom: Thou ſhalt have no Alien Gods before me: neither make to thee any Image graven with Man's hands, that is in Heaven above, neither in the Earth beneath, *&c.*
Item, for teaching her the firſt Chapter of St. *John*'s Goſpel; In the beginning was the Word, *&c.*

John Harris,
For teaching her the firſt Chapter of *Peter.*

K. Hen. 8. *Accusers.* | *Parties accused, and Crimes detected.*

Mr. *Cotismore* of *Brightwell.* Also Mrs. *Cotismore*, otherwise called Mrs. *Dolie*,

For speaking these words to one *John Bainton* her Servant; That if she went to her Chamber and prayed there, she should have as much merit as tho she went to *Walsingham* on Pilgrimage.

Item, When the said Sir *John* came to her after the death of Mr. *Cotismore* his Master, requiring her to send one *John Stainer* her Servant to our Lady of *Walsingham*, for Master *Cotismore*, which in his life-time, being sick, promised in his own Person to visit that place; she would not consent thereto, nor let her Servant go.

Sir *John* a Priest, and also *Robert Robinson*, detected

Item for saying, that when Women go to offer to Images or Saints, they did it to shew their new gay geere: and that Images were but Carpenter's Chips: and that folks go on Pilgrimage more for the green way, than for any devotion.

Carpenters Chips.

Thomas Vincent of *London.*

To *Thomas Vincent* it was objected, for giving this *Hakker* a Book of St. *Matthew* in English.

Mrs. *Cotismore*, otherwise *Doly.*

Richard Coline,

For receiving of the said *Hakker* a Book of the Ten Commandments in English. Goodwife *Bristow* of *Woodstreet* in *London.*

William Gunne,

For receiving of *Hakker* a Book of the ten Plagues sent of God to *Pharaoh.*

John Hakker did detect

The Wife of *Thomas Widmore* of *Chichenden.*

Elizabeth the Daughter of this *Hakker*, and *Robert* her Husband, otherwise called *Fitton* of *Newbery.*

William Stokesley of *Henly.*

John Simond, and his Wife, of *great Marlow.*

John Awsty of *Henley.*

Thomas Awsty of *Henley.*

——*Grinder* of *Cookham.*

John Heron.

For having a Book of the Exposition of the Gospels fair written in English.

Richard Grace,

For speaking these words following; That our blessed Lady was the Godmother to St. *Katharine*: and therfore the Legend is not true, in saying that Christ did marry with St. *Katharine*, and bade *Adrian* put on his Vestment, and say the Service of Matrimony: for so Christ should live in Adultery for marrying with his Godsister; which thing if he should do, he should be thought not to do well.

Thom. Grove, and also *John* of *Reading*, put to their Oath, did detect

Item, For saying by the Picture of St. *Nicholas* being newly painted, that he was not worthy to stand in the Rood-loft, but that it better beseemed him to stand in the Belfry, &c.

IN this Table above prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to see and understand; first, the number and names of these good Men and Women, troubled and molested by the Church of *Rome*, and all in one Year; of whom few or none were learned, being simple Labourers and Artificers, but as it pleased the Lord to work in them knowledg and understanding, by reading a few English Books, such as they could get in corners. 2ly, What were their Opinions we have also described. And thirdly, Herein is to be noted moreover the blind ignorance and uncourteous dealing of the Bishops against them, not only in that they, by their violent Oath and captious Interrogatories, confounded the Children to accuse their Parents, and Parents the Children, the Husband the Wife, and the Wife the Husband, &c. But especially in that most wrongfully they so afflicted them, without all good reason or cause, only for the sincere verity of God's Word, and reading of Holy Scriptures.

Now it remaineth, that as you have heard their Opinions, (which principally in number were four) so also we declare their Reasons and Scriptures whereupon they grounded: and after that consequently the order and manner of Penance to them enjoined by the Bishop. And first against Pilgrimage, and against worshipping of Images, they used this Text of the *Apocalyps, ch. 9. I saw Horses in a Vision, and the heads of them as the heads of Lions; smoak, fire, and brimstone came out of their mouths; with these three Plagues, the third part of Men were slain of the smoak, and of the fire, and of the brimstone that came out of the mouths of them. They that were not slain of these three Plagues, were such as worshipped not Devils, and Images of Gold and Silver, of Brass, of Tree, and of Stone*, &c. Ex *Regist. Longland. fol.* 72. Also they used and alledged the first Commandment, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worship noe Gods than one.

The reasons and probations of their Doctrine.

And as touching the Sacrament, and the right Doctrine thereof, they had their instruction partly out of *Wickliffe's Wicket*, partly out of the *Shepherds Kalender*; where they read that the Sacrament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his Body, &c. Moreover they alledged and followed the words of Christ spoken at the Supper, at what time he sitting with his Disciples, and making, with them his Maundy, took Bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his Disciples, and said, Eat ye, this (reaching out his arm, and shewing the Bread in his hand, and then noting his own natural Body, and touching the same, and not the Bread confecrated) is my Body which shall be betrayed for you; do this in remembrance of me. And likewise took the Wine and bad them drink, saying, This is my Blood which is of the New Testament, &c.

Wickliffe's Wicket. The Shepherds Kalender.

Ex Regist. Longland. Lincoln. Fol. 105.

Item, That Christ our Saviour sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and there shall be unto the day of Doom. Wherefore they believed that in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Christ.

Item, (said one of them) Men speak much of the Sacrament of the Altar; but this will I bide by, That upon Chare-Thursday, Christ brake Bread unto his Disciples, and bade them eat it; saying, it was his Flesh and Blood. And then he went from them, and suffered passion; and then he rose from death to life, and ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and there he is to remain unto the day of Doom, when he shall judg both quick and dead; and therefore how he should be here in the former Bread, he said, he could not tell.

Such Reasons and Allegations as these and other-like, taken out of the Scripture, and out of the *Shepherds Kalender*, *Wickliffe's Wicket*, and out of other Books they had amongst them. And altho there was no learned Man with them to ground them in their Doctrine, yet they communing and conferring together among themselves, did convert one another, the Lord's hand working with them marvellously: so that in short space the number of these *known* or *just fast Men* (as they were then termed) did exceedingly encrease; in such fort that the Bishop, seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the King, and required his aid for suppression of these Men. Whereupon King *Henry* being then young, and unexpert in the bloody practices and blind leadings of these Apostolical Prelats, incensed with his suggestions and cruel complaints, directed down Letters to the Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Officers, and Subjects, for the aid of the Bishop in this behalf: The Tenor of which Letters here ensueth:

The Bishop complaineth to the King.

The

The Copy of the King's Letter for the aid of *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, against the Servants of Christ, falsly then called *Hereticks*.

K. Hen. 8.

The Towns, and Villages, and Countries where these foresaid Persons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be these.

The Copy of the Kings Letters.

HEnry *the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of* England *and of* France, *Lord of* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith: To all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Constables, and to all other our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Letters hearing or seeing, and to every of them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reverend Father in God, our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor, the Bishop of* Lincoln *hath now within his Diocese no small number of Heretics, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heaviness: We therefore being in will and mind stedfastly to provide for the said right reverend Father in God and his Officers, that they, ne none of them, shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the said Heretics or their Fautors, in the executing and ministring of Justice unto the said Heretics, according to the Laws of Holy Church; do straitly charge and command you, and every of you, as ye tender our high displeasure, to be aiding, helping, and assisting to the said right reverend Father in God, and his said Officers, in the executing of Justice in the Premisses, as they or any of them shall require you so to do; not failing to accomplish our commandment and pleasure in the Premisses, or ye intend to please us, and will answer to the contrary at your uttermost perils. Given under our Signet at our Castle at* Windsor, *the twentieth day of* October, *the thirteenth year of our Reign.*

Amersham.
Chelham.
Hychenden.
Miffenden *the great.*
Miffenden *the less.*
Eastchendred.
Westchendred.
Aithall.
Bekensfield.
Denham.
Gynge.
Betterton.
Cherney.
Stanlake.
Clousield.
Walton.
Marlow.
Dorney.
Iuer.
Burton.
Uxbridg.
Owburne.
Henley.
Wickham.
Westwickham:
Newbery.
Burford.
Witney.
Hungerford.
Upton.
Windsor.
London.
Colemanstreet *in* London:
Cheapside *in* London.
Shoreditch *by* London.
St. Giles *in* London.
Essex.
Suffolk.
Norfolk.
Norwich:

The names of the towns where they lived.

The Bishop thus being armed, no less with the authority of the King's Letter, than incited with his own fierceness, foreslacked no time, but, estsoons to accomplish his moody violence upon the poor Flock of Christ, called before him, sitting upon his Tribunal-seat, both these aforenamed Persons, and all other in his Diocese, which were never so little noted or suspected to incline toward those Opinions: of whom no such as had not newly been taken, and had not before abjured, he enjoined most strait and rigorous Penance. The other in whom he could find any relapse, yea, albeit they submitted themselves never so humbly to his favourable courtesy; and tho also at his request, and for hope of pardon, they had shewed themselves great detesters of their Brethren, being moreover of him fed and flattered thereunto; yet notwithstanding, contrary to his fair words, and their expectation, he spared not, but read Sentence of Relapse against them, committing them to the secular Arm to be burnt.

The cruel falshood of Bishop Longland.

And first as touching them, who being brought to Abjuration, were put to their Penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a Catalogue; first reciting the Persons, afterward the rigorous Penance to them enjoined.

The Names of them which were abjured in the Diocese of Lincoln, *in the Year of our Lord* 1521.

William Colins.
John Colins.
Joan Colins.
Robert Colins.
John Hacker.
John Brabant *the Father.*
John Brabant *the Son.*
John Brabant *younger Son.*
John Edmonds.
Edward Pope.
Henry Phip.
John Steventon.
Joan Steventon.
Robert Bartlet.
Thomas Clerke.
John Clerke.
Richard Bartlet.
William Phip.
John Phip.
Thomas Couper.
William Littlepage.
John Littlepage.
Joan Littlepage.
John Say.
John Frier.
Richard Vulford.
Thomas Tredway.
William Gudgame.
Roger Heron.
Francis Funge.
Robert Pope.
Roger Dods.
John Harris.
Robert Bruges.
John Stampe.
Joan Stampe.
Richard White.
Benet Ward.
John Baker.
Agnes Wellis.
Marian Morden.
Isabel Morwin.
John Butler.
John Butler *the younger.*
Richard Carder.
Richard Bernard.
Joan Bernard.
John Grace.
John French.
John Edings.

Fol. 32. *Ibid.*

Fol. 33.

Fol. 34.

Ibid.

Fol. 36.

Fol. 37.

Fol. 40.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Fol. 4.

Fol. 34.

Fol. 35.

Fol. 9.

Fol. 45.

A brief sum of their Opinions.

THe Opinions of many of these Persons were, That he or the never believed in the Sacrament of the Altar, nor ever would, and that it was not as Men did take it. *Ex Regist.*

For that he was known of his Neighbours to be a good Fellow, meaning, that he was a *known Man.* *Ibid.*

For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a one knew so much as he did know.

Some for saying, that they of *Amersham*, which had bin abjured before by Bishop *Smith*, were good Men, and perfect Christians, and simple Folk which could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by power of the Bishop.

Some, for hiding other in their Barns. *Ibid.*

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or Treatises of Scripture, in English: some, for hearing the same read.

Some, for defending, some for marrying with them which had been abjured.

Some, for saying that Matrimony was not a Sacrament.

Some, for saying that worshipping of Images was Mawmetry; some for calling Images Carpenters Chips; some for calling them flocks and stones; some for calling them dead things.

Some, for saying that many spent upon Pilgrimage, served but to maintain Thieves and Harlots.

Some, for calling the Image in the Rood-loft, *Block-Almighty.*

Other for saying, that nothing graven with Man's hand was to be worshipped.

Some for calling them Fools which came from Mr. *John Sborne* in Pilgrimage.

Another, for calling his Vicar a poll-shorne Priest. *Ibid.*

Another, for calling a certain blind Chappel, being in ruin, an old fair Milk-house.

Another for saying, that he threshed God Almighty out of the Straw.

Another for saying, that Alms should not be given before it did sweat in a Man's hand.

Some, for saying, that they which die, pass straight either to Heaven or Hell.

Isabel Bartlet was brought before the Bishop and abjured, for lamenting her Husband when the Bishop's Man came for him, and saying, that he was an undone Man, and the a dead Woman.

For saying, that Christ, departing from his Disciples into Heaven, said, That once he was in sinners hands, and would come there no more.

Robert Rave, hearing a certain Bell in an uplandish Steeple, said, Lo, yonder is a fair Bell, and it were to hang about any Cows neck in this Town; and therefore,

K. Hen. 8. as for other fish-like matters more, he was brought *coram nobis.*

Item, For receiving the Sacrament at *Easter*, and doubting whether it was the very Body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly Father.

Some for saying, that the Pope had no authority to give Pardon, or to release Man's Soul from sin, and so from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The order of Penance. The Penance to these parties enjoined by this *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, was almost uniform, and all after one condition; save only that they were severally committed and divided into several and divers Monasteries, there to be kept and found of Alms all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the Bishop: as As for Example, I have here adjoined the Bishop's Letter for one of the said number, sent to the Abbey of *Ensham*, there to be kept in perpetual Penance. By which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, which were bestowed likewise sunderly into sundry Abbeys, as to *Osney*, to *Frideswide*, to *Abingdon*, to *Tame*, to *Bisseter*, to *Dorchester*, to *Notley*, to *Alsbridg*, and divers moe: The Copy of the Bishop's Letter sent to the Abbot of *Ensham*, here followeth under written.

The Bishop's Letter to the Abbot of *Ensham*.

The Copy of the Bishop's Letter to the Abbot of Ensham. MY loving Brother, *I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the Law, put this bearer* R. T. *to perpetual Penance within your Monastry of* Ensham, *there to live as a Penitent, and not otherwise: I pray you, and nevertheless according unto the Law, command you to receive him, and see you order him there according to his Injunctions, which he will shew you if you require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him: And his meat and drink he may have, such as you give of your Alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink; so may you order him as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he past not the precinct of your Monastry. And thus fare you heartily well: From my place,* &c.

As touching the residue of the Penance and Punishment inflicted to these Men, they do little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all. The manner and form whereof in the said Bishop's Register doth proceed in condition as followeth.

Penance enjoined unders pain of relapse, by John Longland *Bishop of* Lincoln, *the 19 day of* December, Anno 1521.

Ex Rectifico, Fol. 50. Penance enjoined to these Abjurats under pain of relapse. IN *primis*, That every one of them shall, upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the market-time, go thrice about the market at *Burford*, and then to stand up upon the highest greece of the Cross there, a quarter of an hour with a Fagot of Wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a fagot of Wood upon their shoulders before their Procession upon a *Sunday* which shall be limited unto them at *Burford*, from the Quire door going out, to the Quire door going in, and all the high Mass time, to hold the same Fagot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece before the high Altar there; and every of them to do likewise in their own parish Church, upon such a *Sunday* as shall be limited unto them: and once to bear a Fagot at a general Procession at *Uxbridge*, when they shall be assigned thereto: and once to bear a Fagot at the burning of an Heretick, when they shall be monished thereto.

Also every one of them to fast, Bread and Ale only every *Friday* during their life; and every Even of *Corpus Christi*, every one of them to fast Bread and Water during their Life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same.

Also, to fay every of them every *Sunday*, and every *Fridav*, during their life, once our Lady Psalter, and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

Also they, nor none of them, shall not hide their mark upon their Cheek, neither with Hat, Cap, Hood, Kerchief, Napkin, or otherwise; nor shall suffer their Beards to grow past fourteen days; nor ever haunt again together with any suspect person or persons, unless it be in the open Market, Fair, Church, or common Inn or Alehouse, where other people may see their Conversation.

And all these Injunctions they and every of them are to fulfil with their Penance, and every part of the same, under pain of relapse.

And thus have you the Names, with the Causes and the Penance of them which were at this present time abjured. By which word * abjured is meant, that they were constrained by their Oath, swearing upon the Evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a Cross to the same, to say that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these or any other-like Opinions, contrary to the determination of the Holy Mother Church of *Rome*: And further, that they should detect unto their Ordinary, whomsoever they should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain the same.

* Abjured, what it signifieth.

Here follow the Names of them which were condemned for relapse, and committed unto the secular Power.

AMong these aforenamed Persons which thus fabricated themselves, and were put to Penance, certain there were, which because they had been abjured before, as is above-mentioned, under Bishop *Smith*, were now condemned for relapse, and had Sentence read against them, and so were committed to the secular Arm to be burned: Whose Names here follow.

Martyrs.

Thomas Bernard.	*Robert Rave.*	*Anno*
James Morden.	*John Scrivener.*	1521.

Of these mention is made before, both touching their Abjuration, and also their Martyrdom. Unto whom we may adjoin,

Joan Norman. *Thomas Holmes.*

Tho. Holms. This *Tho. Holmes*, albeit he had disclosed and detected many of his Brethren, as in the Table above is expressed; thinking thereby to please the Bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a feed Man of the Bishop for the same: yet notwithstanding in the said Bishop's Register appeareth the sentence of Relapse and Condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most like it is that he was also adjudged and executed with the rest.

As touching the burning of *John Scrivener*, here is to be noted, that his Children were compelled to set fire unto their Father; in like manner as *Joan Clerke* also, Daughter of *William Tilsworth*, was constrained to give fire to the burning of her own natural Father, as is above specified.

Children compelled to set fire to their own Father.

The Example of which cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and Nature, so it hath not been seen nor heard of in the memory of the Heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the burning of this *John Scrivener*, one *Thomas Dorman*, mentioned before, was present, and bare a Fagot at *Amersham*: whose Abjuration was afterward laid against him, at what time he should depose for recovery of certain Lands from the School of *Barchamstead*. This *Thomas Dorman*, (as I am credibly informed of certain about *Amersham*) was Uncle to this our *Dorman*, and found him at School at *Barchamstead*, under Master *Reeve*; which now so uncharitably abuseth his Pen in writing against the contrary Doctrine, and raileth so fiercely against the Blood of Christ's slain Servants, miscalling them to be a dunghil of stinking Martyrs.

A note of T. Dorman. This Master Dorman, because he was put to School by his Uncle at Barchamsted to M. Reeve, being a Professant: therefore he for the same cause, in the first sentence of his preface saith, that he was brought up in Cambridge School.

Well, howsoever the favour of these good Martyrs do scent in the nose of Mr. *Dorman*, I doubt not but they give a better odour and sweeter smell in the presence of the Lord: *Pretiosa enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*; precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints. And therefore howsoever it shall please Master *Dorman* with reproachful language to misterm the good Martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in his

his Martyrs; his unseemly usage more Cart-like than Clerk-like, is not greatly to be weighed. For as the danger of his Blasphemy burteth not them which are gone; so the contumely and reproach thereof as well comprehendeth his own Kindred, Friends, and Country, as any other else; and especially redoundeth to himself, and woundeth his own Soul, and none else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against him, unless he be blessed with better Grace by time to repent.

Doctor *Colet*.

J. Colet Dean of Paul's. MUch about this time, or not past two years before, died Doctor *John Colet*, of whom mention was made in the Table above. To whose Sermons these *known men*, about *Buckingham-shire*, had a great mind to resort. After he came from *Italy* and *Paris*, he first began to read the Epistles of St. *Paul* openly in *Oxford*, instead of *Scotus* and *Thomas*. From whence he was called by the King, and made Dean of *Paul's*: where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great Auditory, as well of the King's Court, as of the Citizens and others. His Diet was frugal, his Life upright, in Discipline he was severe: insomuch that his Canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like Monks. The honest and honourable State of Matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of Priests. At his Dinner commonly was read either some Chapter of St. *Paul*, or of *Solomon's* Proverbs. He never used to sup. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common Error of Popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar Trade of that Age. The religious order of Monks and Friers he fansied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous Divinity of the School-Doctors, as of *Scotus*, but least of all of *Thomas Aquinas*: insomuch that when *Erasmus*, speaking in the praise of *Thomas Aquinas*, did commend him, that he had read many old Authors, and had written many new Works, as *Catena Aurea*, and such like, to prove and to know his judgment: *Colet* first flapping that *Erasmus* had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, burfteth out in great vehemency, saying, What tell you me (quoth he) of the commendation of that man, who except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous Spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly: and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have polluted Christ's whole Doctrine with man's prophane Doctrine, in such fort as he hath done?

Pauls Epistles first read openly in Oxford.

The commendation of Dr. Colet.

Colets judgment of T. Aquinas.

The Bishop of *London* at that time was *Fitzjames*, of age no less than fourscore. Who (bearing long grudge and displeasure against *Colet*) with other two Bishops, taking his part, like to himself, entred Action of complaint against *Colet* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then *William Warham*. The matter of his Complaint was divided into three Articles: The first was for speaking against worshipping of Images: The second was about Hospitality, for that the entreating upon the place of the Gospel, *Pasce, pasce, pasce*, Feed, Feed, feed: when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of Life, and with Doctrine; in the third, which the School-men do expound for feeding with Hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the Belly, and applied it another way. The third Crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosome Sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but what they bring in their Papers with them. Which because the Bishop of *London* used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The Archbishop more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with *Colet*, so took his part against his Accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

Dr. Colet accused.

The B. of Lond. & Cant. a Defourer of Dr. Colet.

William Tindal, in his Book answering Master *Moor*, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the Bishop of *London* would have made the said *Colet*, Dean of *Paul's*, an Heretick, for translating the *Pater-Noster* into English, had not the Bishop of *Canterbury* holpen the Dean.

But yet the malice of *Fitzjames* the Bishop so ceased not: who being thus repulsed by the Archbishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the King. The occasion thus fell: It happened the same time, that the King was in preparation of War against *France*: where- upon the Bishop with his Co-adjutors, taking occasion upon certain Words of *Colet*, wherein he seemed to prefer Peace before any kind of War, were it never so just; accused him therefore in their Sermons, and also before the King.

K. Hen. 8. Ex quo vel fallitur, bello præferenda.

Furthermore it so befel the same time, that upon Good-friday Doctor *Colet*, preaching before the King, entreated of the Victory of Christ; exhorting all Christians to fight under the Standard of Christ, against the Devil: adding moreover, what an hard thing it was to fight under Christ's Banner, and that all they which upon private hatred or ambition took Weapon against their Enemy (one Christian to slay another) did not fight under the Banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men in their Wars would follow Christ their Prince and Captain, in fighting against their Enemies, rather than the examples of *Julius*, or *Alexander*, &c. The King hearing *Colet* thus speak, and fearing lest by his words the hearts of his Soldiers might be withdrawn from his Wars, which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret Conference, walking in his Garden. Although *Fitzjames*, *Bricot*, and *Standish*, who were his Enemies, thought now none other, but that *Colet* must needs be committed to the Tower, and waited for his coming out. But the King with great gentleness entertaining Doctor *Colet*, and bidding him familiarly to put on his Cap, in long courteous talk had with him in the Garden, much commended him for his Learning and Integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, but that only he required him (for that the rude Soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf; which after he did: and so after long communication and great promises, the King dismissed *Colet* with these words, saying, Let every man have his Doctor as him liketh, this shall be my Doctor: and so he departed. Whereby none of his Adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Colet called before the King.

Dr. Colet commended of the King.

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected a worthy Foundation of the School of *Paul's* (I pray God the fruits of the School may answer the Foundation) for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient Stipend as well for the Master, as for the Usher: whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single Priests with their suspected Chastity. The first Moderator of this School, was *Guli. Lilius*, a man no less notable for his Learning, than was *Colet* for his Foundation. *Ex Epist. Erasm. ad Jodoc. Jonam.* This *Colet* died the year of our Lord 1519.

The founditions of the School of St. Paul's.

Guliel. Lilius Erasm. ad Jodoc. Jonam.

Not long before the death of this *Colet* and *Lily*, lived *Gulielmus Grocinus* and *Gulielmus Latimerus*, both English Gentlemen also, and famously learned. This *Grocinus*, as he began to read in his open Lecture in the Church of St. *Paul*, the Book of *Dionysius Areopagita*, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica* (for the reading of the holy Scriptures in *Pauls* was not in ure) in the first entry of his Preface cried out with great vehemency against them, whoso- ever they were, which either denied or doubt of the Authority of that Book: in the number of whom he noted *Laurence Valla*, and divers other of the like approved Judgment and Learning. But afterward the same *Grocine*, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the forenamed Book, in his judgment, was never written by that Author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called *Dyonisius Areopagita*. *Ex Erasm. ad Parisien.*

Guliel. Linacrum. Guliel. Latimerum. The judgment of Grocinus upon Hierarchia Ecclesiastica. Dyonis. Areop.

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed, doth occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembred, were *Thomas Linacre* and *Richard Pace*: which two followed much upon the time of *Colet*, and of *William Lily*. But of *Richard Pace*, which was Dean next after the aforesaid *Colet*, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of Cardinal *Wolsey*.

Thomas Linacre. Rich. Pace.

Moreover, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of *Jeffery Chaucer* and *John Gower*. Which although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unreasonable

Jeffery Chaucer. Joh. Gower.

K. Hen. 8.

thy to be matched with thefe forenamed perſons, in commendation of their ſtudy and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of theſe two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the Prologue of *Gower*'s work, entituled *Confeſſio Amantis*, that he finiſhed it in the ſixteenth year of King *Richard* the ſecond. And in the end of the eighth Book of his ſaid Treatiſe he declareth that he was both ſick and old when he wrote it: whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithſtanding by certain Verſes of the ſaid Maſter *Gower*, placed in the latter end of *Chaucer*'s Works both in Latin and Engliſh, it may ſeem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of King *Henry* the fourth, and alſo by a Book which he wrote to the ſame King *Henry*. By his Sepulture within the Chappel of the Church of St. *Mary Overies*, which was then a Monaſtery, where he and his Wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his Garland of Laurel, that he was both a Knight, and flouriſhing then in Poetry. In the which place of his Sepulture were made in his Grave-ſtone three Books; the firſt bearing the Title, *Speculum meditantis*: the ſecond, *Vox clamantis*: the third, *Confeſſio amantis*. Beſides theſe, divers Chronicles and other Works moe he compiled.

The Books of John Chaucer.

Likewiſe as touching the time of *Chaucer*, by his own words in the end of his firſt Book of *Troylus* and *Creſſide*, it is manifeſt that he and *Gower* were both of one time; although it ſeemeth that *Gower* was a great deal his ancient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeneſs of that time did give, both great Friends together, and both in like kind of ſtudy together occupied; ſo endeavouring themſelves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many other in Study and Exerciſe of good Letters, did paſs forth their lives here right worſhipfully and godly, to the worthy Fame and Commendation of their name. *Chaucer*'s Works be all printed in one Volume, and therefore known to all men.

Chaucer and Gower commended for their ſtudi-ouſneſs.

This I marvel to ſee the idle life of the Prieſts and Clergy-men of that time, ſeeing theſe Lay-perſons thewed themſelves in theſe kinds of liberal Studies ſo induſtrious and fruitfully occupied: but much more I marvel to conſider this, how that the Biſhops, condemning and aboliſhing all manner of Engliſh Books and Treatiſes which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authoriſe the Works of *Chaucer* to remain ſtill and to be occupied. Who (no doubt) ſaw in Religion as much almoſt as even we do now, and uttereth in his Works no leſs, and ſeemeth to be a right Wickleviſt, or elſe there was never any; and that all his Works almoſt, if they be throughly adviſed, will teſtifie (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly) and eſpecially the later end of his third Book of the Teſtament of Love: for there purely he toucheth the higheſt matter, that is, the Communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may eſpie him at the full. Although in the ſame Book (as in all other he uſeth to do) under ſhadows covertly, as under a Viſour, he ſubſcribeth Truth in ſuch ſort, as both privily ſhe may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be eſpied of the crafty Adverſary. And therefore the Biſhops, belike, taking his Works but for Jeſts and Toys, in condemning other Books, yet permitted his Books to be read.

Chaucer a right Wickleviſt.

Chaucer's Books.

So it pleaſed God then to blind the Eyes of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his Treatiſes, ſome fruit might redound thereof to his Church, as no doubt it did to many. As alſo I am partly informed, of certain which knew the Parties, which to them reported, that by reading of *Chaucer*'s Works, they were brought to the true knowledge of Religion: And not unlike to be true. For to omit other parts of his Volume, whereof ſome are more fabulous than other, what Tale can be more plainly told than the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the Pope with his Prelates to be Antichriſt, than doth the poor Pellican reaſoning againſt the greedy Griffon? Under which *Hypocriſie*, or Poeſie, who is ſo blind that ſeeth not by the Pellican the Doctrine of Chriſt, and of the Lollards to be defended againſt the Church of *Rome*? Or who is ſo impudent that can deny that to be true which the Pellican there affirmeth in deſcribing the preſumptuous pride of that pretenſed Church? Again, what Egg can be more like, or Fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that ſaying Gryph reſembleth the true Image, that is, the Nature and Qualities of that which we call the Church of *Rome*, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration was exempted out of the Copies of *Chaucer*'s Works: which notwithſtanding now is reſtored again, and is extant for every man to read that is diſpoſed. This *Geffery Chaucer*, being born (as is thought) in *Oxford-ſhire*, and dwelling in *Woodſtock*, lieth buried in the Church of the Minſter of St. *Peter* at *Weſtminſter* in an Ile on the ſouth ſide of the ſaid Church, not far from the door leading to the Cloiſter, and upon his Grave-ſtone firſt were written theſe two old Verſes.

Men brought to Truth by reading Chaucer's Works.

The Ploughmans Tale in Chaucer.

Galfridus Chaucer Vates, & fama Poeſie
Materne, hac ſacra ſum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the year of our Lord 1556, one Maſter *Brickham*, beſtowing more coſt upon his Tomb, did add thereunto theſe Verſes following.

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer *conditur hoc tumulo.*
Annum ſi quaras Domini, ſi tempora mortis,
Ecce nota ſubſunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400.

Here beginneth the Reformation of the Church of Chriſt in the time of Martin Luther.

The corruption of the Church deſcribed.

ALthough it cannot be ſufficiently expreſſed with Tongue, or Pen of man, into what miſerable ruine and deſolation the Church of Chriſt was brought in thoſe later days: yet partly, by the reading of theſe Stories afore paſt, ſome intelligence may be given to them which have judgment to mark, or Eyes to ſee in what blindneſs and darkneſs the world was drowned during the ſpace of theſe four hundred years before and more. By the viewing and conſidering of which Times and Hiſtories, thou mayſt underſtand (gentle Reader) how the Religion of Chriſt, which only conſiſteth in Spirit and Verity, was wholly turned into outward Obſervations, Ceremonies, and Idolatry. So many Saints we had, ſo many Gods, ſo many Monaſteries, ſo many Pilgrimages. As many Churches, as many Reliques forged and feigned we had. Again, ſo many Reliques, ſo many lying Miracles we believed. Inſtead of the only living Lord, we worſhipped dead Stocks and Stones. In place of Chriſt immortal, we adored mortal Bread. In ſtead of his Blood, we worſhipped the Blood of Ducks: how the people were led, ſo that the Prieſts were led, no care was taken. In ſtead of God's Word, Man's Word was ſet up. In ſtead of Chriſt's Teſtament, the Pope's Teſtament, that is, the Canon-Law. In ſtead of *Paul*, the Maſter of Sentences took place, and almoſt full poſſeſſion. The Law of God was little read, the uſe and end thereof was leſs known; and as the end of the Law was unknown, ſo the difference between the Goſpel and the Law was not underſtood, the benefit of Chriſt not conſidered, the effect of Faith not expended. Through the Ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite Errors, Sects, and Religions crept into the Church, overwhelming the world, as with a Flood of Ignorance and Seduction. And no marvel; for where the Foundation is not well laid, what Building can ſtand or proſper? The Foundation of all our Chriſtianity is only this; The promiſe of God in the Blood of Chriſt his Son, giving and promiſing life to all that believe in him: Giving (ſaith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us. And that freely (ſaith the Scripture) for Chriſts ſake, and not conditionally for our Merits ſake.

The foundation of Chriſtian Religion.

Rom. 6.

Rom. 4.

Furthermore, Freely (ſaith the Scripture) by Grace, that the Promiſe might be firm and ſure, and not by the works that we do, which always are doubtful. By Grace (ſaith the Scripture) through promiſe to all and upon all that believe, and not by the Law, upon them that do deſerve. For if it come by deſerving, then it is not of Grace: If it be not of Grace, then it is not of Promiſe; and contrariwiſe, if it be of Grace and Promiſe, then it is not of works, ſaith St. *Paul*. Upon the Foundation of God's free Promiſe and Grace firſt builded the Patriarchs, Kings, and Prophets. Upon this ſame Foundation alſo Chriſt the Lord builded his Church. Upon which Foundation the Apoſtles likewiſe builded the Church Apoſtolical or Catholical.

Rom. 4.

Rom. 9.

Rom. 11.

1 Cor. 3.

This Apoſtolical and Catholick Foundation ſo long as the Church did retain, ſo long it continued ſincere and found: which endured a long ſeaſon after the Apoſtles time. But after, in proceſs of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the Church, ſo ſoon as this Foundation began to be loſt, came in new Builders, which would build upon a new Foundation a new Church more glorious, which we call now the Church of *Rome*. Who being not contented with the old Foundation, and the Head-corner-ſtone, which the Lord by his Word had laid; in place whereof they laid the ground-work upon the Condition and Strength of the Law and Works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the Doctrine of God's holy Law, and of good Works according to the ſame, is a thing moſt neceſſary to be learned and followed of all men: yet it is not that Foundation whereupon our Salvation conſiſteth; neither is that Foundation able to bear up the weight of the Kingdom of Heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the Foundation; which Foundation is Jeſus Chriſt, according as we are taught of St. *Paul*, ſaying: No man can lay any other Foundation beſide that which is laid, Chriſt Jeſus, &c.

The Doctrine of the Church corrupted.

But this ancient Foundation, which the old ancient Church of Chriſt laid (as I ſaid) hath been now of long time forſaken, and in ſtead thereof, a new Church, with a new Foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's Promiſe, and his free Grace in Chriſt Jeſus, nor upon free Juſtification by Faith, but upon merits and deſerts of men's working. And herein have they planted all theſe their new devices, ſo infinite, that they cannot well be numbred; as Maſſes-Trecenaries, Dirges, Obſequies, Mattens, and Hours-ſinging-Service, Vigils, Midnight-riſing, Bare-foot going, Fifth-faſting, Lent-faſt, Ember-faſt, Stations, Rogations, Jubilees, Advocation of Saints, Praying to Images, Pilgrimage-walking, Works of Supererogation, Application of Merits, Orders, Rules, Sects of Religion, Vowes of Chaſtity, wilful Poverty, Pardons, Relikes, Indulgencies, Penance, and Satisfaction, with auricular Confeſſion, founding of Abbies, building of Chappels, giving to Churches: And who is able to recite all their laborious Buildings, falſely framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true Foundation, which is the free juſtification by Faith in Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God.

The life and manners of the Church corrupted.

Moreover note, that as this new-found Church of *Rome* was thus deformed in Doctrine, ſo no leſs was it corrupted in order of Life and deep Hypocriſie, doing all things only under pretences and diſſembled Titles. So under the pretence of *Peter*'s Chair, they exerciſed a Majeſty above Emperors and Kings. Under the Vizour of their vowed Chaſtity reigned Adultery; under the cloke of profeſſed Poverty, they poſſeſſed the goods of the Temporalty; under the title of being dead unto the World, they not only reigned in the World, but alſo ruled the World; under the colour of the Keys of Heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the States of the World under their girdle, and crept not only into the Purſes of men, but alſo into their Conſciences: they heard their Confeſſions; they knew their Secrets; they diſpenſed as they were diſpoſed, and look'd what them liſted: And finally when they had brought the whole World under their Subjection, yet did their Pride neither ceaſe to aſcend, neither could their Avarice be ever ſatisfied. And if the example of Cardinal *Wolſey* and other Cardinals and Popes cannot ſatisfie thee, I beſeech thee (gentle Reader) turn over the aforeſaid Book of the Ploughmans Tale in *Chaucer* above-mentioned, where thou ſhalt underſtand much more of their Demeanour than I have here declared.

Habentes ſpecium pietatis, ſed vim ejus abnegantes, 2 Tim. 3.

The Reformation of the Church overthary.

In theſe ſo blind and miſerable corrupt dayes of darkneſs and ignorance, thou ſeeſt, good Reader (I doubt not) how neceſſary it was, and high time that Reformation of the Church ſhould come, which now moſt happily and graciouſly began to work through the merciful and no leſs needful Providence of Almighty God; who although he ſuffered his Church to wander and ſtart aſide, through the ſeduction of Pride and Proſperity along time, yet at length it pleaſed his goodneſs to reſpect his people, and to reduce his Church into the priſtine Foundation and frame again, from whence it was pitiouſly decayed. Whereof I have now conſequently to entreat; intending by the Grace of Chriſt to declare how, and by what means firſt this Reformation of the Church began, and how it proceeded, creaſing by little and little into this perfection which now we ſee, and more I truſt ſhall ſee.

And herein we have firſt to behold the admirable Work of God's Wiſdom. For as the firſt decay and ruine of the Church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledg in Teachers: ſo, to reſtore the Church again by Doctrine and Learning, it pleaſed God to open to man the Art of Printing, the time whereof was ſhortly after the burning of *John Hus* and *Hieronm*. Printing being opened, incontinently miniſtred unto the Church the inſtruments and Tools of Learning and Knowledge, which were good Books and Authors which before lay hid and unknown. The Science of Printing being found, immediately followed the Grace of God: which ſtirred up good Wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of Judgment: by which Light darkneſs began to be eſpied, and ignorance to be detected; Truth from Error, Religion from Superſtition, to be diſcerned, as is above more largely diſcourſed, where was touched the inventing of Printing.

Printing the Fountain of Reformations.

Furthermore; after theſe Wits ſtirred up of God; followed other more, increaſing daily more and more in Science, in Tongues, and Perfection of Knowledge: who now were able not only to diſcern in matters of judment, but alſo were ſo armed and furniſhed with the help of good Letters, that they did encounter alſo with the Adverſary, ſuſtaining the cauſe and defence of Learning againſt Barbarity; of Verity againſt Error; of true Religion againſt Superſtition. In number of whom, amongſt many other here unnamed, were *Picus*, and *Franciſcus Mirandula*, *Laur. Valla*, *Franc. Petrarcha*, *Doc. Weſſalianus*, *Reuchlinus*, *Grocinus*, *Colerus*, *Rhenanus*, *Eraſmus*, &c. And here began the firſt puſh and aſſault to be given againſt the ignorant and barbarous Faction of the Pope's pretenſed Church. Who after that by their learned Writings and laborious Travel, they had opened a Window of light unto the World, and had made (as it were) a way more ready for others to come after: Immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed *Martin Luther*, with others after him; by whoſe miniſtry it pleaſed the Lord to work a more full Reformation of his Church, as by their Acts and Proceedings hereafter ſhall follow (Chriſt willing) more amply to be declared.

And now coming to the time and ſtory of *Martin Luther*, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint to be the principal Organ and Miniſter under him, to reform Religion, and to ſubvert the See of the Pope: firſt, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it ſhall not be impertinent to the purpoſe, to infer ſuch Prophecies and Forewarnings as were ſent before of God, by diverſ and ſundry good men, long before the time of *Luther*, which foretold and prophecied of this Reformation of the Church to come.

Prophecies going before Martin Luther.

The Prophecie of John Hus touching the Reformation of the Church.

And firſt to begin with the Prophecie of *John Huſs* and *Hieronme*, it is both notable, and alſo before-mentioned, what the ſaid *John Hus* at the time of his burning prophelied unto his Enemies, ſaying: *That after an hundred years come and gone, they ſhould give account to God and to him.*

Where is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415. (which year *John Hus* was burned) or from the year 1416. (when *Hieronme* did ſuffer) unto the year 1516. (when *Martin Luther* began firſt to write) we ſhall find the Number of an Hundred Years expired.

Another Prophecie of John Hus touching the Reformation of the Church.

Likewiſe to this may be adjoyned the prophetical Viſion or Dream, which chanced to the ſaid *John Hus* lying in the Dungeon of the Friers in *Conſtance*, a little before he was burned: His Dream, as he himſelf reporteth in his Epiſtles writing to Maſter *John Chlum*, and as I have alſo before recorded the ſame, ſo will I now repeat the ſame again in like effect of words, as he wrote it himſelf in Latin; the effect of which Latin is this:

I pray you expound to me the Dream which I had this Night. I ſaw that in my Church at Bethlehem *(whereof I was Perſon) they deſired and labowred to aboliſh*

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Ex Euseb. & Joh. Hus. This Dream Master *John* of *Chiem* firſt expounded. Then he in the next Epiſtle after expounded it himſelf to this effect: *Stante mandato Dei*, &c. That is, the Commandment of God ſtanding, that we muſt obſerve no Dreams, yet notwithſtanding, I muſt that the Life of Chriſt was painted in *Bethlehem* by me, through his Word, in the Hearts of Men; the which Preaching they went about in *Bethlehem* to deſtroy, firſt in commanding that no Preaching ſhould be, neither in the Church of *Bethlehem*, nor in the Chappels thereby: Secondly, that the Church of *Bethlehem* ſhould be thrown down to the ground, the ſame Life of Chriſt ſhall be painted up again by moe Preachers much better than I, and after a much more better ſort, ſo that a great number of people ſhall rejoyce thereat: all ſuch as love the Life of Chriſt, and alſo I ſhall rejoyce my ſelf, at what time I ſhall awake, that is, when I ſhall riſe again from the dead.

Another Prophetie of John Hus. Alſo in his forty eighth Epiſtle he ſeemeth to have a like prophetical meaning, where he ſaith: *That he truſted that thoſe things, which he ſpake then within the Houſe, ſhould afterward be preached above on the Houſetop*, &c.

And becauſe we are here in hand with the Prophecies of *John Hus*, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain Treatiſe, *De Sacerdotum & Monachorum carnalium abominationes*; thus prophecying of the Reformation of the Church, *The Church*, he ſaith, *cannot be reduced to its former dignity, and reformed, before all things firſt be made new, (the truth whereof appeareth by the Temple of* Solomon) *as well the Clergy and Prieſts, as alſo the People and Laity. Or elſe, except all ſuch as now be addicted to avarice, from the leaſt to the moſt, be firſt converted and renewed, as well the people as the Clerkes and Prieſts, things cannot be reformed. Albeit, at my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the firſt, that is, that then ſhall riſe a new people, formed after the new Man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new Clerkes and Prieſts ſhall come forth and be taken, which all ſhall hate Covetouſneſs and Glory of this Life, labouring to an heavenly Converſation. Notwithſtanding, all theſe things ſhall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, diſpoſed of God for the ſame purpoſe. And this God doth, and will do of his own Goodneſs and Mercy, and for the riches of his Patience and Sufferance, giving time and ſpace of Repentance to them that have long lain in their ſins, to amend and flie from the face of the Lord's Fury, until at length all ſhall ſuffer together, and until both the carnal people, and Prieſts, and Clerks, in proceſs and order of time, ſhall fall away and be conſumed, as is the Cloth conſumed and eaten of the Moth*, &c.

John Hus de Sacerd. & monachorum carnalium abominationes, cap. 73.

With this Prophecie of *John Hus* above mentioned, ſpeaking of the hundredth Years, accordeth alſo the Teſtimony of *Hicrome* his fellow Martyr, in theſe Words: *And I cite you all* (ſaid he) *to anſwer before the moſt high and juſt Judge, after an hundred years.*

A Prophecie of Reformation by Hieronymus Dragenſis.

This *Hieronie* was burnt *Anno* 1416; and *Luther* began to write, *Anno* 1516, which was juſt a hundred Year, according to the right account of *Hicrom's* Prophecie.

Another Prophecie of Reformation by John Hilton Monk of Thuringe.

Philip Melanchton in his Apology, *Cap. de Votis Monaſt.* teſtifieth of one *John Hilton* a Monk in *Thuringe*, who, for ſpeaking againſt certain Abuſes of the Place and Order where he lived, was caſt into Priſon. At length being weak and feeble through Impriſonment, he ſent for the Warden of the Covent, deſiring and beſeeching him to have ſome reſpect of his woful ſtate and pitiful caſe. The Warden rebuking and accuſing him for that he had done and ſpoken; he anſwered again and ſaid, *That he had ſpoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their Monkery, or againſt their Religion: but there ſhould come one (and aſſigned the year* Anno 1516) *who ſhould utterly ſubvert all Monkery, and they ſhould never be able to reſiſt him*, &c.

Ex Phil. Melanc. in Apologia, cap. de Monaſt.

Long it were to induce here all Prophecies that be read in Hiſtories. Certain I mind briefly to touch and paſs over. And firſt to omit the Revelations of *Brigget* (whereunto I do not much attribute) who propheſying of the Deſtruction of *Rome* in her fourth Book, *Cap.* 17. ſaith; 'That *Rome* ſhall be ſcoured and purged with three things, with Sword, Fire, and the Plough: reſembling moreover the ſaid Church of *Rome* to a Plant removed out of the old place into a new; alſo to a Body condemned by a Judge to have the ſkin flayn off; the Blood to be drawn from the Fleſh; the Fleſh to be cut in pieces; and the Bones thereof to be broken; and all the Marrow to be ſqueezed out from the ſame; ſo that no part thereof remain whole and perfect, &c. But to theſe Speculations of *Briget* I give no great Reſpect, as neither I do to the Predictions of *Katherine de Senis*.

Ex Revel. Brigett. l. 4. cap. 17. Briget propheſieth of Reformation.

And yet notwithſtanding, *Antonius* writing of the ſame *Katharine* in his third part, *Tit.* 23. *cap.* 14. reciteth her Words thus, propheſying of the Reformation of the Church to Frier *Raymund* her ghoſtly Father: 'By theſe Tribulations (ſaith ſhe) God after a ſecret manner unknown to man, ſhall purge his holy Church; and after theſe things ſhall follow ſuch a Reformation of the holy Church of God, and ſuch a Renovation of the holy Paſtors, that the only Cogitation and Remembrance thereof, maketh my Spirit to rejoyce in the Lord: And as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the Spouſe, which is now all deformed and ragged, ſhall be adorned and decked with moſt rich and precious Ouches and Brouches: And all the Faithful ſhall be glad and rejoyce to ſee themſelves ſo beautified with ſo holy Paſtors. Yea, and alſo the Infidels, then allured by the ſweet ſavour of Chriſt, ſhall return to the Catholick Fold, and be converted to the true Biſhop and Shepherd of their Souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this ſtorm he will give a great calm, &c.

Antoninus part 3. Hiſt. Titul. 23. cap. 14. Katharina ſenenſis propheſying of Reformation.

The Goſpel beginneth his reformation with peace and quietneſs.

Of the Authority of this Propheteſs I have not to affirm or judge, but rather to hear what the Catholick Judges will ſay of this their own Saint and Prophet. For if they do not credit her Spirit of Propheſie, why then do they authorize her for a pure Saint among the Sifters of dear St. *Dominick*? If they warrant her Propheſie, let them ſay then, when was this glorious Reformation of the Church ever true or like to be true, if it be not true now in this marvellous alteration of the Church in theſe our latter days? Or when was there any ſuch Converſion of Chriſtian People in all Countries ever heard of, ſince the Apoſtles time, as hath been ſince the preaching of *Martin Luther*?

Of *Hieronimus Savonarola* I wrote before, ſhewing that he propheſied: *That one ſhould paſs over the Alps like to* Cyrus, *who ſhould ſubvert and deſtroy all* Italy. Which may well be applied to God's Word, and the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſpreading now abroad ſince *Luther's* time.

The Propheſie of Hieronime Savonarola.

Theodoricus, Biſhop of *Croatia*, lived near about the time when *Hus* and *Hierome* were martyred. Who in the end of his propheſical Verſes, which are extant *Dorticis.* in print, declareth: *That the See of* Rome, *which is ſo horribly polluted with Simony and Avarice, ſhall fall, and no more oppreſs men with Tyranny, as it hath done, and that it ſhall be ſubverted by her own Subjects, and that the Church and true Piety ſhall flouriſh more again than ever it did before.*

The Propheſie of Theodoricus.

Noviomagus teſtifieth, that he, in the Year of our Lord 1520, heard *Oſtendorpius*, a Canon of *Deventry* ſay, that when he was a young man, Doctor *Weſelius* a Friſian, which was then an old Man, told him, 'That he ſhould live to ſee this new School-Divinity of *Scotus*, *Aquinas*, and *Bonaventure*, to be utterly forſaken and exploded of all true Chriſtians.

The Propheſie of Dr. Weſelius.

In a Book of *Carolus Bouillus*, mention is made of a certain Viſion which one *Nicholas*, an Hermite of *Helvetia*, had; *In which Viſion he ſaw the Pope's Head crowned with three Swords proceeding from his face, and three Swords coming*

A Propheſie of the Popes Head.

coming toward it. This Viſion is alſo imprinted in the Books of *Martin Luther*, with his Preface before it.

Ex Flac. de teſtibus veritatis. *Nicholas Medleus*, being of late Superintendent of *Brunſwick*, affirmed and teſtified, 'That he heard and knew a certain Prieſt in his Country, that told the Prieſts there, that they laid aſide *Paul* under their Desks and Pews: but the time would come, when as *Paul* ſhould come abroad, and drive them under the Desks and dark Stalls, where they ſhould not appear, &c.

Matthius Flacius, in the end of his Book entituled, *de Teſtibus Veritatis*, 'Speaketh of one *Michael Stifelius*; which *Michael*, being an old Man, told him, that he heard the Prieſts and Monks ſay, many times by old Propheſies, that a violent Reformation muſt needs come amongſt them: and alſo that the ſaid *Michael* heard *Comadus* *Stifelius* his Father many times declare the ſame: who alſo, for the great hatred he bare againſt this filthy ſect of Monks and Prieſts, told to one *Peter Piver*, a Friend and Neighbour of his, that he ſhould live and ſee the day; and therefore deſired him, that when the day came, beſides thoſe Prieſts which he ſhould kill for himſelf, he would kill one Prieſt for his ſake. *Hæc ex Flacio.*

The fall of the Popedom ſignified by the fall of the Angel from the Church top of the Popes Caſtle. Ex Boleo, Cent. 8.

This *Stifelius* thought belike, that this Reformation ſhould be wrought by outward violence, and force of Sword: but he was therein deceived; altho the Adverſary uſeth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the Goſpel always beginneth with peace and quietneſs.

In the Table of *Amerſham*-Men I ſignified a little before, how one *Haggar* of *London*, ſpeaking of this Reformation to come, declared, *That the Prieſts ſhould make battel, and have the upper hand a while, but ſhortly they ſhould be vanquiſhed and overthrown for ever.*

In the time of Pope *Alexander* the ſixth, and about the year of our Lord 1500, as is before ſpecified, *The high Angel which ſtood in the top of the Pope's Church and Caſtle of St.* Angel, *was thrown down with a terrible Thunder into the River of* Tibris: Whereby might ſeem to be declared the ruin and fall of the Popedom.

To this may be adjoined that which in certain Chronicles, and in *John Bale*, is recorded; which ſaith, *That in the year of our Lord*, 1516, (which was the ſame year when *Martin Luther* began) *Pope* Leo *the tenth did create one and thirty Cardinals: In the which year and day of their Creation, there fell a tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning in* Rome, *which ſo ſtrook the Church where the Cardinals were made, that it removed the little Child Jeſus out of the Lap of his Mother, and the Keys out of St.* Peter's *hand.* Which thing many then did interpret to ſignify and forethew the ſubverſion and alteration of the See of *Rome*.

Another ſignification of the Popes fabrication.

Hitherto pertaineth alſo a ſtrange portent and a prodigious token from Heaven, in the Year of our Lord 1505, in the which year, under the Reign of *Maximilian* the Emperor, *There appeared in* Germany, *upon the Veſtures of Men, as well of Prieſts as Laymen, upon Womens Garments alſo, and upon their Rocks as they were ſpinning, divers Prints and Tokens of the Nails, of the Sponge, of the Spear, of the Lord's Coat, and of bloody Croſſes*, &c. All which were ſeen upon their Caps and Gowns, as is moſt certainly teſtified and recorded by divers, which both did ſee, and alſo did write upon the ſame. Of whom firſt was *Maximilian* the Emperor, who both had and ſhewed the ſame to *Franciſcus Mirandula*, which wrote thereupon a Book in Latin Meetre, called *Trauaiſtion*; wherein, for the more credit, theſe Verſes be contained.

Ex Joan Carione Franc. Mirandula, & aliis. Bloody Marks of the Lords Paſſion ſeen upon Mens Garments.

Non ignota cano, Cæſar monſtravit, & ipſi
Vidimus: Innumeros promſit Germania teſtes, &c.

The expoſition of this portent.

Of this alſo writeth *Jo. Carion*, *Funllius*, *P. Melanchton*, *Flacius*, with divers other moe. Theſe Marks and Tokens, as they were very ſtrange, ſo were they diverſly expounded of many, ſome thinking that they portended Affliction and Perſecution of the Church to draw near: ſome, that God by that Token did admoniſh them, or foreſhewed unto them the true Doctrine of their Juſtification, which only is to be fought in the Croſs and Paſſion of Chriſt, and no other thing. This I marvel, that *Chriſtianus Maſſeus*, and other of that Profeſſion, do leave it out. Belike they ſaw ſomething in it that made not for their liking. For whether it ſignifieth Perſecution to come upon the Germans, they cannot be evil that ſuffer and bear the Croſs with Chriſt: or whether it ſignifieth the true Doctrine of Chriſt coming to the Germans; it cannot otherwiſe be, but that the Doctrine of the Biſhop of *Rome* muſt needs be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath ſtirred up in *Germany*.

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By theſe and ſuch-like Propheſies, it is evident to underſtand, the time not to be far off, when God of his determinate Providence was diſpoſed to reform and to reſtore his Church. And not only by theſe Propheſies the ſame might well appear, but alſo, and much rather, by the hearts of the people at that time; whoſe minds were ſo incenſed and inflamed with hatred againſt the pomp and pride of *Rome*, both thorow all Nations, and eſpecially the people of *Germany*, that it was eaſy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of Popiſh Prelacy would have a fall. Such diſdain there was, ſuch contempt and deriſion began to riſe on every ſide then, againſt the Pope and the Court of *Rome*, that it might ſoon appear by the hearts of the people, that God was not diſpoſed to have it long to ſtand. For neither were their deteſtable doings ſo ſecret, that Men did not ſee them, neither did any Man behold them, having any ſparkle of godlineſs, that could abide them. And thereupon grew theſe Proverbs to their deriſion, in every Country: As in *Germany* it hath been a Proverb amongſt them.

Proverbes againſt the corrupt See of Rome.

Was iſt nu under werk für ein weſen,
Wir moegen für den pfaffen nicht geneſen.

What is this, to ſee the World now round about,
That for theſe ſhaveling Prieſts no Man that once may rout?

Quam primum clericus ſuſcipit ſaſurcm, ſtatim intrat in cuvet Diabolus.

That is;

As ſoon as a Clerk is from into his Order, by and by the Devil entreth into him.

In nomine Domini incipit omne malum.

That is;

In the Name of God beginneth all evil:
Alluding to the Pope's Bulls, which commonly ſo begin.

Item, When Bulls come from *Rome*, bind well your Purſes. The nearer Rome, the further from Chriſt.

Item, He that goeth once to *Rome*, ſeeth a wicked Man. He that goeth twice, learneth to know him. He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him.

Item, The Court of *Rome* never regardeth the Sheep without the Wooll.

Ex Aventi

Once were wooden Chalices, and golden Prieſts:
Now we have golden Chalices, and wooden Prieſts.
Once Chriſtian Men had blind Churches, and light Hearts;
Now they have blind Hearts, and light Churches.

Item, Many are worſhipped for Saints in Heaven, whoſe Souls be burning in Hell.

What ſhould I ſpeak of our Engliſh Proverb, which ſo vilely eſteemeth the filthy Friers, that it compareth them (ſaving thy reverence, good Reader) to a Fart?

In *France*, *Gallus Senonenſis* writeth four hundred years ago, that amongſt them it was an old ſaying: *Rome ſolus Satanam in perniciem totius Eccleſiæ*: that is, That Satan was let looſe at *Rome* to deſtroy the whole Church.

Thomas Becket himſelf in his time, writing to the College of Cardinals, denieth it not, but to be a common word both through Town and City, *Quod non ſit juſtitia Romæ*: that is, That there is no Right at *Rome*.

To theſe may be adjoined alſo the *A, B, C*, which we find in the Margent of a certain old Regiſter, to be attributed to *William Thorpe*, whoſe Story we have comprehended in the Book before.

The A, B, C, againſt the pride of the Clergy.

¶ *A wake ye ghoſtly Perſons, awake, awake,*
B oth Prieſt, Pope, Biſhop, and Cardinal:
C onſider wiſely, what ways ye take,
D angerouſly being like to have a fall.
E very where the miſchief of you all,
F ar and near, breaketh out very faſt;
G od will needs be revenged at the laſt.

¶ *How*

K. Hen. 8.

¶ *How long have ye the World captived,*
I n fore bondage of Men's Traditions?
K ings and Emperors ye have deprived.
L ewdly usurping their chief Poſſeſſions:
M uch miſery ye make in all Religions.
N ow your Frauds be almoſt at their later caſt,
O f God fore to be revenged at the laſt.
¶ *P oor People to oppreſs ye have no ſhame,*
Q uaking for fear of your bloody tyranny.
R ighteſul Juſtice ye have put out of frame,
S eeking the luſt of your God the belly.
T herefore I dare you boldly certify
V ery little, tho you be threof againſt,
T o God you will be revenged at the laſt.

By theſe and ſuch-like ſayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may ſoon be ſeen what Hearts and Judgments the People had in thoſe days of the Romiſh Clergy. Which thing, no doubt, was of God as a ſecret Propheſy, that thorlly Religion ſhould be reſtored: according as it came to paſs about this preſent time, when *Dr. Martin Luther* firſt began to write, after that *Picus Mirandula*, and *Laurentius Valla*, and laſt of all *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, had ſomewhat broken the way before, and had ſhaken the Monks houſes. But *Luther* gave the ſtroke, and pluckt down the Foundation, and all by opening one Vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the Touchſtone of all Truth and Doctrine, as the only principal Origen of our Salvation, which is our free juſtifying by Faith only in Chriſt the Son of God. The laborious travels, and the whole proceſs, and the conſtant preachings of this worthy Man, becauſe they are ſufficiently declared in the Hiſtory of *Joannes Sleidanus*, I ſhall the leſs need to ſtay long thereupon, but only to run over ſome principal matters of his Life and Acts, as they are briefly collected by *Philip Melanthon*.

The Hiſtory of Dr. Martin Luther, *with his Life and Doctrine deſcribed.*

The Hiſtory of Martin Luther, with his Life and Doctrine deſcribed.

Martin Luther, after he was grown in years, being born at *Iſleben* in *Saxony*, *Anno* 1483, was ſet to the Univerſity, firſt of *Magdeburg*, then of *Erford*. In this Univerſity of *Erford*, there was a certain aged Man in the Covent of the *Auguſtines*, (who is thought to be *Weſelus* above mentioned) with whom *Luther* being then of the ſame Order, Frier *Auguſtine*, had conference upon divers things, eſpecially touching the Article of Remiſſion of Sins; the which Article the ſaid aged Father opened unto *Luther* after this ſort; declaring, that we muſt not generally believe only forgiveneſs of ſins to be, or to belong to *Peter*, to *Paul*, to *David*, or ſuch good Men alone; but that God's expreſs Commandment is, that every Man ſhould believe his ſins particularly to be forgiven him in Chriſt: and further ſaid, that this interpretation was confirmed by the teſtimony of St. *Bernard*, and ſhewed him the place, in the Sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus ſet forth: *But add thou that thou believeſt this, that by him thy ſins are forgiven thee. This is the Teſtimony that the Holy Ghoſt giveth thee in thy Heart, ſaying, Thy ſins are forgiven thee. For this is the Opinion of the Apoſtle, that Man is freely juſtified by Faith.*

An excellent declaration of St. Bernard touching Faith.

By theſe words *Luther* was not only ſtrengthned, but was alſo inſtructed of the full meaning of St. *Paul*, who repeateth ſo many times this ſentence, *We are juſtified by Faith.* And having read the Expoſitions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpoſe of the old Man, as by the comfort he received in his Spirit, the vanity of thoſe Interpretations, which he had read before of the Schoolmen. And ſo reading by little and little, with conferring the ſayings and examples of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of Faith by force of Prayer, he perceived that Doctrine moſt evidently. Then began he to read St. *Auguſtines* Books, where he found many comfortable ſentences: among other, in the Expoſition of the Pſalms, and eſpecially in the Book of the Spirit and Letter, which confirmed this Doctrine of Faith and Conſolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aſide the Sententiaries, as *Gabriel* and *Cameracenſis*. Alſo he read the Books of *Occam*, whoſe ſubtilty he preferred above *Thomas Aquinus* and *Scotus*. He read alſo and revolved *Gerſon*: but above all the reſt, he peruſed all over St. *Auguſtine*'s Works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his ſtudy at *Erford* the ſpace of four years in the Covent of the *Auguſtines*.

The profit of St. Auſtins Books.

About this time one *Staupitius*, a famous Man, miniſtring his help to further the erection of an Univerſity in *Wittenberg*, and endeavouring to have Schools of Divinity founded in this new Univerſity: when he had conſidered the ſpirit and towardlineſs of *Luther*, he called him from *Erford*, to place him in *Wittenberg*, in the year 1508, and of his age 26. There his towardneſs appeared in the ordinary exerciſe, both of his diſputations in the Schools, and preaching in Churches: where many wiſe and learned Men attentively heard *Luther*, namely Dr. *Mellaraſtad*.

The Inſtitution of the Univerſity at Wittenberg.

Staupitius.

The Judgment of Dr. Mellaraſtad upon Martin Luther.

This *Mellaraſtad* would oftentimes ſay, that *Luther* was of ſuch a marvellous ſpirit, and ſo ingenious, that he gave apparent ſignification, that he would introduce a more compendious, eaſie, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and aboliſh the order that then was uſed.

Tecelius preacher of the Popes Pardons.

There firſt he expounded the Logick and Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his ſtudy in Theology. Three years after he went to *Rome*, about certain Contentions of the Monks; and returning the ſame year, he was graded Doctor, at the expences of Elector *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, according to the ſolemn manner of Schools; for he had heard him preach well underſtood the quieteſs of his Spirit; diligently conſidered the vehemency of his words; and had in ſingular admiration thoſe profound matters which in his Sermons he ſimply and exactly explained. This degree *Staupitius*, againſt his will, inforced upon him; ſaying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to paſs in his Church by him. And tho theſe words were ſpoken merrily, yet it came ſo to paſs anon after; as many Predictions or Preſages prove true before a change.

Luthers Propoſitions of Pardons.

Luther ſent to Rome.

Frederick Duke of Saxony.

Luther commeneth Doctor.

The Reaſon why Luther writ againſt Pardons.

The Slander of Tecelius the Frier.

After this, he began to expound the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and conſequently the *Pſalms*: where he ſhewed the difference betwixt the Law and the Goſpel. He alſo confounded the Error that reigned then in Schools and Sermons, teaching that Men may merit remiſſion of ſins by their proper works, and that they be juſt before God by outward Diſcipline, as the Phariſees taught. *Luther* diligently reduced the minds of Men to the Son of God. And as *John Baptiſt* demonſtrated the Lamb of God which took away the ſins of the World; Even ſo *Luther* ſhining in the Church as a bright Star after a long cloudy and obſcure Sky, expreſſly ſhewed, that ſins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful Gift.

Dr. Martin Luther beginneth to read the Epiſtle to the Romans.

Luther taught Jeſus Chriſt.

Theſe happy beginnings of ſo good matters, got him great authority, eſpecially ſeeing his life alſo was correſpondent to his profeſſion. The conſideration whereof, allured to him marveloully the hearts of his Auditors, and alſo many notable Perſonages.

All this while *Luther* yet altered nothing in the Ceremonies, but preciſely obſerved his rule among his Fellows; he medled in no doubtful Opinions, but taught this only Doctrine, as moſt principal of all others to all Men, opening and declaring the Doctrine of Repentance, of remiſſion of Sins, of Faith, of true comfort in times of Adverſity. Every Man received good taſte of this ſweet Doctrine, and the Learned conceived high pleaſure to behold Jeſus Chriſt the Prophets, and Apoſtles to come forth into light, out of darkneſs, whereby they began to' underſtand the difference betwixt the Law and the Goſpel; betwixt the promiſes of the Law, and the promiſe of the Goſpel; betwixt Spiritual Juſtice, and Civil Things: which certainly could not have been found in *Thomas Aquinus*, *Scotus*, and ſuch-like School-Clerks.

The praiſe of Frederick Duke of Saxony.

It hapned moreover about this time, that many were provoked by *Eraſmus*'s learned Works, to ſtudy the Greek and Latin Tongues; who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the Monks barbarous and ſophiſtical Doctrine; and eſpecially ſuch as were of a liberal nature and good diſpoſition. *Luther* began to ſtudy the Greek and Hebrew Tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phraſe and property of the Tongues, and drawn the Doctrine of the very Fountains, he might give more ſound judgment.

Eraſmus openeth the way before Luther.

As *Luther* was thus occupied in *Germany*, which was the year of our Lord 1516, *Leo* the tenth of that name ſucceeding after *Julius* the ſecond, was Pope of *Rome*. Who under

Ex Chriſtia. Maſſæo. lib. 20. Chron.

Ten ſhilling Pardons.

under pretence of War againſt the Turk, ſent a Jubilee with his Pardons abroad through all Chriſtian Realms and Dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable Riches and Treaſure. The Gatherers and Collectors whereof perſwaded the people, that whoſoever would give ten ſhillings, ſhould at his pleaſure deliver one Soul from the pains of Purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatſoever they would have him, according to the ſaying, *Quicquid ſolverits ſuper terram, erit ſolutum in Cœlo, &c. Whatſoever you ſhall looſe upon Earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed in Heaven.* But if it were but one jot leſs than ten ſhillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing. *Ex Chriſtia. Maſſæo, lib. 20. Chro.*

This filthy kind of the Pope's Merchandiſe, as it ſpread through all quarters of Chriſtian Regions, ſo it came alſo to *Germany*, through the means of a certain Dominick Frier named *Tecelius*, who moſt impudently carried the Pope's Indulgences or Pardons to be carried and ſold about the Country. Whereupon *Luther*, much moved with the blaſphemous Sermons of this ſhameleſs Frier, and having his heart earneſtly bent with ardent deſire to maintain true Religion, publiſhed certain Propoſitions concerning Indulgences, which are to be read in the firſt Tome of his Works, and ſet them openly on the Temple that joineth to the Caſtle of *Wittenberg*, the morrow after the Feaſt of all Saints, the year 1517.

This beggerly Frier, hoping to obtain the Pope's bleſſing, aſſembled certain Monks, and ſophiſtical Divines of his Covent, and forthwith commanded them to write ſomething againſt *Luther*. And whilſt he would not himſelf ſeem to be dumb, he began not only to invey in his Sermons, but to thunder againſt *Luther*; crying, *Luther* is an Heretick, and worthy to be perſecuted with Fire. And beſides this, he burned openly *Luther*'s Propoſitions, and the Sermon which he wrote of Indulgences. This rage and furniſh fury of this Frier, inforced *Luther* to treat more amply of the cauſe, and to maintain his matter.

And thus roſe the beginnings of this Controverſy, wherein *Luther*, neither ſuſpecting, nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the Ceremonies, did not utterly reject the Indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falſly accuſe him, which blaze, that he began with plauſible matter, whereby he might get praiſe, to the end that in proceſs of time he might change the ſtate of the Common-weal, and purchaſe authority either for himſelf or other.

And certes, he was not ſuborned or ſtirred up by them of the Court, (as the Duke of *Brunſwick* wrote) inſomuch that the Duke *Frederick* was ſore offended that ſuch contention and controverſy ſhould ariſe, having regard to the ſequel thereof.

And as this good Duke *Frederick* was one, of all the Princes of our time, that loved beſt quietneſs and common tranquility; neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to prefer all his Counſels to the common utility of all the World, (as it is eaſy to be conjectured divers ways) ſo he neither encouraged nor ſupported *Luther*, but often repreſented ſemblance of heavineſs and ſorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater diſſenſions. But being a wiſe Prince, and following the counſel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himſelf, that the Word of God was to be preferred above all things. Neither was he ignorant what blaſphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obſtinately to repugn the Truth. Wherefore he did as a godly Prince ſhould do; he obeyed God, committing himſelf to his holy grace, and omnipotent protection. And alſo *Maximilianus* the Emperor, *Carolus* King of *Spain*, and Pope *Julius*, had given commandment to the ſaid Duke *Frederick*, that he ſhould inhibit *Luther* from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the Duke, confiding with himſelf the preaching and writing of *Luther*, and weighing diligently the teſtimonies and places of the Scripture which he alledged, would not withſtand the thing which he judged ſincere. And yet neither did he this, truſting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquiſitive to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged & learned. In the number of whom was *Eraſmus*, whom the Duke defired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of *Martin Luther*; ſaying and proteſting, that he would rather the ground ſhould open and ſwallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifeſt truth; and therefore he defired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him, freely and friendly.

K. Hen. 8.

The Judgment of Eraſmus touching Luther. Monks Bellies, and the Popes Crown not to be touched.

Eraſmus, thus being entreated of the Duke, began thus jeſtingly and merrily to anſwer the Dukes Requeſt, ſaying, That in *Luther* were two great faults; firſt, that he would touch the Bellies of Monks: the ſecond, that he would touch the Pope's Crown; which two matters in no caſe are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the Duke, thus he ſaid, That *Luther* did dwell in delicate Regions, and that Reformation was to be wiſhed, and very neceſſary in the Church: and added moreover, that the effect of his Doctrine was true: but only that he wiſhed in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling. Whereupon Duke *Frederick* ſhortly after wrote to *Luther* ſeriouſly, exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his ſtile. This was at the City of *Colen*, ſhortly after the coronation of the new Emperor, where alſo *Hutenus*, *Aleiſius*, *Marlianus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *Helianus*, with other learned Men, were aſſembled together, waiting upon the Emperor.

Ex Cheruſc. Pencer. l. 5.

Furthermore, the ſame *Eraſmus*, the year next following that, wrote up to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* a certain Epiſtle touching the cauſe of *Luther*. In which Epiſtle thus he ſignifieth to the Biſhop: *That many things were in the Books of Wittenberg, the morrow after the Feaſt of all Saints, the year 1517.* Luther *condemned of Monks and Divines, which in the Books of* Bernard and Auſtin *are read for ſound and godly.*

Ex Epiſt. Eraſm. ad Moguntinenſe.

Alſo, *That the World is burthened with Mens Inſtitutions, with School-Doctrines and Opinions, and with the tyranny of begging Friers: which Friers, when they are but the Popes Servants and Underlings, yet they have ſo grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the Pope himſelf, and to all Princes. Who ſo long as the Pope weareth with them, ſo long they make him more than a God: but if he make any thing againſt their purpoſe or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or phantaſie.*

The Church burthened.

Once (ſaid he) *it was counted an Herely when a Man repugned againſt the Goſpel, or Articles of the Faith: Now he that diſſenteth from* Thomas Aquinas, *is an Heretick; whatſoever doth not like them, who ſoever they underſtand not, that is Hereſy. To ſpeak Greek is Hereſy, or to ſpeak more finely than they do, that is with them Hereſy.* And thus much by the way concerning the Judgment of *Eraſmus*.

Now to return, and to entreat ſomething orderly of the Acts and Conflicts of *Luther* with his Adverſaries. After that *Tecelius* the foreſaid Frier, with his fellow Monks and friefly Fellows, had cried out with open mouth againſt *Luther*, in maintaining the Pope's Indulgences; and that *Luther* again, in defence of his cauſe, had ſet up Propoſitions againſt the open abuſes of the ſame, marvel it was to ſee how ſoon theſe Propoſitions were ſparkled abroad in ſundry and far places, and how greedily they were catched up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter encreaſing between them, *Luther* was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwiſe he thought, which was in the Year of our Lord 1517.

Ex Pantaſip. Abbat. Urſperg.

Yet all this while *Luther* never thought of any alteration to come of any Ceremony, much leſs ſuch a reformation of Doctrine and Ceremonies as afterward did follow. But only hearing that he was accuſed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, he did write humbly unto him: in the beginning of which Writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of thoſe his Pardon-mongers, which ſo exceſſively did pill and poll the ſimple people, to the great flander of the Church, and ſhame to his Holineſs: and ſo proceeding, in the end of his writing thus he ſubmitteth himſelf.

The ſubmiſſion of Luther to the Pope.

Wherefore (ſaith he) *moſt holy Father, I offer my ſelf proſtrate under the feet of your Holineſs, with all that I am, and that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you ſhall pleaſe. Your voice, the voice of Chriſt in your ſpeaking, I will acknowledg. If I have deſerved death, I ſhall be contented to die: For the Earth is the Lord's, and all the fulneſs thereof, who is to be bleſſed for ever.* Amen. This was in the year of our Lord 1518.

Pſal. 24.

The raging diſcourſe of Silveſter Prierus, againſt Luther

After that *Martin Luther*, provoked by *Tecelius*, had declared his mind in writing, lowly and humbly, and had ſet up certain Propoſitions to be diſputed; not long after, among other Monks and Friers, ſtepped up one *Silveſter de Prierio*, a Dominick Frier, who firſt began

to

K.Hen. 8 The author of Luther against him.

to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing Dialogue against him. Unto whom *Luther* answered again, first alledging the place of the Apostle; 1 Theſſ. 5. *That we muſt prove all things.* Alſo the place, *Gal.* 2. *That if an Angel from Heaven do bring any other Goſpel than that we have received, he ought to be accurſed.*

Item, He alledged the place of *Auſtin* unto *Hieronm.* where he ſaid *Auſtin* ſaith, *That he was wont to give this honour only to the Book of Canonical Scripture, that whoſoever were the Writers thereof, he believeth them utterly not to have erred. But as touching all other Mens Writings, were they never ſo holy Men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, becauſe they ſo ſay, but in that reſpect as they do agree with the Canonical Scripture, which cannot err.*

Item, He alledged the place of the Canon Law; *Clem. de Panit. & remiſ. C. Abuſionibus.* Wherein he proved, *That theſe Pardon-ſellers, in their ſetting forth of the Pope's Indulgences, ought to go no further by the Law, than is enjoined them within the Letters of their Commiſſion.*

And in the latter part of his Anſwer, thus *Luther* writeth to the Reader, *Let Opinions* (ſaith he) *remain Opinions, ſo they be not Tokes to the Chriſtians. Let us not make Mens Opinions equal with the Articles of Faith, and to the decrees of Chriſt* and Paul. *Moreover, I am aſhamed* (quoth he) *to hear the common ſaying of theſe Divine School-Doctors, who holding one thing in the Schools, and thinking otherwiſe in their own Judgment, thus are wont ſecretly among themſelves, and with their privy Friends talking together, to ſay, That do we bold, and thus would we ſay being in the Schools: but yet (be it ſpoken here amongſt us) it cannot be ſo proved by the Holy Scriptures,* &c. *Ex Paralip. Abb. Ufperg.*

Eckius writeth againſt Luther.

Next after this *Silveſter*, ſtept forth *Eckius*, and impugned the concluſions of *Luther*. Againſt whom encountred *D. Andreas Bodenſtein*, Archidecon of *Wittenberg*, making his Apology in defence of *Luther*.

Then was *Martin Luther* cited the 7*th* of *Auguſt*, by one *Hieronymus* Biſhop of *Aſcalon*, to appear at *Rome*. About which time *Thomas Cajetanus*, Cardinal, the Pope's Legat, was then Lieger at the City of *Auguſta*, who before had been ſent down in Commiſſion, with certain Mandates of Pope *Leo*, unto that City. The Univerſity of *Wittenberg* underſtanding of *Luther's* Citation, cauſed directed up their Letters, with their publick Seal, to the Pope in *Luther's* behalf. Alſo another Letter they ſent to *Carolus Militius* the Pop's Chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good *Frederick* ceaſed not for his part to ſollicit the matter with his Letters and earneſt Suit with Cardinal *Cajetanus*, that the Cauſe of *Luther* might be freed from *Rome*, and removed to *Auguſta*, in the hearing of the Cardinal. *Cajetanus*, at the ſuit of the Duke, wrote unto the Pope: from whom he received this anſwer again the three and twentieth of the foreſaid month of *Auguſt*, 'That he had cited *Luther* to appear perſonally before him at *Rome*, by *Hieronymus* Biſhop of *Aſcalon*, Auditor of the Chamber: which Biſhop diligently had done 'that was commanded him: but *Luther*, abuſing and contemning the gentleneſs offered, did not only refuſe to 'come, but alſo became more bold and ſtubborn continuing, or rather increaſing in his former Hereſy, as by his 'Writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the Cardinal ſhould cite and call up the ſaid *Luther* to appear at 'the City of *Auguſta* before him; adjoining withal, the 'aid of the Princes of *Germany*, and of the Emperor, if 'need required: ſo that when the ſaid *Luther* ſhould appear, he ſhould lay hand upon him, and commit him to 'ſafe cuſtody, and after he ſhould be brought up to *Rome*: 'and if he perceived him to come to any knowledg or 'amendment of his fault, he ſhould releaſe him and reſtore him to the Church again, or elſe he ſhould be interdict, with all other his Adherents, Abetters, and Maintainers, of whatſoever ſtate or condition they were, whether they were Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earls, Barons, &c. Againſt all which Perſons and Degrees, he willed him to extend the ſame Curſe and Malediction (only the Perſon of the Emperor excepted) interdicting, by the Cenſure of the Church, all ſuch Lands, Lordſhips, Towns, Tenements, and Villages, as ſhould miniſter any harbour to the ſaid *Luther*, and were not obedient unto the See of *Rome*. Contrariwiſe, to all ſuch as ſhewed themſelves obedient, he ſhould promiſe full remiſſion of all their Sins.

The Univerſity of Wittenberg writeth to the Pope for Luther.

The Popes charge to his Legat againſt M. Luther.

Likewiſe the Pope directeth other Letters alſo the ſame time to Duke *Frederick*, complaining with many grievous words againſt *Luther*.

The Cardinal thus being charged with Injunctions from *Rome*, according to his Commiſſion, ſendeth with all ſpeed for *Luther* to appear at *Auguſta* before him.

About the beginning of *Octoher*, *Martin Luther* yielding his obedience to the Church of *Rome*, came to *Auguſta* at the Cardinal's ſending, (at the charges of the noble Prince Elector, and alſo with his Letters of Commendation) where he remained three days before he came to his ſpeech; for ſo it was provided by his Friends, that he ſhould not enter talk with the Cardinal, before a ſufficient Warrant or ſafe Conduct was obtained of the Emperor *Maximilian*. Which being obtained, eſtſoons he entred, offering himſelf to the ſpeech of the Cardinal, and was there received of the Cardinal very gently: who, according to the Pope's commandment, propounded unto *Martin Luther* three things; or, as *Sleidan* ſaith, but two; to wit;

Luther obedient to the See of Rome

Luther appeareth before Cardinal Cajetanus.

1. *That he ſhould repent and revoke his Errors.*
2. *That he ſhould promiſe, from that time forward, to refrain from the ſame.*
3. *That he ſhould refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the Church.*

Three things put to Luther by the Pope.

When *Martin Luther* required to be informed wherein he had erred, the Legat brought forth the Extravagants of *Clement*, which beginneth, *Unigenitus*, &c. becauſe that he, contrary to that Canon, had held and taught in his fifty eight Propoſitions, *That the Merits of Chriſt, are not the treaſure of Indulgences or Pardons.* Secondly, The Cardinal, contrary to the ſeventh Propoſition of *Luther*, affirmed, that Faith is not neceſſary to him that receiveth the Sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the preſence of four of the Emperors Council, having there a Notary, and Witneſſes preſent, *Luther* proteſted for himſelf, and perſonally, in this manner following.

Proteſtation of M. Luther before the Cardinal.

'*Imprimis*, I *Martin Luther*, a Frier Auguſtine, proteſt, 'That I do reverence and follow the Church of *Rome* in all 'my ſayings and doings, preſent, paſt, and to come; and 'if any thing hath been, or ſhall be ſaid by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken as 'as tho it had never been ſpoken. But becauſe the Cardinal hath acquired at the commandment of the Pope, three 'things of me to be obſerved:

1. 'That I ſhould return again to the knowledg of my 'ſelf.

2. 'That I ſhould beware of falling into the ſame again 'hereafter.

3. 'That I ſhould promiſe to abſtain from all things 'which might diſquiet the Church of God.

The anſwer of Luther, with his Propoſitions to the Cardinal.

'I proteſt here this day, That whatſoever I have ſaid, 'ſeemeth unto me to be found, true, and Catholick; yet 'for the further proof thereof, I do offer my ſelf perſonally, either here or elſewhere, publickly to give a reaſon of 'my ſayings. And if this pleaſe not the Legat, I am 'ready alſo in writing to anſwer his Objections, if he 'have any againſt me: and touching theſe things, to hear 'the ſentence and judgment of the Univerſities of the 'Empire, *Baſil. Friburg*, and *Louvane*. Hereof when 'they had received an anſwer in writing, they departed.

Luther obedient to the See of Rome.

After this, *Luther* by and by prepareth an anſwer to the Legat, teaching, that the Merits of Chriſt are not committed unto Men: that the Pope's Voice is to be heard when he ſpeaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: that the Pope may err, that he ought to be reprehended, *Alls* 15. Moreover he ſhewed, that in the matter of Faith, not only the General Council, but alſo every faithful Chriſtian is above the Pope, if he leane to better Authority and Reaſon: that the Extravagant containeth untruths: that it is an infallible verity, that none is juſt: that it is neceſſary, for him that cometh to the receiving of the Sacrament, to believe: that Faith in the abſolution and remiſſion of ſins, is neceſſary: that he ought not, nor might not decline from the verity of the Scripture: that he ought nothing but the light of the Truth, &c.

But

K.Hen.8

But the Cardinal would hear no Scriptures, he diſputed without Scriptures; he deviſed Gloſſes and Expoſitions of his own head: and by Diſtinctions (wherewith the Divinity of the *Thomiſts* is full) like a very *Proteus* he avoided all things. After this, *Luther* being commanded to come no more in the preſence of the Legate, except he would recant, notwithſtanding abode there ſtill, and would not depart. Then the Cardinal ſent for *Joannes Stupitius*, Vicar of the Auguſtines, and moved him earneſtly to bring *Luther* to recant of his own accord. *Luther* tarried the next day alſo, and nothing was ſaid unto him. The third day moreover he tarried, and delivered up his mind in Writing: in which, firſt, 'he thanked him 'for his courteſie and great kindneſs, which he perceived by the words of *Stupitius*, toward him; and 'therefore was the more ready to gratifie him in whatſoever kind of Office he could do him ſervice: confeſſing 'moreover, that where he had been ſomewhat ſharp and 'eager againſt the Pope's Dignity, that was not ſo much 'of his own mind, as it was to be aſcribed to the opportunity of certain which gave him occaſion. Notwithſtanding, as he acknowledged his exceſs therein, ſo he 'was ready to ſhew more moderation in that behalf hereafter, and alſo promiſed to make amends for the ſame 'unto the Biſhop, and that in the Pulpit, if he pleaſed. And as touching the matter of Pardons, he promiſed alſo 'to proceed no further in any mention thereof, ſo that his 'Adverſaries likewiſe were bound to keep ſilence. But 'whereas he was preſt to retract his ſentence before defended; foraſmuch as he had ſaid nothing but with a good 'Conſcience, and which was agreeable to the firm Teſtimonies of the Scripture: therefore he humbly deſired 'the determination thereof to be referred to the Biſhop of '*Rome*: for nothing could be more grateful to him, than 'to hear the voice of the Church ſpeaking, &c.

Proteus is a Monſter noted in Poets, which could change himſelf into all Forms and Likeneſſes.

Luthers anſwer to the Cardinal.

Who doth not ſee by this ſo humble and honeſt ſubmiſſion of *Luther*, but that if the Biſhop of *Rome* would have been anſwered with any Reaſon, or contented with ſufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of *Luther?* but the ſecret purpoſe of God had a further work herein to do: for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride ſhould have a fall. Thus while the unmeaſurable deſire of that Biſhop ſought more than enough (like to *Eſops* Dog coveting to have both fleſh and ſhadow) not only he miſſed that he gaped for, but alſo loſt that which he had.

Pride will have a fall.

Æſops Dog. All covet, all loſe.

But to the purpoſe of our matter again: this Writing *Luther* delivered to the Cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his ſight. Which Letter or Writing the Cardinal did little regard. When *Luther* ſaw that he would give no anſwer nor countenance to the Letter; yet notwithſtanding he remained after that the fourth day, and nothing was anſwered: the fifth day likewiſe was paſſed with ſilence, and nothing done. At the length, by the counſel of his Friends, and eſpecially becauſe the Cardinal had laid before, that he had a Commandment to impriſon *Luther* and *John Stupitius* the Vicar; after that he had made and ſet up his Appeal where it might be ſeen and read, he departed, thinking that he had ſhewed ſuch dangerous obedience long enough. *Luther*, a beholder and a doer of theſe things, recordeth the ſame, and ſheweth the cauſe why he ſubmitted himſelf to the Church of *Rome*: declaring alſo, that even thoſe things which are moſt truly ſpoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he ſuppreſſeth and concealeth, which he ſuppoſeth the Reader to underſtand, not without grief and ſorrow. At length he proteſteth, that he reverenceth and followeth the Church of *Rome* in all things, and that he ſetteth himſelf only againſt thoſe, which, under the name of the Church of *Rome*, go about to ſet forth and commend *Babylon* unto us.

Luther obedient to the See of Rome.

Another Letter of Luther to the Legat.

Thus have you heard, how that *Luther*, being rejected from the ſpeech and ſight of *Cajetanus* the Cardinal, after ſix days waiting, departed by the advice of his Friends, and returned into *Wittenberg*; leaving a Letter in writing to be given to the Cardinal: wherein he declared ſufficiently, firſt his Obedience in his coming, the Reaſons of his Doctrine, his ſubmiſſion reaſonable to the See of *Rome*, his long waiting after he was repelled from the Cardinal's ſpeech, the Charges of the Duke, and finally, the cauſe of his departing. Beſides this Letter to the Cardinal, he left alſo an Appellation to the Biſhop of *Rome*, from the Cardinal, which he cauſed to be affixed before his Departure.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinal to the Pope.

After that *Luther* was thus departed and returned again into his Country, *Cajetanus* writeth to Duke *Frederick* a ſharp and a biting Letter: in which firſt he ſignifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good-will ſhewed to reduce *Luther* from his Error. Secondly he complaineth of the ſudden departing of him, and of *Stupitius*. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of *Luther's* Doctrine againſt the Church of *Rome*. Fourthly, he exhorteth the Duke, that as he tendreth his own Honour and Safety, and regardeth the Favour of the high Biſhop, he will ſend him up to *Rome*, or exped him out of his Dominions, foraſmuch as ſuch a Peſtilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long to be ſuffered.

The Letter of Cajetanus to Duke Frederick.

To this Letter of the Cardinal the Duke anſwereth again at large, purging both *Luther* and himſelf; *Luther*, in that he following his Conſcience, grounded upon the Word of God, would not revoke that for an Error, which could be proved no Error: and himſelf he excuſeth thus; that where it is required of him to baniſh him his Country, or to ſend him up to *Rome*, it would be little honeſty for him ſo to do, and leſs Conſcience, unleſs he knew juſt cauſe why he ſhould ſo do: Which if the Cardinal would or could declare unto him, there ſhould lack nothing in him which were the part of a Chriſtian Prince to do. And therefore he deſired him to be a means unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, that Innocency and Truth be not oppreſſed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

The Dukes anſwer to the Cardinal for Luther.

This done, the Duke ſendeth the Letter of the Cardinal unto *Martin Luther*. Who anſwered again to the Prince, ſhewing firſt how he came obediently unto *Cajetanus* with the Emperor's Warrant; and what talk there was between them: how *Cajetanus* preſſed him, againſt his Conſcience and manifeſt Truth, to revoke theſe Errors. Firſt, that the Merits of Chriſt's paſſion were not the Treaſure of the Pope's Pardons: Secondly, that Faith was neceſſary in receiving the Sacraments. After in the firſt he was content to yield to the Cardinal; in the ſecond, becauſe it touched a great part of our Salvation, he could not with a ſafe Conſcience relent, but deſired to be taught by the Scripture: or at leaſt, that the matter might be brought into open Diſputation in ſome free place of *Germany*, where the Truth might be diſcuſſed and judged of learned Men. The Cardinal not pleaſed with this, in great Anger caſt out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his preſence or ſpeech: whereas he yet notwithſtanding perſiſting in his Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, gave attendance, waiting upon the Cardinal's pleaſure a ſufficient time.

Luther's Letters to Duke Frederick.

At laſt, when no Anſwer would come; after he had waited the ſpace of five or ſix days, to his great detriment, and greater danger, by the perſwaſion of his Friends he departed. Whereat if the Cardinal were diſpleaſed, he had moſt cauſe to blame himſelf. And now whereas the Cardinal threateth me (ſaith he) not to let the Action fall, but that the proceſs thereof ſhall be purſued at *Rome*, unleſs I either come and preſent my ſelf, or elſe be baniſhed your Dominions; I am not ſo much grieved for mine own cauſe, as that you ſhould ſuſtain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore ſeeing there is no place nor Counſel which can keep me from the Malice of my Adverſaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forſake my Countrey, whitherſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to lead me: thanking God, which hath counted me worthy to ſuffer thus much for the Glory of Chriſt's Name.

Luther exiled, to be exiled.

Here (no doubt) was the cauſe of *Luther* in great danger, being now brought to this ſtrait, that both *Luther* was ready to fly the Countrey, and the Duke again was as much afraid to keep him; had not the marvellous Providence of God (who had this matter in guiding) here provided a Remedy where the power of man did fail, by ſtirring up the whole Univerſity of *Wittenberg*; who ſeeing the cauſe of Truth thus to decline, with a full and general conſent addreſſed their Letters unto the Prince, in defence of *Luther* and of his Cauſe; making their humble ſuite unto him, that he of his Princely Honour would not ſuffer Innocency, and the ſimplicity of Truth, ſo clear as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppreſſed by meer Violence of certain malignant Flatterers about the Pope; but

The cauſe of Luther in great danger.

The Univerſity of Wittenberg writeth to the Duke for Luther.

that the Error first may be shewed and convicted, before the Party be pronounced guilty.

By the occasion of these Letters, the Duke began more seriously in his mind to consider the cause of *Luther*, and to read his Works, and also to hearken to his Sermons. Whereby (through God's holy working) he grew to knowledg and strength, perceiving in *Luther's* declared more than he did before. This was about the beginning of *December*, Anno 1518.

New Indulgences set forth by Pope Leo. The Doctrine of the Church of Rome.

As this past on, Pope *Leo* playing the Lyon at *Rome*, in the mean time, in the Month of *November*, to stablish his feat against this defection which he feared to come, had sent forth new Indulgences into *Germany*, and all quarters abroad, with a new Edict, wherein he declared this to be the Catholick Doctrine of the holy Mother-Church of' *Rome*, Prince of all other Churches, that Bishops of *Rome*, which are Successors of *Peter*, and Vicars of Christ, have this Power and Authority given to release and dispense, also to grant Indulgences available both for the living and for the dead, lying in the pains of Purgatory: and this Doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful Christian Men, under pain of the great Curse, and utter separation from all holy Church.

The Pope's Ale-stake to pick mens Purses.

This Popish Decree and Indulgence, as a new Merchandise or Ale-stake to get Money, being set up in all quarters of Christendom for the holy Fathers Advantage, came also to be received in *Germany* about the Month of *December*. *Luther* in the mean time, hearing how they were about in *Rome* to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain Appellation conceived in due form of Law, wherein he appealeth from the Pope to the general Council.

Luther appealeth from the Pope, to a General Council.

When Pope *Leo* perceived, that neither his Pardons would prosper to his mind, nor that *Luther* could be brought to *Rome*; to assay how to come to his purpose by crafty Allurements, he sent his Chamberlain *Carolus Militius* above-mentioned, (which was a *German*) into *Saxony* to Duke *Frederick*, with a golden Rose, after the usual Ceremony accustomed every year to be presented to him, with secret Letters also to certain Noble Men of the Duke's Council, to sollicit the Pope's cause, and to remove the Duke's mind, if it might be, from *Luther*.

Militius the Pope's Chamberlain sent to Duke Frederick.

But before *Militius* approached into *Germany*, *Maximilian* the Emperor deceased in the Month of *January*, Anno 1519. At what time two there were which stood for the Election; to wit, *Francis* the French King, and *Charles* King of *Spain*, which was also Duke of *Austria*, and Duke of *Burgondy*. To make this matter short, through the means of *Frederick* Prince Elector (who having the offer of the preferments refused the same) the Election fell to *Carolus*, called *Carolus* the fifth, firnamed *Prudence*: which was about the end of *August*.

The Death of Maximilian the Emperor.

Charles the fifth elected Emperor, by the means of Duke Frederick.

In the Month of *June* before there was a publick Disputation ordained at *Lypsia*, which is a City in *Misnia*, under the Dominion of *George* Duke of *Saxony*, Uncle to Duke *Frederick*. This Disputation first began through the occasion of *Joannes Eckius* a Frier, and *Andreas Carolostadius*, Doctor of *Wittenberg*. This *Eckius* had impugned certain Propositions or Conclusions of *Martin Luther*, which he had written the year before touching the Pope's Pardons. Against him *Carolostadius* wrote in defence of *Luther*. *Eckius* again to answer *Carolostadius*, set forth an Apology. Which Apology *Carolostadius* confuted by writing. Upon this began the Disputation, with safe conduct granted by Duke *George*, to all and singular persons that would resort to the same. To this Disputation came also *Martin Luther*, with *Philip Melanthon*, who not past a year before was newly come to *Wittenberg*; *Luther* not thinking then to dispute any matter, because of his Appellation above-mentioned, but only to hear what there was said and done.

The Disputation at Lypsia.

Eckius against Carostadius.

Luther cometh to the Disputation, Melanchton newly come to Wittenberg.

First, before the entry into the Disputation it was agreed, that the Acts should be penned by Notaries, and after divulged abroad. But *Eckius* afterward went back from that, pretending, that the penning of the Notaries should be an hinderance and a stay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their Reasoning should the more languish, and their Vehemency abate. But *Carolostadius* without Notaries would not dispute. The sum of their Disputations was reduced to certain Conclusions. Amongst which, first came in question to dispute of Free-Will, which the Greeks call αὐτεξέτων: That is, Whether a man have of himself any Election or purpose to do that which is good: or (to use the terms of the School) Whether a Man of congruence may deserve Grace, doing that which in him doth lie? Herein when the Question was to be discussed, what the Will of man may do of it self, without Grace: they through heat of contention (as the manner is) fell into other By-matters and Ambages little or nothing appertaining to that which *Carolostadius* proposed. *Eckius* affirmed, that the pure strength to do good is not in man's Will, but is given of God to man, to take Interest and Increase of man again, which first he seemed do deny. Then being asked of *Carolostadius*, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God? To this he answered, the whole good work, but not wholly: granting, that the Will is moved of God; but to consent, to be in man's power. Against this Reasoned *Carolostadius*, alledging certain places of *Austin*, and namely of St. *Paul*, which faith, *That God worketh in us both to will, and to perform*. And this sentence of *Carolostadius* seemed to overcome. *Eckius* for his assertion inferred certain Scripts out of *Bernard*, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole Week lost about this contentious and sophistical Altercation between *Eckius* and *Carolostadius*.

The question of Free-Will, αὐτεξέτων.

God giveth his grace to Uitery. Totum. Totaliter.

Pill 2.

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but having true liberty granted by the Duke, and under the Pope's Authority, was provoked, and forced against his Will, to dispute with *Eckius*. The matter of their Controversie was about the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. Here is writ to be admonished, that *Luther* before had set forth in Writing this Doctrine: That they which do attribute the Preheminency to the Church of *Rome*, have no Foundation for them, but out of the Pope's Decrees, set forth not much past four hundred years heretofore: which Decrees he affirmed to be quite contrary to all ancient Histories, above a thousand years past, contrary also to the holy Scripeures, and unto the *Nicene* Council.

Luther disputeth with Eckius.

Luther's Assertion against the Pope's Supremacy.

The Assertion of Eckius for the Supremacy.

Against this Assertion *Eckius* set up a contrary Conclusion; saying, That they which hold that the Supremacy and Preheminency of the Church of *Rome* above all other Churches was not before the time of Pope *Silvester* the first, do err, forasmuch as they, which succeded in the See and Faith of *Peter*, were always received for the Successors of *Peter*, and Vicars of Christ in Earth.

This being the last of all the other Themes of *Eckius*, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against *Luther*, to bring him into more displeasure with the Bishop of *Rome*: wherein *Luther* himself much refused to dispute, alledging that matter to be more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also for the Bishop of *Rome's* sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto if he must needs be urged, he would the Fault should be underfood of all men to be where it was, namely in his Adversaries which provoked him thereunto, and not in himself. *Eckius* again clearing himself, transfateth all the Fault unto *Luther*, which first in his Treatise *de Indulgentiis Papæ* defended, that before Pope *Silvester's* time the Church of *Rome* had no place of Majority or Preheminence above other Churches: and also before the Cardinal *Cajetanus* affirmed, That Pope *Pelagianus* wrested many places of the Scripture out of their proper sense, unto his own affections and purpose. *Wherefore the Fault hereof* (said he) *to him rather is to be imputed, which minifired the first Occasion.*

The authority of the Council of Constance.

Thus *Luther* being egged and constrained to dispute whether he would or no, the Question began to be propounded touching the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*; which Supremacy *Eckius* did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's Law. Master *Luther* on the other side denied not the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome* above other Churches, neither denied the same moreover to be Universal over all Churches; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's Law. Upon this Question the Disputation did continue the space of five days. During all which season, *Eckius* very unhonestly and uncourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his Adversary into the hatred of the Auditors, and into danger of the Pope. The reasons of *Eckius* were these: *Forasmuch as the Church, being a civil Body, cannot be without an*

Disputation between Luther and Eckius about the Popes Supremacy.

K. Hen. 8.

an head, therefore as it standeth with God's Law, that other civil Regiments should not be destitute of their head; so it is by God's Law requisite, that the Pope should be the Head of the Universal Church of Christ. To this *Martin Luther* answered, *That he confesseth and granteth the Church not to be headless so long as Christ is alive, who is the only Head of the Church; neither doth the Church require any other Head beside him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual Kingdom, and not earthly*: And he alledged for him the place of *Ephesians* 1. *Eckius* again proudeth certain places out of *Hieronie* and *Cyprian*, which made very little to prove the Primacy of the Pope to hold by God's Law. As touching the Testimony of *Bernard*, neither was the Authority of that Author of any great force in this case, neither was the place alledged so greatly to the purpofe.

Hieronie. Cyprian. Bernard.

Then came he to the place of St. *Matthew*, *Tu es* Petrus, *&c. Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church*, &c. To this was answered, 'That this 'was a Confession of Faith; and that *Peter* there repre- 'senteth the person of the whole Universal Church, as *Austin* doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place 'meaneth himself to be the Rock, as is manifest to 'collect both by his Words, and order of the Sentence, 'and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of St. *John*, *Pasce oves meas*, *Feed my Sheep*. (Which words *Eckius* alledged to be spoken properly and peculiarly to *Peter* alone.) *Martin* answered, 'That after these Words spoken, equal Authority was given 'to all the Apostles, where Christ saith unto them: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, 'they are remitted, &c. By these Words (saith he) 'Christ, assigning to them their Office, doth teach 'what is to feed, and what he ought to be that feedeth. After this, *Eckius* came to the Authority of the Council of *Constance*; alledging this amongst other Articles: *De necessitate salutis credere Romanum Pontificem Oecumenicum esse*: That is, *That it standeth upon necessity of our Salvation, to believe the Bishop of* Rome *to be Supreme Head of the Church*: Alledging moreover, that in the same Council it was debated and discussed, that the general Council could not err. Whereunto *Martin Luther* again did answer discreetly, saying, 'That all the 'Articles which *John Hus* did hold in that Council, were 'not condemned for heretical, with much other matter 'more. Again, of what Authority that Council of *Constance* is to be esteemed, that he left to other men's Judgments. This is most certain (said he) that no Council hath such Authority to make new Articles of 'Faith. Here *Martin Luther* began to be cried out of by *Eckius* and his Complices, for diminishing the Authority of general Councils; although indeed he meant nothing less, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the same. Yet was he called Heretick and Scismatick, and one of the *Bohemes* Faction, with many other terms moe of reproachful contumely. *Eckius* then granted the authority of the Apostles to be equal: and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all Bishops therefore to be equal; *For between Apostleship and Ministry* (saith he) *there is great difference*. To conclude, *Eckius* in no case could abide that any creature should decline from any word or sentence of the Pope's Decrees, or the Constitutions of the Forefathers. To this again *Luther* answered, grounding himself upon the place *ad Gal.* 2. where St. *Paul* speaking of the principal Apostles, saith: 'And of them which seemed to 'be great, what they were before it maketh no matter to 'me, for God accepteth no Man's person: Nevertheless, 'that they were of some Reputation did avail nothing at all, *&c. Eckius* to this said, 'That as touching the Authority of the Apostles, they were all chosen of Christ, but 'were ordained Bishops of St. *Peter*. And whereas *Luther* brought in the Constitution of the Decree, which saith: *Ne Romanus Pontifex Universalis Episcopus nominetur*, &c. *Yea, let not the Bishop of* Rome *be called Universal Bishop*, &c. To this *Eckius* answered on this fort: *That the Bishop of* Rome *ought not to be called Universal Bishop; yet he may be called* (saith he) *Bishop of the Universal Church*. And thus much touching the Question of the Pope's Supremacy.

The authority of Luther to the place of St. John, Pasce oves meas.

Gal. 2.

Here is good Doctrine of Eckius, I trow.

From this matter they entred next to Purgatory, wherein *Eckius* kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the Pope hath in Purgatory; *Eckius* turneth the scope of the Question, and proveth that there is Purgatory; and alledgeth for him the place of *Maccabees*. *Luther*, leaning upon the Judgment of *Hieronie*, affirmeth the Book of *Maccabees* not to be Canonical. *Eckius* again replieth, the Book of *Maccabees* to be of no less authority than the Gospels. Also he alledgeth the place, 1 *Cor.* 3. *He shall be saved, yet so as it were by fire*. Moreover, he inferred the place of *Matthew* 5. *Agree thou with thine Adversary while thou art in the way with him, lest he commit thee to Prison, from whence thou shalt not escape till thou hast paid the uttermost Farthing*, &c. To this he added also the place of the *Psalms*, *We have passed through the Fire and Water*, &c. How these places be wrested to Purgatory, let the Reader discern and judge. Then was inferred the Question of Indulgences, whereof *Eckius* seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

K. Hen. 8. 2 Mac. 12.

Mat. 5.

Pſal. 65.

The question of Indulgences.

At last they came to the Question of Penance: touching which matter, the Reasons of *Eckius* digressed much from the purpose, which went about to prove, that there be some manner of Pains of satisfaction: which thing *Luther* did never deny: but that for every particular Offence such particular Penance is exacted of God's Justice upon the repentant Sinner, as is in man's power to remit or release as pleaseth him: such Penance neither *Luther*, nor any true Christian did admit.

The question of Penance.

And thus have ye the chief Effect of this Disputation between *Luther* and *Eckius* at *Lypsia*, which was in the Month of *July*, *Anno* 1519.

About the beginning of the same year 1519, *Ulderick Zuinglius* came first to *Zurich*, and there began to teach. Who in the fixteenth Article in his Book of Articles, recordeth, that *Luther* and he both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose we shall find that *Luther* began a year or two before *Zuinglius*. Notwithstanding, this doth *Sleidan* testifie, that in this prefent year, when *Sampſon* a Franciscan came with the Pope's Pardons to *Zurich*, *Ulderick Zuinglius* did withstand him, and declared his Craftie and Pardons to be but a vain fetching of the people, to inveigle away their Money. Ex *Sleid. lib.* 1.

When Ulderick Zuinglius came to Zurich.

Luther and Zuinglius began both at one time to write against the Pope.

The next year ensuing, which was 1520, the Friers and Doctors of *Louvaine*, and also of *Colen*, condemned the Books of *Luther* as heretical. Against whom *Luther* again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate Violence and malicious Impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from *Rome* the Thunderbolt of Pope *Leo* against the said *Luther*, notwithstanding, he for humbly and obediently before had reverenced both the person of the Pope, and agnised the authority of his See, and had also dedicated unto him the Book intituled, *De Christiana libertate*: that is, *Of Christian Liberty*. In which Book these two points principally he discussteth and proveth;

Luther's Books condemned at Louvaine and Colen.

Pope Leos Bull against Luther.

Luthetus de Libertate Christiana.

1. *That a Christian man is free, and Lord over all thing, and subject to none.*
2. *That a Christian man is a diligent Underling and Servant of all men, and to every man subject.*

Moreover, in the same year he set out a Defence of all his Articles, which the Pope's Bull had before condemned.

Another Book also he wrote to the Nobility of *Germany*, in the which Book he impugneth and shaketh the three principal Walls of the Papists: the first whereof is this:

Lutherus ad Nobilitatem Germaniæ.

Three Walls or Bulwarks of the Papists.

1. *Whereas the Papists say, that no temporal or prophane Magistrate hath any power upon the Spiritualty, but these have power over the other.*
2. *Where any place of Scripture, being in controversie, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or be Judg thereof, but only the Pope.*
3. *When any Council is brought against them, they say, That no man hath authority to call a Council, but only the Pope.*

Moreover, in the forefaid Book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the Pope can stop no free Council; also what things ought to be handled in Councils: That the pride of the Pope is not to be suffered. What money goeth out of *Germany* yearly to the Pope, amounting to the Sum of three Millions of Florences. The true meaning of this Verse he expoundeth: *Tu ſuppleæ ora: tuo prorege, tuqs labora.* Wherein the three Estates, with their Offices

The Book of Luther to the Nobility with the matter therein contained.

and Duties are described: to wit, the Minister, the Magistrate, and the Subjects. Furthermore, in the said Book he proveth and discusseth, that the Emperor is not under the Pope: but contrariwise, that the Donation of *Constantine* is not true, but forged: That Priests may have Wives: That the Voices of the People ought not to be separate from the Election of Ecclesiastical persons: That interdicting and suspending of Matrimony at certain times is brought in of Avarice: what is the right use of Excommunication: That there ought to be fewer Holy-days: That Liberty ought not to be restrained in Meats: That wilful Poverty and begging ought to be abolished: What damage and inconvenience have grown by the Council of *Constance*: and what misfortunes *Sigismund* the Emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with *John Hus* and *Hieronme*: That Hereticks should be convinced not by Fire and Faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God's Word: How Schools and Universities ought to be reformed: What is to be said and judged of the Popes Decretals: That the first teaching of Children ought to begin with the Gospel. *Item*, he writeth in the same Book against excessive Apparel among the *Germans*: Also against their excess in Spices, *&c.*

In this year moreover followed not long after the Coronation of the new Emperor *Carolus Quintus*, which was in the Month of *October*, at *Aquisgrave*.

The Emperor executeth.

After which Coronation, being solemnized about the Month of *November*, Pope *Leo* sent again to Duke *Frederick* two Cardinals his Legats, of whom the one was *Hieronimus Leander*, who after a few words of high Commendation first premised to the Duke touching his noble Progeny, and other his famous Vertues, they made two Requests unto him in the Pope's Name; first, That he would cause all Books of *Luther* to be burned. Secondly, that he would either see the said *Luther* there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him up to *Rome* unto the Pope's presence.

Duke Frederick's Answer to the Popes Legates, for Luther.

These two Requests seemed very strange unto the Duke: who, answering again to the Cardinals, said, That he being long absent from thence, about other publick Affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of *Luther*. Notwithstanding this he heard, that *Eckius* was a great Perturber not only of *Luther*, but of divers other learned and good men of his University. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty; first, in sending *Luther* to *Cajetane* the Cardinal at the City of *August*, and afterward, at the Pope's Commandment, would have sent him away out of his Dominion, had not *Meltitius* the Pope's own Chamberlain given contrary Counsel to retain him still in his own Country, fearing left that in other Countreys he might do more harm, where he was less known: and so now also was as ready to do his duty, wherefore Right and Equity did so require. But for so much as in this Cause he feeth much Hatred and Violence shewed on the one part, and no Error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of divers well learned and found Men of judgment; and forsomuch as also the cause of *Luther* was not yet heard before the Emperor, therefore he desired the said Legats to be a mean to the Pope's Holiness, that certain learned Persons of gravity and upright Judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his Error might first be known, before he were made an Heretick, or his Books burned. Which being done, when he should see his Error by manifest and sound Testimonies of Scripture revinced, *Luther* should find no favour at his Hands: otherwise he trusted that the Pope's Holiness would exact no such thing of him, which he might not with Equity and Honour of his Place and Estate, reasonably perform, *&c.*

The Popes Legats burn the Books of Luther.

Then the Cardinals, declaring to the Duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but according to the Form of their Prescript-commission, they must proceed, took the Books of *Luther*, and shortly after set fire upon them, and openly burnt them. *Luther* hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of Students and learned Men in *Wittenberg*, and there taking the Pope's Decrees, and the Bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them, which was the tenth of *December*.

Luther burneth the Popes Decrees and Bulls at Wittenberg.

A little before these things thus passed between the Pope and *Martin Luther*, the Emperor had commanded and ordained a Sitting or Assembly of the States of all the Empire to be holden at the City of *Wormes*, against the sixth day of *January* next ensuing. In the which Assembly, through the means of Duke *Frederick*, the Emperor gave forth, That he would have the Cause of *Luther* there brought before him, and so it was. For at what time the Assembly was commenced in the City of *Wormes*, the day and month aforesaid, which was the sixth of *January*: Afterward upon the sixth day of *March* following, the Emperor, through the Instigation of Duke *Frederick*, directed his Letters unto *Luther*; signifying, that for so much as he had set forth certain Books, he therefore, by the advice of his Peers and Princes about him, had ordained to have the Cause brought before him in his own hearing, and therefore he granted him Licence to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly so do, and be thereof affured, he promised unto him by publick Faith and Credit, in the name of the whole Empire, his Passport and safe Conduct; as by the Instrument which he sent unto him, he might more fully be ascertained. Wherefore without all doubt or distrust, he willed him estsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present the one and twentieth day after the receit thereof: and because he should not misdoubt any fraud or Injury herein, he assured unto him his Warrant and Promise.

The Emperors Letter with his safe Conduct sent to Mr. Luther.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his safe Conduct by the Emperor, after he had been first accursed at *Rome* upon Maunday Thursday, by the Popes censure, shortly after *Easter* speedeth his Journey toward the Emperor at *Wormes*. Where the said *Luther* appearing before the Emperor and all the States of *Germany*, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his Adversaries, and what Adversaries he had, here followeth in full History, with the acts and doings which there hapned, according as in our former Edition partly was before described.

M. Luther accursed of Rome by the Pope.

The Acts and Doings of Martin Luther *before the Emperor at the City of* Wormes.

Anno 1521.

IN the year of our Salvation 1521, about seventeen days after *Easter*, *Martin Luther* entred into *Wormes*, being sent for by the Emperor *Charles* the fifth of that name, *&c.* who, the first year of his Empire made an Assembly of Princes in the foresaid City. And whereas Master *Luther* had published three years before certain Propositions to be disputed in the Town of *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, against the Tyranny of the Pope (which notwithstanding were torn in pieces, condemned and burned by the Papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason convinced) the matter began to grow to a tumult and uproar; and yet *Luther* maintained all this while openly his cause against the Clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that *Luther* should be called, assigning unto him an Herauld of Arms, with a Letter of safe Conduct by the Emperor and Princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the Knights of the Rhodes place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited of many Earls, Barons, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Priests, and the Commonalty, who frequented his Lodging until night.

Hieronme Schurffius.

Luther is sent for to Wormes.

To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well Adversaries as other. For albeit he was sent for by the Emperor's Messenger, and had Letters of safe Conduct; yet for that a few days before his access his Books were condemned by publick Proclamation, it was much doubted of by many that he would not come: and the rather, for that his Friends deliberated together in a Village nigh hand, called *Oppenhime* (where *Luther* was first advertised of these occurrents) and many perswaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these Beginnings answered not the Faith of Promise made. Who when he had heard their whole perswasion and advice, he answered in this wise: *As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter* Wormes, *in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, altho I knew there were so many Devils to resist me, as there are Tiles to cover the Houses in* Wormes.

Constancy in Luther.

The

The fourth day after his repair, a Gentleman named *Ulrick* of *Pappenheim*, Lieutenant-General of the Men at Arms of the Empire, was commanded by the Emperor before dinner to repair to *Luther*, and to enjoin him at four of the Clock in the afternoon to appear before the Imperial Majesty, the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Estates of the Empire, to understand the cause of his sending for: Whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was.

And after four a clock, *Ulrick* of *Pappenheim*, and *Caspar Sturm* the Emperor's Herauld (who conducted Master *Luther* from *Wittenberg* to *Worms*) came for *Luther*, and accompanied him through the Garden of the Knights of the Rhodes place, to the Earl Palatine's Palace: and left the People that thronged in should molest him, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the Galleries, because they desired to behold *Luther*.

Luther is brought before the Emperor.

Thus standing before the Emperor, the Electors, Dukes, Earls, and all the Estates of the Empire assembled there, he was first advertised by *Ulrick* of *Pappenheim* to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then *John Eckius* above mentioned, who then was the Bishop of *Triers* general Official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch, according to the Emperor's Commandment, said and proponed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

John Eckius propoundeth against M. Luther.

Martin Luther, *the sacred and invincible Imperial Majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the Estates of the Holy Empire, that thou shouldest be appealed before the Throne of his Majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two Points.*

First, Whether thou confess those Books here (for he shewed a heap of *Luther*'s Books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues) *and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?*

Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?

Then, before *Luther* prepared to answer, Mr. *Jerome Scurffius*, a Lawyer of *Wittenberg*, required that the Titles of the Books should be read. Forthwith the foresaid *Eckius* named certain of the Books, and those principally which were imprinted at *Basil*; among the which he nominated his Commentaries upon the *Psalter*, his Book of *Good Works*, his Commentary upon the *Lord's Prayer*, and divers other which were not contentious.

M. Luthers answer.

After this, *Luther* answered thus in Latin and in Dutch.

'Two things are proponed unto me by the Imperial
'Majesty: First, Whether I will avouch for mine all those
'Books that bear my name. Secondly, Whether I will
'maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devi-
'sed and published. Whereunto I will answer as briefly
'as I can.

Luther refuseth to revoke his Books.

'In the first, I can do none other than recognize those
'Books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly
'I will never recant any cause of Faith or Life, and to
'declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any
'thing compriled in them: forasmuch as there be questi-
'ons of Faith, and the Salvation of the Soul, (and this
'concerneth the Word of God, which is the greatest and
'most excellent matter that can be in Heaven or Earth,
'and the which we ought duly evermore to reverence) this
'might be accounted in me a rashness of Judgment, and
'even a most dangerous attempt, if I should pronounce
'any thing before I were better advised; considering I
'might recite something less than the matter importeth,
'and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premedi-
'tate that which I would speak. The which two things
'well considered, doth set before mine eyes this sentence
'of our Lord Jesus Christ: wherein it is said, Whosoever
'shall deny me before Men, I will deny him before my Fa-
'ther. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech
'the Imperial Majesty to grant me liberty and leisure to de-
'liberate; so that I may satisfy the Interrogation made
'unto me, without prejudice of the Word of God, and
'peril of mine own Soul,

Luther desireth respite to answer.

Whereupon the Princes began to deliberate. This done, *Eckius* the Prolocutor pronounced what was their resolution, saying, 'Albeit, Mr. *Luther*, thou hast sufficiently
'understood by the Emperor's Commandment, the cause
'of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to
'have any further respit given thee to determine; yet the
'Emperor's Majesty, of his meer clemency, granteth thee
'one day to meditate for thy answer, so that to morrow
'at this instant hour thou shalt repair to exhibit thine O-
'pinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with
'lively voice.

K. Hen. 8.

Eckius the Prolocutor pronounced what was their resolution.

Luther is exhorted to be constant.

This done, *Luther* was led to his lodging by the Herauld. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the Emperor, and when he was in the Assembly of Princes, he was exhorted of other to be courageous, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that can kill the Body, but not the Soul; but rather to dread him that is able to send both Body and Soul to everlasting Fire.

Mat. 10.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; *Whosoever shall confess me before Kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given to thee in that hour.*

Eckius answereth the Emperor.

The next day, after four a clock, the Herauld came and brought *Luther* from his lodging, to the Emperor's Court, where he abode till six a clock, for that the Princes were occupied in grave Consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of People, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the Princes were set, and *Luther* entred, *Eckius* the Official began to speak in this manner:

Eckius answereth Luther.

'Yesterday at this hour the Emperor's Majesty assigned
'thee to be here, Mr. *Luther*, for that thou didst affirm
'those Books that we named yesterday to be thine.
'Further, to the Interrogation by us made, whether thou
'wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish
'and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time
'of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired;
'albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to
'deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee where-
'fore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of
'Faith, every Man ought to be so prepared, that at all
'times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give cer-
'tain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, be-
'ing counted a Man of such learning, and so long time
'exercised in Theology. Then go to, answer even now
'to the Emperor's demand, whole bounty thou hast proved
'in giving thee leisure to deliberate: Wilt thou now main-
'tain all thy Books which thou hast acknowledged, or re-
'voke any part of them, and submit thy self?

The Official made this Interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. *Martin Luther* answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and Christian constancy; so as his Adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly defied his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

M. Luther answereth for himself.

His Answer was this.

MOst magnificent Emperor, and you most noble Princes, and my most gentle Lords, I appear before you here at the hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience which I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's Mercy, your most renowned Majesty, and your Graces and Honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesie, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of Justice and Verity. And if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your full Titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenance of the Court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented Cloisters, and not courtly Civilities. And first, as touching my self, I can affirm or promise no other thing but only this; that I have taught hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's Glory, and to the Salvation of Mens Souls.

Luther giveth account of his Faith before the Emperor.

Now as concerning the two Articles objected by your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledg those Books which were named, and be published in my name; and whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given a resolute answer to the first, in the which I persist,

K.Hen. 8. and ſhall perſevere for evermore, that theſe Books be mine, and publiſhed by me in my name; unleſs it hath ſince happned, by ſome fraudulent miſdealing of mine Enemies, there be any thing foiſted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledg nothing but that I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

Now to anſwer to the ſecond Article; I beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty, and your Graces, to vouchſafe to give ear. All my Books are not of one ſort; there be ſome in which I have ſo ſimply and foundly declared and opened the Religion of Chriſtian Faith, and of good Works, that my very Enemies are compelled to confeſs them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Chriſtians. And truly the Pope's Bull (how cruel and tyrannous ſoever it be) judgeth certain of my Books inculpable: albeit the ſame, with ſevere ſentence, thundreth againſt me, and with monſtrous cruelty condemneth my Books: which Books if I ſhould revoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and tranſgreſs the office of a true Chriſtian, and to be one alone that repugneth the publick confeſſion of all people. There is another ſort of my Books which containeth Invectives againſt the Papacy, and others of the Pope's Retinue, which have with their peſtiferous Doctrine, and pernicious Examples, corrupted the whole ſtate of our Chriſtianity. Neither can any deny or diſſemble this, (whereunto univerſal experience and common complaint of all bear witneſs) that the Conſciences of all faithful Men be moſt miſerably intrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the Pope's Laws and Doctrines of Men. Alſo that the Goods and Subſtance of Chriſtian People are devoured, eſpecially in this noble and famous Country of *Germany*, and yet without order, and in moſt deteſtable manner are ſuffered ſtill to be devoured, without all meaſure, by incredible tyranny: notwithſtanding that they themſelves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper Laws, as in the *Diſtin. 9. & 25. Queſt. 1, & 2.* where they themſelves have decreed, That all ſuch Laws of Popes which be repugnant to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reproved.

If then I ſhould revoke theſe, I can do no other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only Windows but wide Gates to their Impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentiouſly than ever it durſt heretofore. And by the teſtimony of this my retraction, their inſolent Kingdom ſhall be made more licencious, and leſs ſubject to puniſhment, intolerable to the common people, and alſo more confirmed and eſtabliſhed, eſpecially if this be brained, that I *Luther* have done this by the Authority of your moſt excellent Majeſty, and the ſacred Roman Empire. O Lord, what a cover or ſhadow ſhall I be then to cloak their naughtineſs and tyranny!

The reſt, or third ſort of my Books, are ſuch as I have written againſt certain and private ſingular perſons, to wit, againſt ſuch as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romiſh Tyranny, and to deface the true Doctrine and Religion which I have taught and profeſſed. As touching theſe, I plainly confeſs, I have been more vehement than my Religion and Profeſſion required. For I make my ſelf no Saint, and I diſpute not of my Life, but of the Doctrine of Chriſt.

And theſe I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this Recantation it will come to paſs, that tyranny and impiety ſhall reign, ſupported by my means, and ſo ſhall they exerciſe cruelty againſt God's people more violently and ragingly than before.

Nevertheleſs, for that I am a Man, and not God, I can none otherwiſe enterpriſe to defend my Books, than did my very Lord Jeſus Chriſt defend his Doctrine. Who being examined of his Learning before *Annas*, and having received a baffet of the Miniſter, ſaid, *If I have ſpoken evil, bear witneſs of the Evil.*

If the Lord (who was perfect and could not err) refuſed not to have teſtimony given againſt his Doctrine, yea of a moſt vile Servant; how much the more than I, that am but vile corruption, and can of my ſelf do nothing but err, ought earneſtly to ſee and require if any will bear witneſs againſt my Doctrine.

Therefore I require, for God's Mercy, your moſt excellent Majeſty, your Graces and right honourable Lordſhips, or whatſoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his Teſtimony, to convict my Errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the Prophets, or the Apoſtles, and I will be moſt ready, if I be ſo inſtructed, to revoke any manner of Error: yea, and will be the firſt that ſhall confume mine own Books and burn them.

He divideth his works into 3 parts.

The Pope proceedeth contrary to his own Doctrine.

He requireth to be inſtructed, if he have erred.

John 18.

I ſuppoſe hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the diviſions and diſſentions which have riſen throughout the whole World by reaſon of my Doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and ſharply yeſterday admoniſhed. Concerning which diviſions of Men's Minds what other Men do judg, but in the I know not; as touching my ſelf, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold diſcords and diſſentions ſtirred up for the Word of God: For ſuch is the courſe and proceeding of the Goſpel: Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, *I came not to ſend Peace but a Sword; I came to ſet a Man at variance with his Father.*

Diſſentions and Diviſions follow the Doctrine of Chriſt, not for any cauſe in the Doctrine, but in the Adverſary.

Matth. 10.

And further, we muſt think, that our God is marvelous and terrible in his Counſels; leſt perhaps that which we endeavour with earneſt ſtudy to atchieve and bring to paſs (if we begin firſt with condemning of his Word) the ſame redound again to an huge Sea of Evil: and leſt the new reign of this young and bounteous Prince *Charles* (in whom, next after God, we all conceive ſingular hope) be lamentable, unfortunate, and miſerably begun.

I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by *Pharaoh*, the King of *Babylon*, and the Kings of *Iſrael*, who then moſt obſcured the bright Sun of their Glory, and procured their own ruin, when by ſage Counſels they attempted to pacify and eſtabliſh their Governments and Realms, and not by God's Counſels: for it is he that intrappeth the wily in their Wilineſs, and ſubverteth Mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's Work, to dread the Lord.

Mans counſel, without Gods Word and his fear, is unfortunate.

I ſpeak not this, ſuppoſing that ſo politick and prudent heads have need of my Doctrine and Admonition, but becauſe I would not omit to profit my Country, and offer my Duty or Service, that may tend to the advancement of the ſame. And thus I humbly commend me to your moſt excellent Majeſty, and your honourable Lordſhips; beſeeching you that I may not incur your diſpleaſures, neither be contemned of you through the purſuit of my Adverſaries. I have ſpoken.

Luther provoked again to ſubmit himſelf.

Theſe words pronounced, then *Eckius*, the Emperor's Prolocutor, with a ſtern countenance began, and ſaid, That *Luther* had not anſwered to any purpoſe; neither behoved it him to call in queſtion things in time paſt, concluded and defined by General Councils: and therefore they required of him a plain and direct anſwer, whether he would revoke or no?

Luthers abſolute anſwer.

Then *Luther:* Conſidering (ſaid he) your Soveraign Majeſty, and your Honours, require a plain anſwer; this I ſay and profeſs as reſolutely as I may, without doubting or ſophiſtication, that if I be not convinced by teſtimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reaſons (for I believe not the Pope, neither his General Councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themſelves) my Conſcience is ſo bound and captived in theſe Scriptures and Word of God which I have alledged, that I will not, nor may may not revoke any manner of thing; conſidering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing againſt Conſcience. Hereupon I ſtand and reſt: I have not what elſe to ſay. God have mercy upon me.

Eckius again replieth.

The Princes conſulted together upon this anſwer given by *Luther:* And when they had diligently examined the ſame, the Prolocutor began to repel him thus:

Martin (ſaid he) thou haſt more immodeſtly anſwered than beſeemed thy Perſon, and alſo little to the purpoſe. Thou diſdeſt thy Books in three ſorts, in ſuch order as all that thou haſt ſaid maketh nothing to the Interrogation propoſed: and therefore if thou hadſt revoked thoſe wherein the greateſt part of thine Errors is contained, the Emperor's Majeſty, and the noble clemency of others would have ſuffered the reſt that be found to ſuſtain no injury. But thou doſt revive, and bringeſt to light again all that the General Council of *Conſtance* hath condemned, the which was aſſembled of all the Nation of *Germany*, and now doſt require to be convinced with Scriptures; wherein thou erreſt greatly. For what availeth it to renew diſpu-

The Popiſh ſtand only upon their Councils.

diſputation of things ſo long time paſt condemned by the Church and Councils, unleſs it ſhould be neceſſary to give a reaſon to every Man of every thing that is concluded? Now where it is ſo, that this ſhould be permitted to every one that gainſtandeth the determination of the Church and Councils, and that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we ſhall have nothing certain and eſtabliſhed in Chriſtendom.

And this is the cauſe wherefore the Emperor's Majeſty requireth of thee a ſimple anſwer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou miſdeſt to defend all thy Works as Chriſtian, or no?

Then *Luther*, turning to the Emperor and the Nobles, beſought them not to force or compel him to yield againſt his Conſcience, confirmed with the Holy Scriptures, without manifeſt Arguments alledged to the contrary by his Adverſaries.

I have declared and vendred (ſaid he) *mine anſwer ſimply and diverſly, neither have I any more to ſay, unleſs mine Adverſaries, with true and ſufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and reſolve my mind, and reſel mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied (as I ſaid) by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can with a ſafe Conſcience aſſent unto them. For as touching General Councils, with whoſe authority only they preſs me, I am able to proue, that they have both erred, and have defined many things contrary to themſelves; and therefore the authority of them, he ſaid, not to be ſufficient, for the which he ſhould call back thoſe things, the verity whereof ſtandeth ſo firm and manifeſt in the Holy Scripture, that neither of him it ought to be required, neither could he ſo do without impiety.*

General Councils have erred, and have been contrary to themſelves.

Whereunto the Official again anſwered, denying that any Man could prove the Councils to have erred. But *Luther* alledged that he could, and promiſed to prove it; and now night approaching, the Lords roſe and departed. And after *Luther* had taken his leave of the Emperor, divers Spaniards ſcorned and ſcoffed the good Man in the way going toward his lodging, hollowing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the *Friday* following, when the Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Eſtates were aſſembled, the Emperor ſent to the whole body of the Council a certain Letter, containing in effect as followeth.

The Emperor's Letter.

The Emperors Letter againſt Luther.

OUr Predeceſſors, who truly were Chriſtian Princes, were obedient to the Romiſh Church, which Martin Luther *preſently impugneth. And therefore in as much as he is not determined to call back his Errors in any one Point, we cannot, without great infamy and ſtain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our Elders, but will maintain the ancient Faith, and give aid to the See of* Rome. *And further, we be reſolved to purſue* Martin Luther *and his Adherents, by Excommunication, and by other means that may be deviſed, to extinguiſh his Doctrine. Nevertheleſs we will not violate our Faith, which we have promiſed him, but mean to give order for his ſafe return to the place whence he came.*

Conſultation upon the Emperors Letter.

Great reſore to M. Luther

THe Princes Electors, Dukes, and other Eſtates of the Empire, ſat and conſulted about this ſentence, on *Friday* all the afternoon, and *Saturday* the whole day, ſo that *Luther* had yet no anſwer of the Emperor.

During this time, divers Princes, Earls, Barons, Knights of the Order, Gentlemen, Prieſts, Monks, with other the Laity and common ſort viſited him. All theſe were preſent at all hours in the Emperor's Court, and could not be ſatiſfied with the ſight of him. Alſo there were Bills ſet up, ſome againſt *Luther*, and ſome, as it ſeemed, with him. Notwithſtanding many ſuppoſed, and eſpecially ſuch as well conceived the matter, that this was ſubtilly done by his Enemies, that thereby occaſion might be offered to infringe the ſafe conduct given him. The which the Roman Embaſſadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to paſs.

The *Monday* following, before ſupper, the Archbiſhop of *Triers* advertiſed *Luther*, that on *Wedneſday* next he ſhould appear before him, at nine of the clock before dinner, and alſigned him the place. On St. *George*'s day, a certain Chaplain of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, about ſupper-time, came to *Luther*, by the commandment of the Biſhop, ſignifying, that at that hour and place preſcribed, he muſt the morrow after have acceſs to his Maſter.

K.Hen.8.

Luther appeareth before the Archbiſhop of Triers.

The morrow after St. *George*'s day, *Luther* obeying the Archbiſhop's Commandment, entred his Palace, being accompanied thither with his ſaid Chaplain, and one of the Emperor's Heralds, and ſuch as came in his company out of *Saxony* to *Worms*, with other his chief Friends: whereas Dr. *Veus*, the Marquels of *Badex* Chaplain, began to declare and proteſt in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, *Joachim* Marquels of *Brandenburg*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, the Biſhops of *Auſburg* and *Brandeburg*, the Earl *George*, *John Beck* of *Strauſburg*, *Verdelsheymer* and *Pontiger*, Doctors, that *Luther* was not called to be conferred with, or to diſputation, but only that the Princes had procured license of the Emperor's Majeſty, through Chriſtian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort *Luther* benignly and brotherly.

Dr. Veus his Oration to M. Luther.

He ſaid further, That albeit the Councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their Authority was not therefore abaſed, or at the leaſt not ſo erred, that it was lawful for every Man to impugn their Opinions: inferring moreover many things of *Zacheus* and the Centurion: Alſo of the Traditions, and of Conſtitutions, and of Ceremonies ordained of Men, affirming that all theſe were eſtabliſhed to repreſs Vices, according to the quality of times; and that the Church could not be deſtitute of humane Conſtitutions. It is true (ſaid he) that by the Fruits the Tree may be known; yet of theſe Laws and Decrees of Men, many good Fruits have proceeded: and St. *Martin*, St. *Nicholas*, and many other Saints have been preſent at the Councils.

For the Authority of councils.

Diſlike ſpake of Luthers words, who denied any good fruits to come of their Laws.

Moreover, that *Luther*'s Book would breed great tumult, and incredible troubles; and that he abuſed the common ſort with his Book of Chriſtian liberty, encouraging them to ſhake off their Yoke, and to confirm them in their diſobedience; that the World now was at another ſtay, than when the Believers were all of one Heart and Soul, and therefore it was requiſite and behoveful to have Laws. It was to be conſidered, (ſaid he) albeit he had written many good things, and (no doubt) of a good mind, as *de triplici Juſtitia*, and other matters, yet how the Devil now by crafty means goeth about to bring to paſs, that all his Works for ever ſhould be condemned. For by theſe Books which he wrote laſt, Men (ſaid he) would judg and eſteem him, as the Tree is known, not by the Bloſſom, but by the Fruit.

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Here he added ſomething of the noon Devil, and of the Spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying Arrow. All his Oration was exhortatory, full of rhethorical places of honeſty, of utility of Laws, of the dangers of Conſcience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this ſentence in the Proem, Middle, and Epilogue of his Oration: that this admonition was given him of a ſingular good will, and great clemency. In the ſhutting up of his Oration he added menacings, ſaying, That if he would abide in his purpoſed intent, the Emperor would proceed further, and baniſh him from the Empire; perſwading him deliberately to ponder, and to adviſe theſe and other things.

Martin Luther anſwered: Moſt noble Princes, and my moſt gracious Lords, I render moſt humble thanks for your benignities and ſingular good Wills, whence proceedeth this admonition: For I know my ſelf to be ſafe, as by no means I can deſerve to be admoniſhed of ſo mighty Eſtates.

M. Luther anſwereth to Verus.

Then he frankly pronounced, that he had not reproved all Councils, but only the Council of *Conſtance*; and for this principal cauſe, for that the ſame had condemned the Word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this Article propoſed by *John Hus*: *The Church of Chriſt is the communion of the Predeſtinate.* It is evident (ſaid he) that the Council of *Conſtance* abolished this Article, and conſequently the Article of our Faith; *I believe the Holy Church Univerſal*: and ſaid, that he was ready to ſpend Life and Blood, ſo he were not compelled to revoke the manifeſt Word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than Men: And that in this he could not avoid the ſcandal or offence of Faith; for there be two manner of Offences, to wit, of Charity, and of Faith. The ſlander of Charity conſiſteth in manners and in life: the offences of Faith and

The Council of Conſtance condemned the Word of God.

Scandal of Faith and Charity.

K.Hen. 8. and Doctrine consist in the Word of God; and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christ's Sheep were fed with pure Pasture of the Gospel: if the Faith of Christ were purely preached, and if there were good Ecclesiastical Magistrates who duly would execute their office; we should not need (saith he) to charge the Church with Mens traditions. Further, he knew well we ought to obey the Magistrates and higher Powers, how unjustly and perversly soever they lived: We ought also to be obedient to their Laws and Judgment: all which he had taught (said he) in all his Works; adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all Points, so that they inforced him not to deny the Word of God.

The Princes confulted about Martin Luther.] These words finished, *Luther* was bid stand aside, and the Princes consulted what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a Parlour, whereas the foresaid Doctor *Vaus* repeated his former matters, admonishing *Luther* to submit his Writings to the Emperor, and to the Princes Judgment.

Luther answered humbly and modestly, that he could not, neither should permit that Men should say he would thus the Judgment of the Emperor, Princes, and superior Powers of the Empire. So far was it off, that he would refuse to stand to their trial, that he was contented to suffer his Writings to be discussed, considered, and judged of the simplest, so that it were done with the authority of the Word of God, and the holy Scripture: and that the Word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his Doctrine by the Word of God. This lesson (said he) he learned of S. *Augustine*, who writeth, *That he gave this honour only to those Books which are called Canonical, that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other Doctors, albeit in holiness and excellency of Learning they passed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the Touchstone of God's Word.* Further (said he) St. *Paul* giveth us a lesson, writing to the *Thessalonians*, *Prove all things, follow that is good.* And to the *Galathians*, *Tho an Angel should defend from Heaven, if he preach any other Doctrine, let him be accursed, and therefore not to be believed.*

The Word of God only true. 1 Thes. 5. Gal. 5.

Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his Conscience, captived in the bands of the Word of God and holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent Word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and specially to the Emperor's Majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing, in this matter, against his Conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As *Luther* had thus ended his talk, *Joachimus* Elector, Marquess of *Brandenburg*, demanded if his meaning was thus, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture? Yea truly, right noble Lord (quoth *Luther*) or else by ancient and evident reasons. And so the Assembly brake, and the Princes repaired to the Emperor's Court.

After their departure the Archbishop of *Triers*, accompanied with a few of his Familiars, namely *John Eckius* his Official, and *Cochlæus*, commanded *Luther* to repair into his Parlour. With *Luther* was *Hieronymus Scurffius*, and *Nicholas Amsdorff*, for his assistants. Then the Official began to frame an Argument, like a Sophist and Canonist, defending the Pope's cause: that for the most part at all times Holy Scriptures have engendred Errors, as the Error of *Helvidius* the Heretick, out of that place in the Gospel, where it is expressed; *Joseph knew not his Wife till she was delivered of her first Child.* Further, he went about to overthrow this Proposition, that the Catholick Church is the Communion of Saints.

False Arguments for the Pope. Mat. 1.

Martin Luther and *Hieron Scurffe*, reproved (but modestly) these Follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which *Eckius* brought forth as things not serving to the purpose. Sometime *Cochlæus* would come in with his five Eggs, and laboured to perswade *Luther* to desist from his purpole, and utterly to refrain thenceforth to write or teach, and so they departed.

About evening the Archbishop of *Triers* advertised *Luther* by *Amsdorff*, that the Emperor's Promise made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean season he would confer with him the next day, and for that cause he would send *Peutinger*, and the Doctor of *Bade*, which was *Vaus*, the morrow after to him, and he himself would also talk with him.

The *Friday* after, which was St. *Mark*'s day, *Peutinger*, and the Doctor of *Bade*, travelled in the forenoon to perswade *Luther*, simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his Writings to the Emperor and Empire. He answered, he would do it, and submit any thing they would have him, so they grounded upon authority of holy Scripture: otherwise he would not consent to do any thing: for God said by his Prophet, (saith he) *Trust ye not in Princes, nor in the Children of Men, in whom there is no health.* Also, *Cursed be he that trusteth in Man.* And seeing that they did urge him more vehemently, he answered: We ought to yield no more to the judgment of Men, than the Word of God doth suffer. So they departed, and prayed him to advise for better answer: and said, they would return after dinner.

Solicitation on to cause Luther to yield.

And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at the least he would submit his writing to the judgment of the next General Council. *Luther* agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themselves should present the Articles collected out of his Books to be submitted to the Council in such sort as notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the Council, should be authorised by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

Luthers condition.

They then leaving *Luther*, departed, and reported to the Archbishop of *Triers*, that he had promised to submit his Writings in certain Articles to the next Council, and in the mean space he would keep silence; which *Luther* never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deay or submit his Books to the judgments of Men (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture) unless they could prove by sacred Scripture, and apparent reasons to the contrary.

False writ-nesse.

It chanced then by the special Grace of God, that the Archbishop of *Triers* sent for *Luther*, thinking presently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwise then *Peutinger*, and the Doctor of *Bade* had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himself speak: for else he was even now going to the Emperor, to declare what the Doctors had reported.

The providence of God.

Then the Archbishop entreated *Luther*, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this Conference *Luther* concealed nothing from the Archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him under safe conduct, attempting him with new Commandments, had condemned his Opinion, and approved the Pope's Bull.

Familiar talke between the Archbishop and Luther.

Moreover the Archbishop, bidding a Friend of his draw nigh, required *Luther* to declare what Remedy might be ministred to help this. *Luther* answered: That there was no better Remedy than such as *Gamaliel* alledged in the fifth Chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*, as witnesseth St. *Luke*, saying: *If this counsel, or this work, proceed of Men, it shall come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it.* And so he desired that the Emperor might be advertised to write the same to the Pope, that he knew certainly if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea within two years.

Luthers prophesy out of Gamaliel. Acts 5.

The Archbishop enquired of him what he would do, if certain Articles were taken out of his Books, to be submitted to the General Council. *Luther* answered, to do that they do not those which the Council of *Constance* condemned. The Archbishop said, I fear they will be the very same: but what then? *Luther* replied, I will not, nor I cannot hold my peace of fuch, for I am sure by their Decrees the Word of God was condemned: therefore I will rather lose head and life, then abandon the manifest Word of my Lord God.

Luthers constancy.

Then the Archbishop, seeing *Luther* would in no wise give over the Word of God to the judgment of Men gently bad *Luther* farewel; who at that instant prayed the Archbishop to intreat the Emperor's Majesty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He answered he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the Emperor's pleasure.

Within a small while after, *John Eckius* the Archbishops Official, in the presence of the Emperor's Secretary, who had been *Maximilian*'s Chancellor, said unto *Luther* in his lodging, by the commandment of the Emperor: that since he had been admonished diverfly of the Imperial Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, and that notwithstanding he would not return to unity and concord,

K.Hen.8. Luther sent home from the Council.

concord, it remained that the Emperor, as Advocate of the Catholick Faith, should proceed further: and it was the Emperor's Ordinance, that he should within 21 days return bodily under safe conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no Commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther hearing this, answered very modestly, and chriftianly; Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass, the name of the Lord be blessed. He said further, he thanked most humbly the Emperor's Majesty, and all the Princes and Estates of the Empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted him safe conduct to come and return. Finally he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred Word of God, and confonancy of holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was preft to suffer all chances for the Imperial Majesty, as life and death, goods, fame, and reproach: reserving nothing to himself, but the only Word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end: humbly recommending him to the Emperor's Majesty, and to all the Princes and other Estates of the sacred Empire.

Luthers departure from Worms.

The morrow after, which was *April* 26, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and other his benevolent Friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten of the clock he departed from *Worms*, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him: having space of time limited unto him (as is said) for 21 days, and no more. The Emperor's Herauld *Casper Sturm* followed and overtook him at *Oppenheim*, being commanded by the Emperor to conduct him safely home.

The usual Prayer of *Martin Luther*.

CONfirm (O God) in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the Work that thou hast begun in us, to thy Glory: So be it.

Ex histor. Philip. Melancth. Ex Sleidano. Ex Pætali. Abb. Urfperg. Et ex Cass. Pecero.

Luther in his Journey writeth to the Emperor and Nobles of Germany.

MArtin *Luther* thus being dismissed of the Emperor, according to the promise of his safe conduct made (as you have heard) departed from *Worms* towards his Country, *April* 26, accompanied with the Emperor's Herauld, and the rest of his company, having only one and twenty days to him granted for his return, and no more. In the which mean space of his return he writeth to the Emperor, and to other Nobles of the Empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour, which as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole Church Universal, may be heard with indifferency and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of holy Scripture: signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, &c.

The Doctors of Paris condemn the Books of Luther.

During the time of these doings, the Doctors and Schoolmen of *Paris* were not behind with their parts, but to shew their cunning, condemned the Books of *Luther*, extracting out of the same, especially out of his Book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, certain Articles as touching the Sacraments, Laws, and Decrees of the Church, equality of Works, Vows, Contrition, Absolution, Satisfaction, Purgatory, Free-will, Privileges of the Holy Church, Councils, Punishment of Hereticks, Philosophy, School-divinity, and other more. Unto whom *Philip Melanthon* maketh answer, and also *Luther* himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.

Philip Melanthon answereth the Parisians.

It was not long after this, but *Charles* the new Emperor, to purchase favour with the Pope (because he was not yet confirmed in his Empire) provideth and directeth out a fo-

Luther outlawed by the Emperor.

lemn Writ of Outlawry against *Luther*, and all them that take his part; commanding the said *Luther*, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his Books burned. By which Decree, proclaimed against *Luther*, the Emperor procured no small thanks with the Pope; insomuch that the Pope, ceasing to take part with the French King, joined himself wholly to the Emperor. In the mean time Duke *Frederick*, to give some place for the time to the Emperor's Proclamation, conveyed *Luther* a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain Noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that behalf. There *Luther* being close and out of company, wrote divers Epistles, and certain Books also unto his Friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of *Augustine* Friers, entituled, *De abroganda Missa*: Which Friers the fame time being encouraged by him, began first to lay down their private Masses. Duke *Frederick*, fearing left that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole University of *Wittenberg* to be asked in the matter; committing the doing thereof to four; *Justus Jonas*, *Philip Melancth. Nic. Amsdorffius*, *Joh. Dulcius.*

M. Luther kept aside for a while.

Luthers Book, De abroganda Missa, at Augustines.

The Masse laid down first at Wittenberg.

The minds of the whole University being searched, it was shewed to the Duke, that he should do well and godly, by the whole advice of the Learned there, to command the use of the Mass to be abrogate through his Dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true Doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overcometh the better part. Neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the Doctrine taught, but to the Adversaries, which willingly and wickedly kick against the Truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, we ought not to surcease from that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's Truth, howsoever the World doth esteem us, or rage against it. Thus shewed they their Judgment to Duke *Frederick*.

The judgment of the University of Wittenberg against the Mass.

It hapned moreover about the same year and time, that King *Henry* also, pretending an occation to impugn the Book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, wrote against *Luther*. In which Book,

Anno 1521.

1. He reproveth *Luther*'s Opinion about the *Pope's Pardons*.
2. He defendeth the supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*.
3. He laboureth to refel all his Doctrine of the Sacraments of the Church.

King Henry writeth against Martin Luther.

This Book albeit it carried the King's Name in the Title, yet it was another that ministred the motion, another that framed the stile. But whosoever had the labour of this Book, the King had the thank and alfo the reward. For consequently upon the same, the Bishop of *Rome* gave to the said King *Henry*, for the stile against *Luther*, the stile and title of *Defender of the Christian Faith*, and to his Succesors for ever.

King Henry made Defender of the Faith of the Pope.

Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, Pope *Leo*, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, thorow the Emperor's aid, the Cities of *Harma*, *Placentia*, and *Millan*, he sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great Gifts that God had bestowed upon him: 1. That he being banished out of his Country, was restored to *Florence* again with Glory. 2. That he had deserved to be called Apostolick. 3. That he had driven the Frenchmen out of *Italy*. After he had spoken these words, he was strucken with sudden Fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of 47 years: albeit some suspect that he died of poison. Successor to whom was P. *Adrian* the 6th, Schoolmaister sometime to *Charles* the Emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his Papacy. During whose small time these especial things were incident: A great Pestilence in *Rome*, wherein above 100000 were consumed. The loss of *Rhodes* by the Turk. And, 3. the capital War which the said P. *Adrian*, with the Emperor, and the *Venetians* and the Kof *England*, did hold against *Francis* the French King. This P. *Adrian* was a German born, brought up at *Louanium*, & as in learning he exceeded the common fort of Popes, so in moderation of life and manners he farmed not altogether so intemperate as some other Popes have bin. And yet like a right Pope, nothing degenerating from his Sect, he was a mortal enemy against *Martin Luther*, and his Partakers. In his time, shortly after the Council of *Worms* was broken up, another Meeting or Assembly was appointed by the Emperor at *Norenberg*, of the Princes, Nobles, and States of *Germany*, Anno 1522.

The death of Leo in the midst of his triumph.

Pope Adrian the fifth.

A great Pestilence in Rome.

Adrian a German Pope, and a Papist not learned.

P. Adrian a great enemy to Luther.

A Diet of the Princes kept at Norenberg.

Unto this Assembly the said *Adrian* sent his Letters in manner of a Brief, with an instruction also unto his Legat *Cheregatus*, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to alledg against *Luther*, before the Princes there assembled. His Letter with the Instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed over with a fair shew and colour

Painted pretences ought to be examined.

K.Hen.8. colour of painted zeal and religion, and bear resemblance of great truth and care of the Church, able to deceive the outward ears of them which are not inwardly in true Religion instructed: I thought therefore to give the Reader a light thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter in cases like to be prudent and circumspect, in not believing over-rashly the smooth talk or pretended perfuations of Men, especially in Church-matters, unless they carry with them the simplicity of plain truth, going not upon terms, but grounded upon the Word and revealed Will of God, with particular demonstrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to perfuade. First, the Letter of this Pope, conceived and directed against *Luther*, proceedeth in this effect:

Pope *Adrian* the Sixth, to the Renowned Princes of *Germany*, and to the Peers of the Roman Empire, greeting and Apostolical Benediction.

The example of Pope Adrians Letter sent to the Princes of Germany.

Right honourable Brethren, and dear Children, greeting and Apostolick benediction. After that we were first promoted (through God's Divine Providence) to the Office of the Sea Apostolick, he which hath so advanced us is our Witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more then how to satisfy the parts of a good Pastor, in attending the health and cure of the Flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular Sheep through the whole universal Flock so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's Fold again. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our Messengers, as by our daily Letters, how to reclaim the minds of Christian Princes from these pestilent Wars and Dissentions among themselves to Peace and Concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their Strength and Armor against the common Enemies of our Faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expences we have burdened our selves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the Souldiers of Rhodes *for defence of themselves, and of the Christian Faith, against the Turkish Tyranny, by whom they were befieged.*

If these Pastors care any thing for the Sheep, it is only for the Wool.

And now to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we hear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, *a new raiser up of old and damnable Heresies, first after the fatherly Advertisements of the Sea Apostolick; then after the Sentence also of Condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best Learned, and of sundry Universities also; and lastly, after the Imperial Decree of our well-beloved Son Charles, Elect Emperor of the* Romans, *and Catholick King of* Spain, *being divulged through the whole Nation of* Germany; *yet hath neither been by Order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all Christian Charity and Godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the World with new Books, fraught full of Errors, Heresies, Contumelies and Sedition, (whether upon his own head, or by the help of other) and to infect the Country of* Germany, *and other Regions about, with this Pestilence; and endeavours still to corrupt simple Souls and manners of Men, with the Poyson of his pestiferous Tongue. And (which is woful of all) hath for his Fautors and Supporters, not of the Vulgar sort only, but also divers Personages of the Nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the Goods of Priests, (which perhaps is the chief ground of this Stir begun) contrary to their Obedience which they owe to Ecclesiastical and Temporal Persons, and now also at last have grown unto Civil War and Dissention among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon repute with your selves, and consider. For altho the Apostle hath told us before,* That Heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, *&c. yet was there never time so inconvenient to raise up Heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the Devil, the perpetual Enemy of Mankind, roaring in the shape of a Lion, by the power of the* Turks *doth continually invade the Flock of Christ, how can we then resist the violent Invasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same Devil, under the colour of a wily Dragon, sowing such Heresies, Discords, and Seditions among our selves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign Adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our Enemies without, and at home with Heresies and Schisms to be divided.*

Rather a new raiser up of the old Doctrine of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles.

Terms wrested to truth.

Evil called good evil.

We remember, before the time of our Papacy, when we were in Spain, *many things we heard then of* Luther, *and of his perverse Doctrine. Which Rumors and Tidings, altho of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that Country, where we our self, after the Flesh, took our first beginning: But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this Doctrine would not long hold; reputing thus with our self, that such pestiferous (a) Plants, translated from other Countries to* Germany, *would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was wont to be a breeder out of all Heresies and Infidelity. But now since this evil Tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the Sins of the People, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged and spread his branches so far; you therefore, both Princes and People of* Germany, *must this consider and provide, lest you, which at the first springing up of this Evil might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your overmuch sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.*

(a) He means of the Doctrine of John Hus translated into Germany.

Here we omit and pass over, what Enormity, and more than Enormity that is, that such a great and so devout a Nation should by one Friar, (who relinquishing the Catholick Faith and Christian Religion, which he before professed, playeth the Apostata, and hath lied to God) be seduced from that way, which first (b) Christ our Redeemer and his blessed Apostles have opened unto us; which so many Martyrs, so many holy Fathers, so many great learned Men, and also your own Fore-elders, and old Ancestors have always hitherto walked in; as tho only Luther *had all wit and cunning; as tho he only now first had received the Holy-Ghost. (as the Heretick* Montanus *used to brag of himself) or as tho the Church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto in always in dark shadows of Ignorance and Perditions, till now it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of Luther. All which things there is no doubt, but to such as have judgment will seem ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds; and to other, which being weary of all good Order, do gape still for new Changes, may breed matter and occasion of such Mischiefs, as partly your selves have experience already. And therefore do you not consider (O Princes and People of* Germany) *that these be but Prefaces and Preambles to those Evils and Mischiefs which* Luther, *with the Sect of his* Lutherans, *do intend and purpose hereafter? (c) Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the* Lutherans *to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an Invention to spoil your Goods, which they have long intended? Or do you think that these Sons of Iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of Liberty to supplant Obedience, and the so to open a general (d) Licentse to every Man to do what him listeth? And suppose you that they will any thing regard your Commandments, or esteem (e) your Laws, which*

(b) Christ and his Apostles taught us, that we are saved by faith only in the Son of God; the same doth Luther preach, and the Pope denieth. Holy Martyrs and Fathers in the old time mistred the Communion in both kinds to the people, and taught that Faith was necessary in receiving the Sacrament; the same doth Luther affirm, and the Pope denieth. The old Way of the Fathers was this,

Who foweth these heresies, but he which will not let the Scripture take place?

that they never had any Advocates and Mediators but Christ alone, and that they never sold the merits of Christ's passion for money: In the same way doth *Luther* now walk, whereas the Pope hath devised a new way to walk in for Money, with an hundred other new Devices, new Sects, and new Ordinances, which the old Fathers never knew.

(c) The Doctrine of *Luther* hath been preached in *Germany* above these forty years, and yet is there never a Prince, nor Magistrate, nor Citizen in *Germany*, God be praised, which by the Doctrine of *Luther* is worse by one half-penny; whereas by the Pope's good reckoning hath been made, that *Germany* hath been worse by three millions of Florins by the year. Out of the Territory of the Bishop of *Mentz*, amounteth to the Pope, for the Archbishop's pall, twenty six thousand Florins. In the Council of *Basil* it was openly declared, that nine millions of Gold were gathered in the time of Pope *Martin*, and translated to *Rome*. Now let the Princes of *Germany* consider this.

(d) The preaching of Christian liberty of the Soul breaketh no Civil Order touching the outward obedience of the Body. But the Pope would have the Souls of Men in his bondage, and therefore he cannot abide this inward liberty of the Spirit to be touched, for that were against the Popes Purse and Profit, which were an Heresy intolerable. (e) This is no good consequence; *Luther* burned the Pope's flinking Decretals, *ergo* he will not stick also to burn the Books of the Civil Law.

K.Hen.8. *so contemptuously vilipend the holy Canons and Decrees of the Fathers, yea, and the most holy Councils also, (to whose Authority the Emperor's Laws have always given room and place) and not only vilipend them, but also with a diabolical audacity have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a light fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to Priests, to Bishops, yea, to the high Bishop of all, and which daily before your own faces make their Booties of Church-Goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of Lay-mens Goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can reap or reave? Finally, to conclude,* (f) *how can you hope that they will more spare you, or hold their murdering hands from your Throats, which have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's Anointed, which are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable Calamity will at length redound upon your Goods, your Houses, Wives, Children, Dominions, Possessions, and these your Temples which you hallow and reverence, except you provide some speedy Remedy against the same.*

(f) The persecuting Pagans in the old time did object to the old Fathers of the Primitive Church, the Blasphemies of *Thiestes* Supper, and of the Incest of *Oedipus*, the worshipping of an Asses Head. In much like sort doth the Pope here lay unto *Luther* Riots, Rebellions, and all Mischiefs he can devise, not because they are true, but because he would have the World so to believe.

Wherefore we exhort your Fraternities, Nobilities, and Devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian Charity and Religion, (for which Religion your Fore-fathers oft-times have given their blood to uphold and encrease the same) and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience (g) *which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St. Peter, and to his Vicar here on Earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissentions among your selves, you confer your helping hands every Man to quench this publick Fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said* Martin Luther, *and all other Fautors of these Tumults and Errors, to better conformity and trade both of Life and Faith. And if they who be infected, shall refuse to hear your Admonitions; yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same cannot again be not corrupted. Fe to whom all secret Men are open, doth know how we both for our Nature, and also for our pastoral Office, where we are called, are much more prone to remit than to revenge. But when this pestiferous Canker cannot with supple and gentle Medicines be cured, more sharp Salves must be proved, and fiery Searings. The putrified Members must be cut off from the Body, lest the found parts also be infected. So God did cast down into Hell the Schismatical Brethren,* (h) *Dathan and Abiram. And him that would not obey the Authority of the Priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So* Peter, *Prince of the Apostles, denounced sudden death to* Ananias *and* Saphira, *which lied unto God. So the old and godly Emperors commanded* (i) Jovinianus *and* Priscillianus, *as Hereticks, to be beheaded. So St.* Hieron *willeth* Vigilantius, *as an Heretick, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the Spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our Predecessors in the Council of* (k) Constance *condemn to death* John Hus *and his Fellow* Hierom, *which now appeareth to revive again in* Luther. *The worthy* (l) *acts and examples of which Forefathers, if you in these doings (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful Clemency shall effsoons relieve his Church; which, being now sore vexed of infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally directed upon you, as being the most puissant and most populous Nation that we have in Christendom.*

(g) Obedience to God, and to St. Peter, and to his Vicar, do not well match together by the Scripture; for the obedience to the Creator is one, and the obedience to the Creature is another.

(h) Let the Pope follow the Word of God, as *Moses* did, be first of God expressly as *Moses* was, and then let *Luther* be punished as *Dathan* and *Abiram* were. Again; If the Pope be the successor of *Peter*, and have his authority, why then doth not the Pope, bearing the keys of *Peter*, exercise the power of his Spirit upon *Luther* his great Enemy, as *Peter* did upon *Ananias* and *Saphira*?

(i) If *Jovinianus*, *Priscillianus*, and *Vigilantius* were proved Hereticks, they were proved not only by Canons and Councils, but by Scripture; so was *Luther* never.

(k) Your Fathers in the Council of *Constance* did kill the Prophets of God, and you make up their Graves. But thanks be unto God, which hath given such light unto the World, to understand your cruel impiety in killing *John Hus*, which you thought should never be spied.

(l) You have well imitated your Forefathers already, in burning so many Lutherans; and yet how have you prospered against the Turkish Infidels the space of these forty years?

Wherefore upon the blessing of Almighty God, and of blessed Saint Peter, *which here we send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false Dragon, as the strang Lion, that hath these days, that is as well the inward Heresies, as the foreign Enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your Honours an immortal Victory, both here and in the World to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in Money or Authority, we will not fail to support you therewith, yea, and to bestow our Life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our Sheep to us committed. Other things as touching the matter of Luther, we have committed to this* Cheregatus *our Legat, whom we have directed purposely for the same unto your Assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty Legat.*

Datum *Rom.* apud S. *Petrum*, sub annulo Piscatoris, die 25. Novemb. Anno 1522, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

The false Dragon resembleth the Pope and the strong Lion the Turke.

The false Dragon here seeth that it believe to belike him.

By this Letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle Reader, to note and understand, what either wily persuations, or strength of authority could devise against *Luther*, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glossing sentences, or outward facing and bracing could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy Epistle. But if a Man should require the particulars or the specialities of this Doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's Word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste Paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said Letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest Man's strength with all his policy bent against *Luther*, the more mayest thou consider the Almighty Power of God, in defending the cause of this poor Man against so mighty Enemies.

Now hear further what Instructions the said Pope *Adrian* sent to his Legat *Cheregatus*, how and by what reasons to move and inflame the Princes of *Germany* to the destruction of *Luther* and his Cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian *to* Cheregatus *his Legat, touching his proceedings in the Diet of* Norimberg, *how and by what persuasions to inconse the Princes against* Luther.

Instructions of the Pope against Luther.

IN *primis*, you shall declare to them the great grief of our Heart for the prosperity of *Luther*'s Sect, to see the innumerable Souls, redeemed with Christ's Blood, and committed to our pastoral Government, to be turned away from the true Faith and Religion into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the Nation of *Germany*, being our native Country, which hath ever been heretofore, till these few years past, most faithful and devout in Religion: and therefore our desire to be the greater that this Pestilence should be stopped betime, left the same happen to that Countrey of *Germany*, which happened of late to *Bohemia*. And us for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may. As likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared to them.

The first cause to stir Men against Luther.

First, the (*e*) honour of God, which before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these Heresies is greatly defaced, and his Worship not only diminished, but rather wholly corrupted. Also the Charity toward our Neighbour, by which Charity every Man is bound to reduce his Neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish.

(*e*) The Honour of God principally pretended in honouring Jesus the Son of God, whom the Father hath sent. Now examine (good Reader) whether more extolleth the honour of Christ, the Doctrine of *Luther*, or the Doctrine of the Pope. *Luther* setteth us only to Christ; the Pope setteth us to other Patrons and Helpers. *Luther*'s Doctrine tendeth wholly to the glory of Christ; The Pope's Doctrine, if it be well weighed, tendeth to the glory of Man. *Luther* cleaveth only to the Scripture, the Pope leaneth to the Canons and Councils of Men.

The

The second cause, to move them against *Luther*, is the Infamy of their Nation; which being counted before time always moſt Chriſtian, now by the Sectaries of *Luther* is evil ſpoken of in all other Quarters.

The third cauſe is the reſpect of their own Honour, which notoriouſly will be diſtrained, if they, which moſt excel in Nobility and Authority among the *Germans*, ſhall not bend all their power to expel theſe Hereſies; Firſt, for that they ſhall appear to be degenerate from their Progenitors, who, being preſent at the Condemnation of *John Hus* and other Hereticks, are ſaid ſome of them with their own hands to have led *John Hus* to the Fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approved with their Authority the Imperial Edict ſet forth of late in condemnation of *Martin Luther*. (*a*) Now except they ſhall follow the execution of the ſame, they ſhall be noted inconſtant, or may be thought to favour the ſame, ſeeing it is manifeſt, that they may eaſily exterminate him if they were diſpoſed.

(*a*) This Edict of the Emperor above touched, wanders'd and ſet out, not knowing to divers of the Princes there, and ſeemeth chiefly to be brought about by the Pope and his Flatterers about him. Look more hereof in the Story of Sleidan. lib. 3.

The fourth Cauſe. The fourth Cauſe is the Injury wrought by *Luther* to them, their Parents, and Progenitors, foraſmuch as their Fathers, Progenitors, and themſelves alſo have always holden the ſame Faith which the Catholick Church of *Rome* hath appointed: contrary to the which Faith *Luther* with his Sectaries now doth hold, ſaying, that many things are not to be believed which their foreſaid Anceſtors have holden to be of Faith. It is manifeſt therefore, that they be condemned of *Luther* for Infidels and Hereticks, and ſo conſequently, by *Luthers* Doctrine, all their Fore-elders and Progenitors which have deceaſed in this our Faith, be in Hell; for Error in Faith importeth Damnation.

The fifth Cauſe. The fifth Cauſe to remove them, is, that they ſhould well adviſe and conſider the end whereunto all theſe *Lutherians* do tend: which (*b*) is, that under the ſhadow of Evangelical Liberty, they may abolish all Superiority and Power. For altho at the firſt beginning they pretended only to abuſe and reprove our Power Eccleſiaſtical, as being falſely and tyrannouſly uſurped againſt the Law; yet foraſmuch as liberty is their only foundation and Principles, by the which Liberty the Secular Power and Magiſtrates cannot bind men by any Commandments, be they never ſo juſt or ſo reaſonable, (*c*) to obey them under pain of mortal Sin: it is manifeſt that their Scope is to infeeble and infringe, as much or more, the Secular State alſo, altho covertly they pretend to ſalve it: to the end, that when the Secular Princes ſhall believe this their working not to be directed againſt them, but only againſt the uſurped Domination of the Church and Church-men; then the Laity (which commonly hath been always againſt men of the Church) holding with them, ſhall ſuffer the Churchmen to be devoured. Which done, no doubt but (*d*) they will afterward practiſe the like upon the Secular Princes and Poteſtates, which now they attempt againſt our Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.

(*b*) The Doctrine of *Luther* tendeth againſt the uſurped power of the See of *Rome*; Ergo the Doctrine of *Luther* diſſolveth all obedience due to Magiſtrates. This Conſequence is to be denied; for the power of Magiſtrates is of God; and he that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God. So is not the uſurped power of the Pope. (*c*) If the Pope doth ſay, that no precepts of Magiſtrates do oblige under pain of mortal ſin, he ſaith not true; if he ſay *Luther* ſo teacheth, he believeth *Luther* who teacheth all men to be ſubject unto Magiſtrates, no man more. (*d*) Who ſo conſidereth the Doctrine of *Luther*, *De libertate Chriſtiana*, ſhall find this to be a falſe ſlander. For how is it like that he meaneth any Rebellion, who, deſcribing a Chriſtian, calleth him a Servant and an Underling to all men.

The ſixth Cauſe. The ſixth cauſe to move and perſwade them againſt *Luther*, is this, for them to conſider the Fruits which follow that Sect: as Slanders, Offences, Diſturbance, Robberies, Murthers, (*e*) Seditions, Diſſentions, which this Sect hath, and daily doth ſtir up through whole *Germany*: Alſo Blaſphemies, ſlanderous Words, Scoffings, (*f*) Jeſts and bitter Taunts, which are ever in their Mouths; againſt which, unleſs that they ſhall find a preſent Remedy, it is to be feared leſt the Deſolation of God's Wrath will fall upon *Germany*, being ſo divided; or rather upon the Princes of many, being ſo divided; or rather upon the Princes of one *Franciſcus Sickingen* a valiant man, and a great favourer of *Luther*, did war againſt the Archbiſhop of *Treers*, for with-holding two certain perſons from judgment, which ſhould have appeared, and by his means did not. (*f*) As for ſlanderous words and bitter taunts, with what face can the Pope charge *Luther*, being himſelf ſo impudent and bitter, as in this his preſent Letter is manifeſt to be ſeen? wherein he ſheweth himſelf in his own colours what he is.

Hands for the ſuppreſſion of Malefactors, ſuffer ſuch Enormities among their Subjects. *Curſed is he* (ſaith the Prophet) *which doth the work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back his Sword from the bloud of evil doers.* Jeremiah 28. K.Hen.8.

The ſeventh reaſon is, that the Princes ſhould conſider how *Luther* uſeth the ſame way of ſeducing the People of Chriſt, as hath the venemous Viper *Mahumet* practiſed in deceiving ſo many thouſands of Souls, in permitting to them the liberty of thoſe things which Fleſh deſireth, and afterward in exempting them from ſuch things as be more ſharp in the Law; but that *Luther* a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive more effectually: For (*g*) *Mahumet* giveth Licence to have many Wives, and to divorce and marry other at their pleaſure. This *Luther*, to draw unto him the favour of Nuns, Monks, and Prieſts, ſuch as be laſcivious in fleſh, he preacheth that Vows of perpetual Continency be unlawful, and much leſs to be obligatory: and therefore permitteth unto them that they may marry; forgetting by the way what the Apoſtle writeth of young Widows, ſaying: *That after they wax wanton againſt Chriſt, then will they marry, having condemnation, becauſe they have made void their firſt Faith*, 1 Tim. 5. The ſeventh Cauſe. (*g*) If the Doings and properties of *Mahumet* be rightly conſidered, none ſhould be found ſo apt to be compared unto the Pope himſelf. He doth the Pope. He holdeth Salvation by Works of the Law, ſo doth the Pope: and if *Mahumet* give liberty of fleſh, ſo doth not *Luther*, but the Pope both taketh it, and alſo diſpenſeth with the ſame. *Mahumet* would not have his Religion reaſoned upon; no more will the Pope. Briefly, as the Sect of *Mahumet* is divided into many ſundry ſorts of Religion, and of religious men; ſo hath the Sect of the Pope his Friers, Monks, Nuns, Hermites and other ſwarms of an infinite variety.

declineth from the Word of God, and ſetteth up another Law, to wit, the Pope. He killeth and ſlayeth the contrary part, to doth the Pope. He killeth Salvation by Works of the Law, to doth the Pope: and if *Mahumet* give liberty of fleſh, ſo doth not *Luther*, but the Pope both taketh it, and alſo diſpenſeth with the ſame. *Mahumet* would not have his Religion reaſoned upon; no more will the Pope. Briefly, as the Sect of *Mahumet* is divided into many ſundry ſorts of Religion, and of religious men; ſo hath the Sect of the Pope his Friers, Monks, Nuns, Hermites and other ſwarms of an infinite variety.

Theſe and other ſuch like Reaſons being opened and laid before them, you ſhall then in our name exhort the foreſaid Princes, Prelates and People, to awake and imploy their diligence how to gainſtand; firſt the injury of theſe Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy Religion: Secondly, their Villany toward the whole Nation of the *Germans*, and their Princes, and eſpecially the ſhameful Contumely towards their Fathers and Elders, whom in effect they condemn to Hell. In conſideration whereof you ſhall call upon them to remember themſelves, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the Apoſtolical Sentence, and of the Emperor's Edict; giving pardon to them that will amend and acknowledg their fault: the other, which obſtinately perſiſt in their error, puniſhing with the Rod of diſtrict ſeverity, according to the Decrees of the Canons and Laws of the Church, that by their example ſuch as ſtand may remain in Faith, and they which are fallen may be reduced.

And if any ſhall object again, that *Luther* was condemned by the Apoſtolick See before he was heard, and that his Cauſe ought firſt to have been heard and adjudged before he was convicted. You ſhall anſwer, that theſe * things which pertain to Faith are to be believed for their own authority, and not to be proved. *Take away* (ſaith *Ambroſe*) *Arguments where Faith is ſought: there the Fiſhers, not the Philoſophers, muſt be believed.*. Truth it is, and we grant no leſs, but that lawful defence and hearing ought not to be denied in ſuch Caſes, where queſtion is of the Fact, whether it were done or not, as whether he ſpake, preached, writ, or not? But where the matter is of God's Law, or in cauſe of the Sacraments, there muſt we always ſtand to the authority of Holy Fathers, and of the Church. Now all things almoſt, wherein *Luther* diſſenteth from other, are reproved before by divers Councils: neither ought thoſe things to be called into queſtion, which have been defined before by general Councils, and the Univerſal Church, but ought to be received by Faith. For elſe he doth injury to the Synod of the Church, who ſo bringeth again into controverſie things once rightly diſcuſſed and ſetled. Otherwiſe what certainty can there be amongſt men, or what end ſhall there be of contending and diſputing, if it ſhall be lawful for every lewd and preſumptuous perſon to decline from the things which have been received and ratified by the conſent, not of one, nor of a few, but of ſo many Ages, ſo many wiſe Heads, and of the Catholick Church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto Faith appertaining? And how can it otherwiſe be choſen, but that all muſt be full of diſturbance, offences, and confuſion, unleſs the things which have been once, yea, many

* Here the Pope agreeth rightly with Mahumet, for he will not have his Religion reaſoned upon, no more will the Pope have his.

Grant this to the Pope, and he may play the Lord of Miſrule, and do what he liſteth.

You proceed fo by little and little, that nothing at all is ſeen. Sudden mutations be not for the Popes purpoſe: but the Lord promiſeth to come ſuddenly when he is not looked for.

K.Hen.8. many times by right Judgment conſtituted, be obſerved of all men as inviolable? Wherefore ſeeing *Luther* and his fellows do condemn the Councils of holy Fathers, do burn the holy Canons, do confound all things at their pleaſure, and do diſquiet the whole World, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbers of the publick peace?

Iſay 59. Further, this you ſhall ſay unto them, that we confeſs our ſelves, and deny not, but that God ſuffereth this Perſecution to be inflicted upon his Church for the ſins of men, eſpecially of Prieſts and Prelates of the Clergy. For certain it is, *That the hand of the Lord is not ſhortned, that he cannot ſave; but our ſins have divided between God and us, and therefore he bideth his face from us that he will not hear us.* The Scripture teſtifieth, *That the ſins of the People do iſſue out from the ſins of the Prieſts. And therefore* (ſaith St. Chryſoſtom) *Chriſt, going about to cure the ſick, City of* Hieruſalem, *firſt entred into the Temple, to correct and the ſins of the Prieſts like a good Phyſician, which firſt beginneth to cure the Diſeaſe from the very root.* We know that in this (*h*) holy See here have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practiſed: as Abuſes in matters ſpiritual, and alſo Exceſſes in life and manners, and all things turned clean contrary. And no marvel if the Sickneſs (*e*) firſt beginning at the Head, that is, at the high Biſhops, have deſcended afterward to inferiour Prelates. All we (that is, Prelates of the Church) have declined every one after his own way; *Neither hath there been one that hath done good, no not one.* Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our Souls to him, conſidering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judg himſelf before he be judged of God in the Rod of his Fury. For the redreſs whereof you ſhall inſinuate unto them, and promiſe in our behalf, that in us ſhall be lacking no diligence of a better Reformation, firſt beginning with own Court; that like as the contagion firſt from thence deſcended into all the inferiour parts; ſo Reformation and Amendment of all that is amiſs, from the ſame place again, ſhall take his beginning. Whereunto they ſhall find us ſo much the more ready, for that we ſee the whole World ſo deſirous of the ſame. We our ſelves (as you know) never fought this Dignity, but rather coveted, if we otherwiſe might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet State to ſerve God: And alſo would utterly have refuſed the ſame, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our Election, and miſdoubting of the Schiſm to follow after, urged us to take it. And thus took we the Burthen upon us, not for any Ambition of Dignity, or to inrich our Friends and Kinſfolks, but only to be obedient to the Will of God, and for Reformation of the Catholick Church, and for relief of the Poor, and eſpecially for the Advancement of Learning and learned Men, with ſuch other things moe, as apperteineth to the charge of a good Biſhop and lawful Heir of St. Peter. And tho all Errors, Corruptions, and Abuſes be not ſtraightways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The Sore is great, and far grown, and is not ſingle, but of manifold Maladies together compacted, and therefore to the curing thereof we muſt proceed by little and little, firſt beginning to cure the greater and the moſt dangerous, leſt while we intend to amend all, we deſtroy all. *All ſudden mutations in a Common-wealth* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *are Perilous: and be that wringeth too hard, ſtraineth out Blood*: Prov. 30.

(*h*) And how then can this be called an holy See, where ſo many abominable Impieties, and manifold Exceſſes, both in ſpiritual matters, and alſo in external Life, are ſeen and practiſed? ſuch Ambition in the Prelates: ſuch pride in the Pope, ſuch avarice in the Court; and finally where ſuch corruption is of all things, as you your ſelves do here confeſs, and cannot deny?

(*e*) True it is, that the ſickneſs hath begun in the head, that is, at the very triple Crown: and therefore the ſickneſs being great, and having need of a ſharp Phyſician: God hath ſent *Luther* unto the Pope (as *Erſtemus* writeth of him) as a meet Phyſician to cure his Diſeaſe; yet he refuſeth to be healed.

Caliphus himſelf could never proſpecie more truly.

The Pope promiſeth Reformation of his own Courts but when he gaineth he?

And alſo would utterly have refuſed the ſame, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our Election, and miſdoubting of the Schiſm to follow after, urged us to take it. And thus took we the Burthen upon us, not for any Ambition of Dignity, or to inrich our Friends and Kinſfolks, but only to be obedient to the Will of God, and for Reformation of the Catholick Church, and for relief of the Poor, and eſpecially for the Advancement of Learning and learned Men, with ſuch other things moe, as apperteineth to the charge of a good Biſhop and lawful Heir of St. Peter. And tho all Errors, Corruptions, and Abuſes be not ſtraightways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The Sore is great, and far grown, and is not ſingle, but of manifold Maladies together compacted, and therefore to the curing thereof we muſt proceed by little and little, firſt beginning to cure the greater and the moſt dangerous, leſt while we intend to amend all, we deſtroy all. *All ſudden mutations in a Common-wealth* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *are Perilous: and be that wringeth too hard, ſtraineth out Blood*: Prov. 30.

And whereas in your laſt Letters you writ, that the Princes complain, how this See hath been and is prejudicial to their Ordinances and Agreements. Hereunto you ſhall thus anſwer: That ſuch Exceſſes, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always have miſliked theſe Derogations; and therefore bid them ſo aſſure themſelves, that though they had required no ſuch matter, we of our own accord would have refrained the ſame; partly for that it is good, right and reaſon, that every one have that which is due unto him: and partly alſo that the ſaid noble Nation of *Germany* ſhall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, ſo much as in us ſhall lie to do for them.

Rota is ſome-what in the Court or Chancery of Rome. And as touching the Proceſſes which they deſired to have removed away a *Rota*, and to be referred down to the Parties, you ſhall ſignifie unto them, that we will gratifie them herein as much as honeſtly we may. But becauſe our Auditors are now preſently abſent from the City, by reaſon of the Plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of thoſe Proceſſes. As ſoon as they ſhall return (which we hope will be ſhortly) we ſhall do in the Princes favour what reaſonably we may.

The Pope flattereth for advantage. And why then have you abuſed the Church ſo long with this Apocryphal Proviſions, and yet do not redreſs the ſame?

Further; Whereas we underſtand, that there be many freſh ſtarting Wits in *Germany*, and many well learned men, which are not ſeen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the Apoſtolical Proviſions, Dignities, and Promotions are beſtowed upon Tapſters, and Dancers, and unfit perſons; we will therefore that you inquire out what thoſe learned men are, and what be their Names, to the intent that when any ſuch Vacation of Benefices in *Germany* doth fall, we of our own voluntary motion may provide for them accordingly. For why? we conſider how much it is againſt God's Glory, and againſt the health and edification of Souls, that Benefices and Dignities of the Church have ſo long time been beſtowed upon unworthy and unable perſons.

Tum only the names of the perſons, and all the Accuſations of the Popiſh againſt the Lutherans agree chiefly unto themſelves.

As touching the Subſidy for *Hungarians*, we ſend no other Information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; ſave only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we alſo will do the like, in ſolliciting the matter with the Princes and Cities of *Italy*, that every one may help after his Ability. *Ex Orth. Gratian*;

Luther cried out of, without any juſt cauſe. Theſe Popiſh Suggeſtions and Inſtructions of the Pope himſelf againſt *Luther*, I thought, Chriſtian Reader, to let before thine Eyes, to the intent thou mayſt ſee here (as in a Pattern, and go no further) all the Crimes, Objections, Exclamations, Suſpicions, Accuſations, Slanders, Offenſions, Contumelies, Rebukes, Unmuths, Cavillations, Railings, whatſoever they have deviſed, or can deviſe, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or furniſh againſt *Luther* and his teaching. They cry, Hereſie, Hereſie; but they prove no Hereſie. They cry, Councils, Councils; and yet none tanſgreſſeth Councils more than themſelves. If Councils go always with Scripture, then *Luther* goeth with them: If Councils do jar ſometime from the Scripture, what Hereſie is in *Luther* in ſtanding with Scripture againſt thoſe Councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto ſpoken againſt any Councils, ſave only the Council of *Conſtance*. They inflame Kings and Princes againſt *Luther*, and yet they have no cauſe wherefore. They accuſe him for teaching Liberty. If they mean the Liberty of the Fleſh, they accuſe him falſely: If they mean the Liberty of the Spirit, they teach wickedly which teach contrary: And yet when they have all ſaid, none live ſo licentiouſly as themſelves. They pretend the Zeal of the Church, but under that Church lieth their own private Welfare, and Belly-cheer. They charge *Luther* with Diſobedience, and none are ſo diſobedient to Magiſtrates and Civil Laws, as they. They lay to his Charge Oppreſſion and ſpoiling of Lay-men's Goods: And who ſpoileth the Lay-men's Livings ſo much as the Pope? For Probation whereof, let the Pope's Accounts be caſt, what he raketh out of every Chriſtian Realm. Briefly, turn only the Names of the Perſons, and inſtead of *Luther's* Name, place the Name of the Pope, and the effect of this Letter above peruſed, ſhall agree and upon none more aptly, than upon the Pope himſelf, and his own Sectaries. Now to proceed further in the Proceſs of this foreſaid matter, let us ſee what the Princes again for their parts anſwer to theſe foreſaid Suggeſtions and Inſtructions of Pope *Adrian*, ſent unto them in the Diet of *Norenberg*, in the Cauſe of *Luther*: the Anſwer of whom here followeth under-written.

Liberty of Fleſh, Liberty of Spirit.

The Answer of the noble and renerend Princes, and States of the sacred Roman Empire, exhibited to the Pope's Ambassador.

The Answer of the Princes of Germany to the Popes Letter and Instructions.

THE noble and renowned Prince Lord *Ferdinandus*, Lieutenant to the Emperor's Majesty, with other reverend Peers in Christ, and mighty Princes Electors, and other States and Orders of this present Assembly of the Roman Empire in *Norenberg* convened, have gratefully received, and diligently perused the Letters sent in form of a Brief, with the Instructions also of the most holy Father in Christ and Lord, Lord *Adrian* the high Bishop of the holy and universal Church of *Rome*, presented unto them in the cause of *Luther*'s Faction.

Pope Adrian a Germain born.

By the which foresaid Letters and Writings whereas first they understand his Holiness to have been born, and to have had his native Origine and Parentage out of this noble Nation of *Germany*, they do not a little rejoice. Of whose egregious Vertues and Ornaments, both of mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years: by reason whereof they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of Election, to the high top of the Apostolical Dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same: praying also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and perpetual glory of his name, and for health of Souls, and incolumity of the universal Church, that God will give his Holiness long continuance of felicity: Having no misldoubt, but that, by such a full and consenting election of such a Pastor of the universal Catholick Church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and look for, his Holiness openeth to them an evident declaration in his own Letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral Function, in studying for the health of the Flock to him committed: and especially in converting the minds of Christian Princes from War to Peace. Declaring moreover, what subsidy and relief his Holiness hath sent to the Souldiers of *Rhodes*, &c. All which things they perpending with themselves, conceive exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputing and trusting that this concord of Christian Princes will be a great help and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the state of the Common-wealth, nor of Christian Religion, can be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks repressed.

Can any good thing come out of Rome?

Wherefore the excellent Prince, Lord Lieutenant to the Emperor's Majesty, with the other Princes Electors, and Orders of this present Assembly, most heartily do pray, that his Holiness will persist in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath vertuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagreeing hearts of Christian Princes may be reduced to quiet and peace; or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the People of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage. Whereunto both the noble Prince Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes of *Germany*, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

The Pope misdevised for the promotion of Luther.

And whereas by the Letters of his Holiness, with his Instruction also exhibited unto them by his Legat, they understand that his Holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of *Luther*'s Sect, whereby innumerable Souls, committed to his charge, are in danger of perdition, and therefore his Holiness vehemently desireth some speedy Remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary Reasons and Causes, whereby to move the German Princes thereunto; and that they will tender the execution of the Apostolick Sentence, and also of the Emperor's Edict set forth touching the suppressing of *Luther*. To these the Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes and States do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his Holiness; and also they do lament as much for these impieties and perils of Souls, and inconveniences which grow in the Religion of Christ, either by the Sect of *Luther*, or any otherwife. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of Errors, and decay of Souls health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform; considering how they stand bound and subject, as well to the Pope's Holiness, as also to the Emperor's Majesty.

K. Hen. 8.

But why the Sentence of the Apostolick See, and the Emperor's Edict against *Luther*, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there hath been (said they) causes great and urgent, which have led them thereto: as first, in weighing and considering with themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon enfue. For the greatest part of the People of *Germany* have always had this perswasion, and now by reading *Luther*'s Books are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this Nation of *Germany* by the Court of *Rome*; and therefore if they should have proceeded with any rigor in executing the Pope's Sentence, and the Emperor's Edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be done for subverting the verity of the Gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, whereupon great Wars and Tumults (no doubt) would have enfued: which thing of the Princes and States there hath been well perceived by many Arguments. For the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle Remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

Causes why the Princes have not proceeded by the Popes Sentence against Luther. Grievances received by the Court of Rome.

Again, whereas the reverend Lord Legat (said they) in the name of the Pope's Holiness, hath been instructed, to declare unto them, that God suffereth this Persecution to rise in the Church for the sins of Men, and that his Holiness doth promise therefore to begin the Reformation with his own Court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same: Also, whereas his Holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testify in his Letters, that he himself did always mislike that the Court of *Rome* should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the Concordates of the Princes, and that his Holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his Papacy, never to practice the like, but so to endeavour, that every one, and especially the Nation of the *Germans*, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said Nation his peculiar favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy Bishop omitteth nothing which a good Father, or a devout Pastor may or ought to do to his Sheep? Or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults; namely, seeing his Holiness so intendeth to accomplish the fame in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

The Pope answered with his own words.

Remedy of Reformation.

A General Council in Germany required.

And thus undoubtedly both the noble Lord Lieutenant, and all other Princes and States of the Empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of Souls, and to the tranquility of the publick State. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other Articles also, which the secular Princes (assigned purpofely for the fame) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the Ecclesiastical and Secular Estates, nor any true extirpation of this Tumult and Errors in *Germany*, that can be hoped. For partly by long Wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hindrances, this Nation of *Germany* hath been so wafted and consumed in Mony, that unneth it is able to sustain it self in private Affairs, and neceffary upholding of Justice within it self: much less then to minister aid and succour to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to the *Croatians*, against the Turk. And whereas all the States of the facred Roman Empire do not doubt, but the Pope's Holiness doth right well understand how the German Princes did grant and condescend for the mony of Annates to be levied to the See of *Rome* for term of certain years, upon condition that the faid Mony should be converted to maintain War against the Turkish Infidels, and for defence of the Catholick Faith: and whereas the term of these years is now expired long since, when as the said Annates should be gathered, and yet that mony hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted. Wherefore if any such neceffity should now come, that any publick helps or contributions against the Turk, should be demanded of the German people, they would answer again, Why is not that mony of Annats, referred many years before to that use, now bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burthens for that cause to be laid upon them.

An Interim before the Council.

Writing and Printing for a time suspended.

The Office of Preaching tempered.

Preachers limited within certain bounds.

Grievances of the Germans complained of to the Pope. Vide infra.

Annates falsly pretended of the Pope, to maintain War against the Turk.

Wherefore

K. Hen. 8.

Annates is a certain portion of money wont to be paid to the Court of *Rome*, out of the one years Fruits at the vacation of an Ecclesiastical Living.

Wherefore the said Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes and degrees of the Empire, make earnest petition, that the Pope's Holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend the premises, and forceafe hereafter to require fitch Annates, which are accuftomed after the death of Bishops and other Prelates, or Ecclesiastical Persons, to be paid to the Court of *Rome*, and suffer them to remain to the Chamber of the Empire, whereby Justice and Peace may be more commodiously administred, the tranquility of the publick State of *Germany* maintained, and also by the fame due helps may be ordained and disposed to other Christian Potentates in *Germany*, against the Turk, which otherwise without the fame is not to be hoped for.

Item, Whereas the Pope's Holiness desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these Errors of the *Lutherans*. To this the Lord Lieutenant, with other Princes and Nobles, do answer, that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise, with willing hearts they will be ready thereunto. Seeing therefore the State, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, is far out of frame, and have so much corrupted their ways; and seeing not only of *Luther*'s part, and of his Sect, but also by divers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; much requisite and neceffary it is, that some effectual Remedy be provided, as well for redrefs of the Church, as also for repressing the Turks tyranny. Now what more present or effectual Remedy can be had, the Lord Lieutenant, and other Estates and Princes do not see, than this, that the Pope's Holiness, by the consent of the Emperor's Majesty, do summon a free Christian Council in some convenient place of *Germany*, as at *Strasburg*, or at *Mentz*, or at *Colen*, or at *Metz*, and that with as much speed as conveniently may be, so that the Congregation of the said Council be not deferred above one year: in the which Council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either Temporal or Ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God, and health of Souls, and the publick wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint, whatsoever Oath or other Bond to the contrary notwithstanding: yea, and it shall be every good Mans part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what ways these Errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the mean time, until the Council be set, the foresaid Lord Lieutenant, with the other Princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as *Luther*, and certain of his Fellows, be within the Territory and Dominion of the noble Duke *Frederick*, the said Lord Lieutenant and other States of the Empire shall so labour the matter with the aforenamed Prince, Duke of *Saxony*, that *Luther* and his followers, shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble Prince of *Saxony*, for his Christian piety, and obedience to the Roman Empire, as becometh a Prince of such excellent vertue, will effectually condescend to the same.

Item, The said Lord Lieutenant and Princes shall labour so with the Preachers of *Germany*, that they shall not in their Sermons teach or blow into the Peoples ears such matter whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or to be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy Gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and expofition of the Scripture, being approved and received of Christ's Church, abstaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtily searched, or deeply discussed, is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention of disputation among the vulgar sort: but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the Council to come.

Item, The Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats within their Diocefs, shall assign godly and learned Men, having good judgment in the Scripture, which shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such Preachers; and if they shall perceive the said Preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing unconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such fort as no Man shall justly complain the truth of the Gospel to be impeached. But if the Preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then they shall be rebuked and punished by the Ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient.

Furthermore, the said Princes and Nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that from henceforth during the foresaid time, no new Book shall be imprinted, especially none of these famous Libels, neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also order shall be taken amongst all Potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet Men appointed for the same: so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus by these means they hope well, that the Tumults, Errors, and Offensions among the people, shall cease; especially if the Pope's Holiness himself shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the foresaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and Christian Council as hath been said, and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted: for all such as be honest and good Men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that General Council, so shortly and now ready at hand to come. Finally, as concerning Priests which contract Matrimony, and religious Men leaving their Cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the Apostolical Legat, the foresaid Princes do confider, that forsomuch as in the Civil Law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the Canonical Constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their Benefices and Privileges, or other condign Centures: & that the said Ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular Powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and shall direct out their publick Edicts and Precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said Ordinaries in their Ecclesiastical Cattigation, upon such Transgressors to be administred.

Against setting and printing of famous Libels.

Famous Libels be such Books as rail against the fame of any perfon, throwing no name of the Author thereof.

For Priests or religious Men that marry.

To conclude, The redoubted Prince Lord Lieutenant, and other Princes, Estates, and Orders of the publick Empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the Pope's Holiness, and the reverend Lord his Legat will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant, than of a good free, sincere, and a Christian mind. Neither is there any thing that all the foresaid Princes, Estates, and Nobles, do more with and desire, than the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy Catholick Church of *Rome*, and of his Holiness. To whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most ready and obsequious, as faithful Children. *Ex Orth. Gratian.*

Thus hast thou, loving Reader, the full discourse, both of the Pope's Letter, and of his Legat's Instructions, with the Answer also of the States of *Germany* to the said Letter and Instructions to them exhibited in the Diet of *Norenberg*. In the which Diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the Grievances of *Germany*, which they exhibited to the Pope, then concerning a General Council to be called in *Germany*, also for printing, preaching, and for Priests Marriage, hath been likewise declared, &c.

Ex Joan. Sleidan.

The occasion of this matter, moved against Priests Marriage, came first by the Ministers of *Strasburg*, which about this time began to take Wives, and therefore were cited by the Bishop of *Strasburg* to appear before him at a certain day, as violaters of the Laws of Holy Church, the Holy Fathers, the Bishops of *Rome*, and of the Emperor's Majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of Priesthood, and Majesty of Almighty God: but they referred their caufe to the hearing of the Magistrates of the same City; who, being Suiters for them unto the Bishops, laboured to have the matter either releafed, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Ministers of Strasburg troubled for their Wives.

Long it were to recite all the Circumstances following upon this Diet or Assembly of *Norenberg*, how their Decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diverfly wrested and expounded. *Luther* writing his Letters upon the same Decree, to the Princes, thus made his expofition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the Preachers were commanded to preach the pure Gospel, after the Doctrine

Luther expounded the Decree of Norenberg.

of the Church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the Doctrine of *Thomas Aquinas*, or *Scotus*, or fuch other late School-writers, but after the Doctrine of *Hilarie*, *Cyprian*, and *Auften*, and other ancient Doctors, and yet the Doctrine of the faid Anceftors no farther to be received, but as it fhould agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, As concerning new Books not to be fold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the Text of the Bible, and Books of the Holy Scripture might be printed notwithftanding, and publifhed to all Men.

And as for the prohibition of Prieft's Marriage, he writeth to the Princes, and defireth them to bear with the weakneſs of Men; declaring that branch of their Decree to be very hard; which tho it ſtand with the Pope's Law, yet it accordeth not with the Goſpel, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honeſty of Life, *&c.*

An hundred grievances of the Germans againſt the Pope.

Furthermore, Whereas in the ſame Seſſion of *Norenberg*, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of an hundred, and exhibited to the Bifhop of *Rome*, it were tedious likewiſe to inſert them all: yet to give ſome taſte of a few I judg it not unprofitable; to the intent that the World may ſee and judg, not only what abuſes and corruptions, moſt monſtrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the Holy Church of *Rome*: but alſo may underſtand, with what hypocriſy and impudence the Pope taketh upon him ſo grievouſly to complain upon *M. Luther*, and other: when in all the univerſal Church of Chriſt, there is none ſo much to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himſelf, according as by theſe hainous complaints of the German Princes, here following, againſt the Pope's intolerable oppreſſions and grievances, may rightwell appear. Which grievances being collected by the Princes of *Germany* at *Norenberg*, to the number of an hundred, I with might be fully and at large ſet forth to the ſtudious Reader, whereby might appear the ſubtil fleights and intolerable frauds of that pretenſed Church. But forſomuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to exhibit ſome part thereof for example, as giving only a certain taſte, whereby thou mayeſt more eaſily conceive, what to think and deem of all the reſidue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

Certain Grievances and Oppreſſions of Germany, *againſt the Court of* Rome, *collected and exhibited by the Princes, at the Council of* Norenberg, *to the number of an hundred, whereof certain ſpecialities here follow.*

Forbidding of marriage in divers degrees, not forbidden by Gods Law.

AMongſt other burdens and grievances, this is not leaſt to be regarded, that many things are prohibited by Mens conſtitutions, and many things exacted, which are not prohibited or commanded by any precept of God: as the innumerable obſtacles of Matrimony invented and brought in, whereby Men were forbid to marry in caſes of Kindred, which ſtand upon divers degrees: as upon affinity, publick honeſty, ſpiritual kindred, kindred by Law, and kindred in Blood, *&c.* And likewiſe in forbidding the uſe of Meats, which God hath created for Mans neceſſity, and taught by the Apoſtle indifferently to be received with thankſgiving. By theſe, and many other humane conſtitutions, Men are yoked in bondage, until by money they obtain ſome diſpenſation of theſe Laws, at their hands which made them: ſo that Mony ſhall make that lawful for rich Men, which is clearly prohibited unto the poor. By theſe ſnares of Mens Laws and Conſtitutions, not only great ſums of Mony are gathered out of *Germany*, and carried over the Alps, but alſo great iniquity is ſprung up among Chriſtians: many offences and privy hatreds do riſe, by reaſon that poor Men do ſee themſelves intangled with theſe ſnares, for no other cauſe, but for that they do not poſſeſs the Thoms of the Goſpel; for ſo Chriſt doth often call Riches.

Forbidding of Meats, not forbidden by Gods Law.

Times forbidden.

Times of Marriage reſtrained, and after releaſed for Money.

THe like practice alſo is to be ſeen in the times reſtrained from Marriage, by the Heads of the Church of *Rome*, from the *Septuageſima Sunday*, forewhat before Lent: when as notwithſtanding both the Clergy and the Seculars in the mean time will live licentiouſly, and that openly in the face of all the World. But this interdict proceedeth to this effect: if a Man ſhall preſume ſo to do upon his own liberty, without compounding. But otherwiſe if there be any hope of Mony, then that which was before unlawful, is now made lawful for every Man to do freely. And this is alſo another drawing Net, whereby great ſums of Mony are dragged out of the Germans purſes. Whereupon alſo hangeth another grievance as great as this; that in ſuing out a Diſpenſation, the ſtate of the poor and of the rich is not indifferently weighed: For where the rich eſcapeth many times for little or nought, and goeth clear away, the poor Man ſhall be ſure to pay for the ſhot.

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A complaint for ſelling Remiſſion of ſins for Mony.

BUt eſpecially the burden and grievance of the Pope's Indulgences and Pardons be moſt importable: whenas the Biſhops of *Rome*, under pretence of building ſome Church in *Rome*, or to war againſt the Turk, do take out their Indulgences with theſe Bulls: perſwading and promiſing to the ſimple people ſtrange and wonderful benefits of remiſſion *à pœna & culpa*, that is, from all their ſins and puniſhment due for the ſame, and that not in this life only, but alſo after this life, to them that be dead burning in the fire of Purgatory. Through the hope and occaſion whereof, true piety is almoſt extinct in all *Germany*, while every evil diſpoſed perſon promiſeth to himſelf for a little Mony, license and impunity to do what him liſteth: whereupon followeth Fornication, Inceſt, Adultery, Perjury, Homicide, Robbing, and Spoiling, Rapine, Uſury, with a whole flood of all Miſchiefs, *&c.*

A complaint againſt the Immunities of Clergy-men.

Item, Whoſoever he be that hath received any Eccleſiaſtical Orders, great or ſmall, thereby he doth contend to be freed from all puniſhment of the ſecular Magiſtrate, how great offence ſoever he do: neither doth he unadviſedly preſume thereupon, but is maintained in that liberty to ſin, by the principal Eſtates of the Clergy. For it hath often bin ſeen, that whereas by the Canonical Laws, Prieſts are forbidden to marry, afterward they diligently labour and go about day and night to attempt and try the chaſtity of Matrons, Virgins, and of the Wives, Daughters, and Siſters of the Lay-men: and through their continual inſtance and labour, partly with Gifts and Rewards, and flattering words, partly by their ſecret confeſſions (as they call them) as it hath been found by experience, they bring to paſs that many Virgins and Matrons, which otherwiſe would be honeſt, have been overcome and moved to ſin and wickedneſs: and it hapneth oftentimes, that they do detain and keep away the Wives and Daughters from their Husbands and Fathers, threatning them with Fire and Sword, that do require them again. Thus through their raging Luſt, they heap and gather together innumerable Miſchiefs and Offences. It is to be marvelled at, how licentiouſly, without puniſhment, they daily offend in Robberies, Murther, accuſing of Innocents, Burning, Rapine, Theft, and counterfeiting of falſe Coin, befides a thouſand other kinds of miſchiefs, contrary and againſt all Laws both of God and Man, not without great offence of others, truſting only upon the freedom and liberty of ſin, which they uſurp unto themſelves by the privilege of their Canons. For whenas they perceive that it is lawful for them to do what they liſt without controllment, then they do not only contemn the Civil Magiſtrates, but alſo their Biſhops and Superiors, whatſoever they either command or forbid them to do.

The licentiouſneſs of prieſts.

And moreover, to the intent they may be the more maintained in their miſchief and wickedneſs, contrary to all reaſon and equity, it is partly forbidden the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to condemn their Malefactors openly, except they be firſt degraded, which muſt be done with ſumptuouſneſs and pomp: whereby it hapneth very ſeldom, that thoſe annointed naughty Packs, do receive condign puniſhment. Beſides that, the Biſhops are ſo bound by their Chapters, that they dare not puniſh any perſon which hath taken Orders, by the Canonical Laws, be the puniſhment never ſo light or ſmall. By reaſon whereof, the matter ſo falleth out, that through this unequal partiality between the Laity and the Clergy, great hatred, diſcord, and diſſention is

K.Hen.8. is ſprung and riſen. It is alſo not a little to be feared, that if the Clergy, which are the cauſe of this grievance, and of other miſchiefs (which daily they do proceed to perpetrate) have not like Laws, equal Judges, and like Puniſhment, their offenſive Life will move and ſtir up ſome great Tumults and Sedition amongſt the common People, not only againſt the Clergy themſelves, but alſo againſt the Superiors and Magiſtrates, for that they leave ſo notorious Offences unpuniſhed.

Wherefore Neceſſity and Juſtice doth require, that the ſaid prejudicial Privileges of the Clergy ſhould be abrogate and taken away, and in their place it be provided, ordained, and decreed, That the Clergy, of what order or degree ſoever they be, ſhall have like Laws, like Judgment and Puniſhment as the Laity have: ſo that they ſhall pretend no prerogative or freedom in like offence, more than the Laymen; but that every one of the Clergy offending, under the Judg where the offence is committed, ſhall be puniſhed for his fact, according to the meaſure and quality of his offence, in ſuch like manner as other Malefactors are, with the puniſhment appointed by the common Laws of the Empire. Which thing (without doubt) will pleaſe the true Miniſters of the Church, ſuch as are honeſt and learned, and they will not think their Power and Authority thereby in any caſe diminiſhed. By this means it ſhall be brought to paſs, that ſuch as are of the Clergy only by name, and otherwiſe naughty wicked Men, through the obedience due unto their Magiſtrates, ſhall be compelled to live more honeſtly; and all fedition and privy hatred between them and the Laity ſhall be put away; and finally, thereby the Laity ſhall be more moved and ſtirred to love and reverence ſuch of the Clergy as be of a ſound life.

Prieſts ought to be ſubject to the ſame puniſhments as are the Lay-People.

Complaint of Excommunication abuſed.

Item, At *Rome* and in other places many Chriſtians are excommunicate by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, or by their Eccleſiaſtical Judges, for prophane cauſes, through the deſire and covetouſneſs of Money and Lucre. The Conſciences of Men, which are weak in faith, thereby are burdened and brought unto deſperation. And finally, for Money and Lucre, a matter of no importance is made to tend to the deſtruction both of Body and Soul, contrary to the Law both of God and Man; foraſmuch as no Man ought to be excommunicate but only for Hereſy, or for ſome heinous fact perpetrate; nor to be counted as ſeparate from the Chriſtian Catholick Church, as the Scriptures do witneſs. Therefore the Princes, Nobles, States, and Laity of the Sacred Empire, deſire and require the Pope's Holineſs, that as a faithful Chriſtian, and loving Father, he will remove the ſaid Burden of Excommunication, uſed both in the See of *Rome*, and alſo in the Sees of all other Archbiſhops and Eccleſiaſtical Judges; and finally decree, that no Man ſhall hereafter be excommunicate, but only for a manifeſt convict Crime of Hereſy: For it is too wicked a thing, that faithful Chriſtians, for every light Offence touching any temporal goods or gain, or for any other worldly matter, but only for obſtinacy of Hereſy, or ſome great enormity, ſhould be excluded from Almighty God, and the Catholick Congregation.

Excommunication abuſed in the Church of Rome.

The Church burdened with a number of Holy-days.

MOreover, the common People are not a little oppreſſed with the great number of Holy-days, for that there are now ſo many Holy-days, that the Husbandmen have ſcarcely time to gather the Fruits of the Earth, which they have brought forth with ſo great labour and travel, being often in danger of Hail, Rain, and other Storms; which Fruits notwithſtanding, if they were not letted with ſo many Holy-days, they would gather and bring home without any loſs. Beſides that, upon theſe Holy-days innumerable Offences are committed and done, rather than God honoured or worſhipped. Which thing is ſo manifeſt, that it needeth no witneſs. For that cauſe the Eſtates of the Sacred Empire think it beſt, and moſt profitable for the Chriſtian Commonwealth, that this great number of Holy-days ſhould be diminiſhed, which ought rather to be celebrate in ſpirit and verity, than with the external Worſhip, and be better kept with abſtinence from Sin.

The number of Holy-days to be diminiſhed.

Suſpending and hallowing of Church-yards gainful to the Pope, and chargeable to the People.

FUrthermore, if it happen that two or more do fight without any weapon in a Church-yard, only with their fiſts, or by the hair, that there be never ſo little blood ſhed, by and by the Clergy have recourſe to Interdictment, and do not ſuffer any more Chriſtian Burials there to be done, before that all the Citizens with great pomp and expences do cauſe it to be conſecrated and hallowed again, with no leſs charge than when at the firſt, of a prophane place, it was hallowed for Burial: all which things do redound to the charges and coſts of the Laity. And tho the Churches or Chappels be never ſo little which are ſo hallowed, yet the Suffragans do burden and oppreſs the ſimple poor Houſholders, be they never ſo bare or needy, with ſuperfluous expences, and require moreover gifts of the People, which is not for their eaſe to give.

Hallowing of Church-yards abuſed for Money.

Alſo the Suffragans have invented, that no other but only themſelves may baptize Bells for the Lay-People: Whereby the ſimple People, upon the affirmation of the Suffragans, do believe, that ſuch Bells ſo baptized will drive away evil Spirits and Tempeſts. Whereupon a great number of God-fathers are appointed, eſpecially ſuch as are rich, which at the time of baptizing, holding the Rope wherewithal the Bell is tied, the Suffragan ſpeaking before them, as is accuſtomed in the baptizing of young Children, they all together do anſwer, and give the name to the Bell. The Bell having a new Garment put upon it, as is accuſtomed to be done unto the Chriſtians; after this they go unto ſumptuous Banquets, whereunto alſo the Goſſips are bidden, that thereby they might give the greater reward; and the Suffragans, with their Chaplains and other Miniſters, are ſumptuouſly fed. Yet doth not this ſuffice, but that the Suffragan alſo muſt have a reward, which they do call a ſmall gift or preſent: whereby it happeneth oftentimes, that even in ſmall Villages a hundred Florins are confirmed and ſpent in ſuch Chriſtenings. Which is not only ſuperſtitious, but alſo contrary unto Chriſtian Religion, a ſeducing of the ſimple People, and meer Extortion. Notwithſtanding the Biſhops, to enrich their Suffragans, do ſuffer theſe things, and others far worſe. Wherefore ſuch wicked and unlawful things ought to be abolished.

Baptizing of Bells.

Bells weſt Coaſts.

A queſtion whether theſe Goſſips that chriſten Bells may marry together by the Canon Law?

Spoiling of the People by baptizing of Bells.

Complaint againſt Officials, and other Eccleſiaſtical Judges.

THe Officials alſo of Archbiſhops for the moſt part are unlearned and unable Men; beſides that, Men of evil conditions, taking thought for nothing but only for Money. Alſo how corruptly they live, and continue in notorious crimes and tranſgreſſions, it is daily ſeen. Whereby the Laity, whom they ought to correct and puniſh for their Offences, and inſtruct in Chriſtian Godlineſs, are not in any point by them amended, but rather by them encouraged and confirmed in their Offences. Beſides this, the Laity are miſerably robbed and ſpoiled of their Goods by theſe light and vile Officials, in whoſe Conſciences there is no ſpark of Chriſtian Pity and Godlineſs, but only a wicked Deſire and Covetouſneſs. Which thing the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, if they were indeed ſuch as they are called, that is to ſay, the Paſtors and Shepherds of Chriſt, without doubt they would no longer ſuffer or commit Chriſt's Flock to wicked and offenſive Paſtors to be fed and nouriſhed.

Againſt Officials.

How the Eccleſiaſtical Judges do annex certain ſpecial Cauſes, being Lay matters, unto their own juriſdiction, and will by no means releaſe the ſame.

WHenſoever any Cauſes are pleaded in Judgment before an Eccleſiaſtical Judg, either for ravithing of Virgins, or for Children unlawfully born out of Wedlock, or for Servants Wages, or any other matters concerning Widows, the Eccleſiaſtical Judges being called upon by the Superiors of the Laity which do contend, they will neither defer that Judgment, nor by any means will be entreated to remit them to their ordinary Juriſdiction.

Lay-matters brought into the Spiritual Court for Money.

The Gain that riseth to the Clergy by false Slanders and Rumors.

Spiritual matters brought to the Spiritual Court for gain and lucre.

IT happeneth oftentimes that Men and Women, through sinister and false Reports and Slanders, are brought before the Official or Ecclesiastical Judg, as Men guilty, and shall not be declared innocent before they have cleared themselves by an Oath; which Purgation so made, they are restored again to their former estimation. And albeit that the Damages and Costs ought to be repayed again unto such as be so falsly accused, yet notwithstanding the Innocents themselves are forced to pay two gildrens and a quarter for their Letters of Absolution. And this is the cause why that the Officials and other Ecclesiastical Judges do so greedily follow the Action of such unlawful, false and slanderous Accusations, challenging the hearing thereof only unto themselves; which thing (no doubt) redoundeth to the great and most singular hurt and detriment of all Men: For oftentimes it happeneth, that Women fall together in contention, through anger, hatred, or some other affection, do speak evil or slander one another, and outrage so much, that the one oftentimes accuseth the other, either of Adultery or Witchery. Which thing being brought before the Official, the which through her anger had so slandered the other, is forced by an Oath to excuse and purge her self, that whatsoever injurious or slanderous word she had spoken, came not of any deliberate purpose or intent, but through wrath and displeasure. In like manner the other, which is accused either of Adultery or Sorcery, is commanded by her Oath to declare her Innocency, that she is not guilty of those facts. So that it is evident unto all Men, that in such cases, whether they be guilty or not guilty, they must swear, if they will keep their good name and fame. Whereby not only the unlawful lucre of Gain and Money is sought, but also wilful Perjury forced, and the Secular Power and Judges letted from the punishment thereof, so that contrary to all reason Offences do remain unpunished.

Complaint against Spiritual Judges, taking Secular Causes from the Civil Magistrate.

The wishing of temporal Causes unto the Spiritual Court for gain and no ney.

ALbeit there be many Causes so indifferent to both Jurisdictions, that they may be pleaded and punished as well by the Civil Magistrate as Ecclesiastical Judg; notwithstanding it happeneth oftentimes, that when as the Civil Magistrates would exercise their Office and Jurisdiction in this behalf, they are so bidden and letted by the Ecclesiastical Judges, under pain of Excommunication. Which thing if it it could long continue and be suffered, the Ecclesiastical Judges would shortly take away all manner of Causes from the Civil Magistrate, and his Jurisdiction; which is intolerable, and derogatory both unto the Emperor's Majesty, and other States of the Empire. And albeit that by the Common Laws manifest Perjuries, Adulteries, Witchcrafts, and such other like, may indifferently be punished by Ecclesiastical or Civil Judges for the time being, so that prevention in this behalf taketh place; notwithstanding the Ecclesiastical Judges go about to usurp unto themselves and their Jurisdiction all such manner of Causes: which Burden and Grievance the Civil Jurisdiction and Power ought not to suffer.

A Complaint against Ecclesiastical Judges, intermeddling with Cases of the Secular Court, but will not suffer their Cases once to be touched of the other.

The Clergy may deal in the Magistrates matters, but not deal in theirs.

MOreover, the Ecclesiastical Judges say, that in such cases it is lawful for them to take prophane matters into their hands, if the Civil Magistrate be found negligent in executing of Justice: but contrariwise, they will not suffer that the like Order should be kept with them, neither will they permit that in Ecclesiastical Matters any Man may complain unto the Civil Magistrate for lack of Justice, and require the administration of Justice at his hand. Albeit, they do decline all Laws generally common, and determine how the Canon Laws may help and assist the Civil, and contrariwise the Civil Laws the Canon.

Complaint against certain Misorders of Cathedral Churches, for using double Punishment for one Offence against the Law. K.Hen. 8.

FOrasmuch as it is forbidden both by God's Law and Man's, that any Man should be beaten with two Rods, that is to say, to be punished with two kinds of Torments; worthily therefore do all wife Men detest and abhor the odious Statutes of divers Cathedral Churches, whereby Murderers, both Men and Women, and other, as well light as grievous Offenders, have been hitherto vexed and tormented: for hitherto it hath been accustomed, that such as were guilty of Murther, and such other Crimes, (which they call Cases reserved unto the Bishops) after they had made their Auricular Confession, were compelled (to their great ignominy and shame) to do penance in the sight of all the People: which Penance were not so much to be disallowed, bearing some semblance of the Institution of the Primitive Church, if so be it these busy Officials (being contented therewith) would not extort more and greater Sums of Money than were right and lawful, and so punish those Offenders with double punishment; wherewithal it is to be marvelled how many are offended and grieved. How wicked a thing this is, and how far it differeth from Christ's Institution, we will refer it to every good Conscience to judge.

Certain Orders of Cathedral Churches reprovable.

Complaint of Officials for maintaining unlawful Usury.

FUrthermore, the Officials, being allured through the greedy and unsatiable desire of Money, do not only not forbid unlawful Usuries and Gains of Money, but also further and maintain the same. Moreover, they taking a yearly Stipend and Pension, do suffer the Clergy and other religious Persons unlawfully to dwell with their Concubines and Harlots, and to beget Children by them. Both which things how great peril, offence, and detriment they do bring both unto Body and Soul, every Man may plainly see (so that it need not to be rehearsed) except he will make himself as blind as a Mole.

Officials taking Pensions of Priests for keeping Concubines.

Complaint of Officials permitting unlawful cohabitation with others, when the Husband or Wife are long absent.

FUrthermore, where it so happeneth (as it doth oftentimes) that either the good Man, or the good Wife, by means of War, or some other Vow, hath taken in hand some long Journey, and so tarrieth longer than serveth the appetite of the other, the Official, taking a reward of the other, giveth license to the Party to dwell with any other Person, not having first regard, or making inquisition whether the Husband or Wife, being absent, be in health or dead. And because these their doings should not be evil spoken of, they name it a Toleration of Sufferance, not without great offence to all Men, and to the great contempt of holy Matrimony.

Complaint of Canons in Cathedral Churches, which have their Bishop sworn unto them before he be chosen.

THis is also unlawful and plainly wicked, that the Canons of Cathedral Churches, in whose hand the principal part of Ecclesiastical Judgments, Synods, and Censures do consist, and the Canons of other Collegiate Churches, which have power and authority to chuse their Superior and Bishop, will chuse none to their Bishop, except he bind himself first with an Oath, and plainly swear, yea, and oftentimes is bound by Bond and Instruments, sealed with their Seals, to them and their Ecclesiastical Judges, that in no matter, be it never so grievous, intolerable, or dishonest, he shall be against them: and if it happen at any time that they do offend, they may do it also without punishment for him.

The practice in Chapters of Cathedral Churches to make the Bishops sworn unto them.

Complaint

K.Hen. 8. *Complaint against Incorporations or Impropriations, and other pilling of the People by Church-Men.*

The inconvenience of Impropriations.

MAny Parish-Churches are subject unto Monasteries, and to the Parsons of other Churches, by means of Incorporations, (as they call them) or otherwise, which they are bound also, according to the Canon Laws, to foresee and look unto by themselves, when as they do put them forth unto others to be governed, reserving for the most part unto themselves the whole Stipend of the Benefits and Tithes; and moreover aggravate and charge the same with so great Pensions, that the Hireling-Priests, and other Ministers of the Church, cannot have thereupon a decent and competent living. Whereby it cometh to pass, that these Hireling-Priests (for that they must needs have wherewpon to live) do with unlawful exactions miserably spoil and devour the poor Sheep committed unto them, and consume all their substance. For when as the Sacraments of the Altar and of Baptism are to be administred, or when the first, the seventh, the thirtieth, and Year-day must be kept; when Auricular Confession cometh to be heard, the Dead to be buried, or any other Ceremony whatsoever about the Funeral is to be done, they will not do it freely, but exort and exact so much Money, as the miserable Communalty is scarce able to disburse: and daily they do increase and augment these their Exactions, driving the simple poor People to the payment thereof, by threatning them with Excommunication, or by other ways compelling them to be at charge: which otherwise through poverty are not able to maintain Obsequies, Year-minds, and such other like Ceremonies, as to the Funerals of the Dead be appertaining.

Buying and selling of Burials complained of.

Gain gotten by selling Burials.

It is ordained by the Pope's Canons, That Burial in the Church should be denied only unto them which being known to be manifest and notorious Offenders, have departed this life without receiving of the Sacrament. But the Clergy, not regarding those Decrees, will not suffer such as by chance are drowned, killed, slain with Falls or Fire, or otherwise by chance have ended their lives, (albeit it be not evident that they were in deadly Sin) to be buried in the Churches, until such time as the Wives, Children, or Friends of those Men so dead, do with great Sums of Money purchase and buy the Burial of them in the Church-yard.

Chaste and continent Priests compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.

Concubines permitted for Money, and chaste Priests compelled to pay Tribute for Concubines.

Also in many places the Bishops and their Officials do not only suffer Priests to have Concubines, so that they pay certain Sums of Money, but also compell continent and chaste Priests, which live without Concubines, to pay Tribute for Concubines, affirming that the Bishop hath part of Money: which being paid, it shall be lawful for them either to live chaste, or to keep Concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every Man doth well understand and know.

THese, with many other Burthens and Grievances more, to the number of an hundred, the Secular States of *Germany* delivered to the Pope's Legate; having (as they said) many more and more grievous Grievances besides these, which had likewise much need of redress: but because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves (they said) with these aforesaid hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity; stedfastly trusting and hoping, that when those hundred Grievances already by them declared, should be abolished, the other would also decay and fall with them. Of the which foresaid Grievances and Complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the Emperor at the Council of *Worms*; but because no redress thereof did follow, therefore the Secular States of *Germany* thought good to exhibit the same now again, with divers more annexed thereunto, to *Chergatus*, the Pope's Legat in this present Assembly of *Norumberg*, desiring him to present the same to Pope *Adrian*. This was about the year of our Lord 1523. Which being done, the Assembly of *Noremberg* brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

The Diet of Norenberg began anno 1523, and brake up Anno 1523.

In this mean time Pope *Adrian* died. After him succeeded Pope *Clement* the Seventh, who the next year following, which was *Anno* 1524, sent down his Legate, Cardinal *Campeius*, unto the Council of the *German* Princes assembled again at *Noremberg*, about the Month of *March*, with Letters also to Duke *Frederick*, full of many fair Peritions and sharp Complaints, &c. But as touching the Grievances above-mentioned, no word nor meffage at all was sent, neither by *Campeius*, nor by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of against *Luther*, either for suppreſſion of the Liberty of the Gospel, or for upholding of the Pope's Dignity, the Pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the Princes: but where any redress was to be required for the publick wealth of Chriſtian People, or touching the neceſſary reformation of the Church, herein the Pope neither giveth ear nor anſwer.

The death of Pope Adrian. Pope Clement the Seventh. Cardinal Campeius the Pope's Legate sent into Germany.

The Pope only seeketh his own dignity, but publick Reformation never tendereth.

And thus having diſcourſed ſuch matters occurrent between the Pope and Princes of *Germany*, at the Synod of *Noremberg*, let us now proceed, returning again to the Story of *Luther*, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept ſecret and ſolitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain Nobles in *Saxony*, becauſe of the Emperor's Edict above mentioned. In the mean time, while *Luther* had thus abſented himſelf out of *Wittenberg*, *Andreas Caroloſtadius*, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in Caſes of Religion, had ſtirred up the People to throw down Images in the Temples, beſides other things more. For the which cauſe *Luther*, returning again into the City, greatly miſliked the order of their doings, and reproved the raſhneſs of *Caroloſtadius*, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that Pictures and Images ought firſt to be thrown out of the Hearts and Conſciences of Men; and that the People ought firſt to be taught, that we are ſaved before God, and pleaſe him only by Faith; and that Images ſerve to no purpoſe: This done, and the People well inſtructed, there was no danger in Images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary (he ſaid) as tho he would maintain Images to ſtand or to be ſuffered: but that this ought to be done by the Magiſtrate, and not by force, upon every Man's head, without order and authority. *Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 3.*

Caroloſtadius caſteth down Images in Wittenberg.

Luther miſliketh caſting out of Images by ſtrong hands.

Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 3.

Furthermore, *Luther* writing of *Caroloſtadius*, affirmed, that he alſo joined with the ſentence of them, which began then to ſpread about certain parts of *Saxony*, ſaying, that they were taught of God that all Wickednes being utterly ſuppreſſed, and all the wicked doers ſlain, a new full perfection of all things muſt be ſet up, and the Innocent only to enjoy all things, &c.

The cauſe why *Luther* ſo ſtood againſt that violent throwing down of Images, and againſt *Caroloſtadius*, ſeemeth partly to riſe of this, by reaſon that Pope *Adrian*, in his Letters ſent to the Princes and States of *Germany*, doth grievouſly complain and charge the Sect of *Luther* for Sedition and Tumults, and Rebellion againſt Magiſtrates, as ſubverters and deſtroyers of all Order and Obedience, as appeareth by the words of the Pope's Letter before expreſſed: therefore *Martin Luther*, to ſtop the mouth of ſuch ſlanderers, and to prevent ſuch ſiniſter ſuſpitions, was enforced to take this way which he did, that is, to proceed as much as he might by Order and Authority.

The cauſes of ſtuffed why Luther permitted Images to ſtand.

Wherein are to be noted by the way two ſpecial points touching the doctrine and doings of *Martin Luther*, eſpecially for all ſuch who in theſe our days, now abuſing the name and authority of *Luther*, think themſelves to be good *Lutherans*, if they ſuffer Images ſtill to remain in Temples, and admit ſuch things in the Church, which themſelves do wiſh to be away.

Two things to be noted in Luther for bearing with Images.

The firſt is, the manner how and after what ſort *Luther* did ſuffer ſuch Images to ſtand: For although he aſſented not, that the vulgar and private Multitude tumultuouſly by violence ſhould rap them down; yet that is no argument now for the Magiſtrate to let them ſtand.

And tho he allowed not the Miniſters to ſtir up the People by forcible means to promote Religion; yet that argueth not thoſe Magiſtrates to be good *Lutherans*, which may and ſhould remove them, and will not.

The ſecond Point to be noted is, To conſider the cauſe why that *Luther* did ſo ſtand with ſtanding of Images; which cauſe was Time, and not his own Judgment: for albeit in Judgment he wiſhed them away, yet Time ſo ſerved not

there-

thereunto then, as it serveth now: For then the Doctrine of *Luther* first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet known whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the Pope hearing of the doings of *Carolostadius* in *Wittenberg*, and of other like, took his ground thereby to charge the Sect of *Luther* with sedition, uproars, and dissolute liberty of Life. And this was the cause why *Luther* compelled then by necessity of time to save his Doctrine from slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the Pope, (as ye have heard) was so much offended with *Carolostadius* and others, for their violence used against Images. For otherwise had it not been for the Pope's Accusations, there is no doubt but *Luther* would have been as well contented with abolishing of Images, and other Monuments of Popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friars Augustines for abrogating of private Masses. And therefore as *Luther* in this doing is

Papists pride.

Lutherans of this age.

How Luther serve the tal-lowed.

to be excused, the circumstances considered; so the like excuse perhaps will not serve the overmuch curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present Age now; which, considering only the fact of *Luther*, do not mark the purpose of *Luther*, neither do expend the circumstances and time of his doings: being not much unlike to the ridiculous Imitators of King *Alexander* the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his vertues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the Church, in another age than *Luther* did, it may seem (after my mind) sufficient to follow the same way after *Luther*, or to walk with *Luther* to the Kingdom of Christ, tho they jump not also in every footstep of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.

Luther not to be commended for one little blemish.

And contrarywise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary tiring, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of *Luther* in the Sacrament, therefore they give clean over the reading of *Luther*, and so fall almoit in utter contempt of his Books. Whereby is declared, not so much the niceneis and curiousneis of these our days, as the hindrance that cometh thereby to the Church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the Church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned Writers, able to infranch the matters of Doctrine yet to handle points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and ftrength of faith is to be opened to our Conscience; and where the Soul, wrestling for death and life, ftandeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be faid of *Martin Luther*, among all the other variety of Writers, that St. *Cyprian* was wont to fay of *Tertullian*. *Da magistrum, non dicam Virum*. And albeit that *Luther* went a little awry, and differed from *Zuinglius* in this one matter of the Sacrament; yet in all other ftates of Doctrines they did accord, as appeared in the Synod holden at *Marpurg*, by Prince *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heise*. which was in the year of our Lord 1529. where both *Luther* and *Zuinglius* were present, and conferring together, agreed in theie Articles:

Commendation of Martin Luther.

Cyprian so much delighted to read-ing of Tertullian, that wiensoe-ver he called for his Books, he would say, Give him his Master.

The confent between Luther and Zuinglius in Articles of Doctrine.

1. *On the Unity and Trinity of God.* 2. *In the Incarnation of the Word.* 3. *In the Paffion and Refurrection of Christ.* 4. *In the Article of Original Sin.* 5. *In the Article of Faith in Christ Jesus.* 6. *That this Faith cometh not of Merits, but by the gift of God.* 7. *That this Faith is our Righteousn.ss.* 8. *Touching the externe Word.* 9. *Likewise they agreed in the Articles of Baptism.* 10. *Of good Works.* 11. *Of Confeffion.* 12. *Of Magistrates.* 13. *Of Mens Traditions.* 14. *Of Baptism of Infants.* 15. *Lastly, concerning the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper: This they did believe and hold; first, that both the kinds thereof are to be minifired to the People according to Christ's inftitution; and that the Mass is no such work for the which a Man may obtain grace both for the Quick and the Dead.* Item, *that the Sacrament (which they call of the Altar) is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* Item, *that the spiritual manducation of his Body and Blood is nrceffary for every Christian Man. And furthermore, that the uje of the Sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the Word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm Conficiences may be ftirred to belief by the Holy-Ghoft*, &c. Ex Parad. Abbat. Urip.

In all theie Sums of Doctrine above recited, *Luther* and *Zuinglius* did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's Supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the queftion be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the Sacrament, which our outward Senses do behold and feel? they will both confeis Bread, and not the Accidents only of Bread. Further, if the queftion be asked, whether Christ be there preient? they will both confeis his true preference to be there, only in the manner of preience they differ. Again, ask, Whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the Sacrament, is to be worfhipped? they will both deny it, and judg it Idolatry. And likewife for Transfubftantiation, and the Sacrifice of the Maſs, they both do abhor, and do deny the fame: as alſo the Communion to be in both kinds administred, they do both aſſent and grant.

K. Hen 8.

Luther and Zuinglius agree in the preience, only in the manner of the preience they differ.

How and wherein Luther and Zuinglius differ in doctrine of the Lords Supper.

Luthers opinion in the Sacrament.

Zuinglius opinion of the Sacrament.

Only their difference is in this, concerning the fence and meaning of the words of Christ, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, This is my Body, &c. which words *Luther* expoundeth to be taken nakedly and ſimply as the letter ſtandeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the Body and Blood of Christ truly to be in the Bread and Wine, and alſo to be received with the mouth. *Ulderick Zuinglius*, with *Joannes Oecolampadius*, and other more, do interpret theſe words otherwiſe; as to be taken not literally, but to have a ſpiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, ſo that the fence of theſe words, *This is my Body*, is thus to be expounded: This ſignifieth my Body and Blood. *Ex Joan. Sleid. lib.* 5. With *Luther* conſented the *Saxons*, with the other title of *Zuinglians* were the *Helvetians*. And as time did grow, ſo the diviſion of theſe opinions increaſed in ſides, and ſpread in farther Realms and Countries: the one part being called, of *Luther*, *Lutheranes*; the other having the name of *Sacramentaries*. Notwithſtanding, in this one unity of opinion, both the *Lutherans* and *Sacramentaries* do accord and agree, that the Bread and Wine there preſent is not tranſubſtantiate into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as it is ſaid) but is a true Sacrament of the Body and Blood.

Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 5.

Lutherans, Sacramentaries.

Ex Paralip. Abb. Urſp.

But hereof ſufficient, touching this diviſion between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*. In which diviſion, if there have been any defect in *Martin Luther*, yet is that no cauſe why either the Papiſts may greatly triumph, or why the Proteſtants ſhould deſpiſe *Luther*: For neither is the Doctrine of *Luther* touching the Sacrament ſo groſs, that it maketh much with the Papiſts; nor yet ſo diſcrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be expoloded. And this a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made, (as ſome have gone about to do) yet let us give to *Luther* a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worſe than they be, and let us bear, if not with the manner, yet at leaſt with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we ſhould ſeem to differ in Charity more (as *Bucer* ſaid) than we do in Doctrine. But of this hereafter more (Chriſt willing) when we come to the Hiſtory of *John Frith*.

Lutherans and Zuinglians differ more in Charity than in Doctrine.

They which write the Life of Saints, uſe to deſcribe and extoll their holy Life and godly Vertues, and alſo to ſet forth ſuch Miracles as be wrought in them by God. Wherein, there lacketh no plenty in *M. Luther*, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having ſuch haſte to other things. Otherwiſe what a miracle might this ſeem to be, for one Man, and a poor Friar, creeping out of a blind Cloiſter, to be ſet up againſt the Pope, the Univerſal Biſhop, and God's mighty Vicar in Earth; to withſtand all his Cardinals, yea, and to ſuſtain the malice and hatred almoſt of the whole World being ſet againſt him; and to work that againſt the faid Pope, Cardinals, and Church of *Rome*, which no King nor Emperor could ever do, yea, durſt never attempt, nor all the learned Men before him could ever compaſs. Which miraculous work of God I recount nothing inferior to the miracle of *David* overthrowing great *Goliah*. Wherefore if Miracles do make a Saint, (after the Pope's definition) what lacketh in *Martin Luther*, but Age and Time only, to make him a Saint? who ſtanding openly againſt the Pope, Cardinals, and Prelates of the Church, in number ſo many, in power ſo terrible, in practice ſo crafty, having Emperors and all the Kings of the Earth againſt him; who teaching and preaching Chriſt the Jpace of nine and twenty years, could without touch of all his Enemies,

A notable miracle of God to overthrow the Pope by a poor Friar.

K. Hen. 8.

mies, ſo quietly in his own Country where he was born, die and ſleep in peace. In the which *Martin Luther*, firſt to ſtand againſt the Pope was a great Miracle; to prevail againſt the Pope, a greater; ſo to die untouched, may ſeem greateſt of all, eſpecially having ſo many Enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing leſs miraculous, to conſider what manifold dangers he eſcaped beſides: as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to deſtroy him by poyſon, yet was it ſo the will of God, that *Luther* had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew ſent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the Peril.

Three miracles noted in Luther.

Martin Luther miraculously preſerved.

Another time, as he was ſitting in a certain place upon his Stool, a great Stone there was in the Vault over his head where he did ſit; which being ſtaid miraculouſly ſo long as he was ſitting, as ſoon, as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he ſate, able to have cruſh'd him all in pieces, if it had light upon him.

Martin Luther vehement and mighty in Prayer.

And what ſhould I ſpeak of his Prayers, which were ſo ardent unto Chriſt, that (as *Melanthon* writeth) they which ſtood under his Window where he ſtood praying, might ſee his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with ſuch power he prayed, that he (as himſelf confeſſeth) had obtained of the Lord, that ſo long as he lived, the Pope ſhould not prevail in his Country; after his death (ſaid he) let them pray who could.

A miraculous work of the Lord in delivering a young Man out of the Devils danger by Chriſtian Prayer.

And as touching the marvellous works of the Lord, wrought here by Men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the Learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young Man about *Wittenberg*, who, being kept bare and needy by his Father, was tempted by a way of Sorcery to bargain with a Devil, or a Familiar (as they call him) to yield himſelf body and ſoul into the Devil's power, upon condition to have his with ſatisfied with Money. So that upon the ſame an Obligation was made by the young Man, written with his own blood, and given to the Devil: this cauſe you ſee how horrible it was, and how damnable; now hear what followed. Upon the ſudden wealth and alteration of this young Man, the matter firſt being noted, began afterward more and more to be ſuſpected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto *Martin Luther* to be examined. The young Man, whether for ſhame or fear, long denied to confeſs, and would be known of nothing; yet God ſo wrought, being ſtronger than the Devil, that he uttered unto *Luther* the whole diſtribution of the cauſe, as well touching the Money, as the Obligation. *Luther* underſtanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable ſtate of the Man, willed the whole Congregation to pray, and he himſelf ceaſed not with his prayers to labour; ſo that the Devil was compelled at the laſt to throw in his Obligation at the window, and bad him take it again unto him. Which Narration, if it be ſo true, as certainly it is of him reported, I ſee not the contrary, but that this may well ſeem comparable with the greateſt miracle in Chriſt's Church that was ſince the Apoſtles time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his Prayers, ſo in his Sermons; God gave him ſuch a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him thought every one his own Temptation ſeverally to be noted and touched. Wherefore, when ſignification was given unto him by his Friends, and he demanded how that could be; infinite own manifold temptations (ſaid he) and experiences are the cauſe thereof. For this thou muſt underſtand (good Reader) that *Luther* from his tender years was much beaten and exerciſed with ſpiritual Conflicts, as *Melanthon* in deſcribing his Life doth teſtifie. Alſo *Ilteron. Wolerus*, Scholar and Diſciple of the faid *Martin Luther*, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard *Luther* his Maſter thus report of himſelf, That he had been aſſaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, ſaving only one, which was with Covetouſneſs; with this Vice he was never (ſaid he) in all his life troubled, nor once tempted,

Ex Phil. Melanth. in narrat. funebri. Ex Hieron. Wellens. Luther never in all his life tempted with covetouſneſs.

And hitherto concerning the Life of *Martin Luther*, who lived till the year of his age ſixty three, continued writing and preaching about twenty nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of *Melanthon* be theſe:

In his 46 year.

In the year of our Lord 1546, and the 17th of *February*, Dr. *Martin Luther* ſickned a little before Supper of his accuſtomed Malady, to wit of the oppreſſion of humors in the orifice or opening of the Stomach, whereof I remember I have ſeen him oft diſeaſed in this place. This Sickneſs took him after Supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required feeels into a By-chamber, and there he reſted on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increaſed. And as Dr. *Jonas* was lying in his Chamber, *Luther* awaked, and prayed him to riſe, and to call up *Ambroſe* his Childrens Schoolmaſter, to make fire in another Chamber. Into the which when he was newly entred, *Albert* Earl of *Mansfield*, with his Wife, and divers others, (whoſe names in theſe Letters for haſte were not expreſſed) at that inſtant came into his Chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, *Feb.* 18. he commended himſelf to God with this devout Prayer.

The ſickneſs of Luther.

The quiet death of Luther.

The Prayer of *Luther* at his death.

MY heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou haſt manifeſted unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I have taught him, I have known him, I love him as my Life, my Health, and my Redemption; whom the Wicked have perſecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my Soul to thee.

The Prayer of Luther at his death.

After this he ſaid as enſueth, thrice: *I commend my Spirit into thy hands, thou haſt redeemed me, O God of Truth. God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only Son, that all thoſe that believe in him ſhould have life everlaſting.* John 3.

Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom ſo faithfully he commended his Spirit, to enjoy, no doubt, the bleſſed Society of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apoſtles in the Kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy-Ghoſt. Let us now love the memory of this Man, and the Doctrine that he hath taught. Let us learn to be modeſt and meek; let us conſider the wretched Calamities and marvellous Changes, that ſhall follow this Mithap and doleful Chance. I beſeech thee, O Son of God, crucified for us, and reſuſcitated *Emmanuel*, govern, conſerve, and defend thy Church. *Hæc Melanthon.*

The death of Duke Frederick.

Frederick Prince Elector died long before *Luther*, in the year of our Lord 1525, leaving no iſſue behind him, for that he lived a ſingle life, and was never married; wherefore after him ſucceeded *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*.

Mention was made a little before of the Miniſters of *Straſburgh*, which becauſe of their marriage were in trouble, and cited by the Biſhop to appear before him, and there to be judged after the cuſtom of the City of *Straſburgh*; whereas there had been a contrary order taken before between the Biſhop and the City, that the Biſhop ſhould have execute no judgment upon any, but under ſome of the Magiſtrates of the ſaid City of *Straſburgh*. Whereupon the Senate and the Citizens taking into their hands the cauſe of theſe married Miniſters, in defence of their own Right and Liberties, wrote (as is ſaid) to their Biſhop of *Straſburgh*, and cauſed the Judgment thereof a while to be ſtayed. By reaſon whereof the matter was brought at length before Cardinal *Campeius*, Legate, ſent by Pope *Clement* to the Aſſembly of *Noremberg*, *Anno* 1524.

The Epiſtle ſent between the Senate of Straſburgh and Cardinal Campeius, about married Miniſters.

Manneres a Friary an accuſer of married Miniſters.

The chief doer in this matter was one *Thomas Manneres*, a Franciſcan Friar, who had commenced a grievous complaint againſt the Senate and City of *Straſburgh*, before the foreſaid Cardinal *Campeius*. Wherefore the Senate, to purge themſelves, ſent their Embaſſadors, thus cleaning their cauſe, and anſwering to their accuſation: That their Miniſters had been nor would be any Let to the Biſhop, but had ſtanded ready to him before by their Letters, that whatſoever he could by againſt thoſe married Prieſts, conſonant to the Law of God, they would be no ſtay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the Senate herein was not a little grieved, that the Biſhop, contrary to the Order and Compact which was taken between him and them, did call the ſaid Miniſters out of the Liberties of their City; for ſo it was between them agreed, that no Eccleſiaſtical Perſon ſhould be adjudged but under ſome Judg of their own City. But now contrary to their ſaid agreement, the Biſhops called thoſe Miniſters out of their Liberties; and ſo the Miniſters, claiming the Right and Privilege of the City, were condemned, their cauſe being neither heard nor known. And now if the Senate ſhould ſhew themſelves any thing more ſharp or rigorous unto thoſe Miniſters, claiming the Right of the City, the People, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would riſe up in ſome commotion againſt them in the quarrel and defence of their Franchiſes and Liberties.

The Biſhop of Straſburgh breaketh the Agreement made, and the Liberties of the City.

And

And where it is objected, that they receive Priests and men of the Clergy into the Freedom and Protection of their City: to this they answered, That they did nothing herein, but that which was correspondent to the ancient usage and manner of the City before: and moreover, that it was the Bishops own request and desire made unto them so to do.

The answer of Campeius to the Ambassadors. The Popes Prelates be lawfull, and can make no order wrong-fullest they do.

To this the Cardinal again, advising well the Letters of the Bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the Letters first, that the Ministers indeed (as the Embassadours said) were called out from the Freedom and Liberties of the City, and yet no order of Law was broken therein; forasmuch as the Bishop (said he) had there no less power and authority, than if he were his own Vicar Delegate, and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the Bishop in punishing the foresaid Ministers, &c.

The Ambassadors Reply against the Cardinal.

After much other talk and reasoning on both Parties, wherein the Ambassadours argued in defence of their Freedom, that the Judgment should not be transferred out of the City: Among other Communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the City of *Strasburg* were many, yea, the most part of the Clergy, which lived viciously and wickedly with their Strumpets and Harlots, whom they kept in their Houses, to the great offence of the People, shame to Christ's Church, and pernitious Example of others; and yet the Bishop would never once stir to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore if the Senate (said the Ambassadors) should permit the Bishop to extend his Cruelty and Extremity against these married Ministers, for not observing the Bishop of *Rome's* Law, and leave the other notorious Whoremasters, which break the Law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the Commons of their City, ready to rise upon them.

Holy Matrimony published, wicked Whoredom escaped.

Campeius answereth.

To this *Campeius* answered, What Composition or Bargain was betwixt the Bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great Tryall in Law of proving and confessing, and therefore they were sequestred and abandoned from the Communion of the Church, *ipso facto*. As for the other fort of them, which keep Harlots and Concubines, altho (said he) it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their Marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the Bishops of *Germany*, for Money to winke at Priests Lemans, and the same also was evil done indeed: And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same: but yet nevertheless it is not sufferable that Priests therefore should have Wives. And if Comparison should be made (said he) much greater offence it were, a Priest to have a Wife, than to have and keep at home many Harlots. His Reason was this; for they that keep Harlots (said he) as it is naught that they do, so do they acknowledge their sin: the other perswade themselves that they do well, and so continue still without Repentance, or Conscience of their Fact. All men (said he) cannot be chaste, as *John* the Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for Priests, professing Chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no not the Greeks themselves, which in Rights be differing from us, do give this Liberty to their own Priests to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the Bishop in this behalf.

Fyat sabo, that is, upon the very doing of the act, without any further Judgment or tryal by the Law.

A fit reason for a carnal Cardinal; better it is to have many Concubines than one Wife.

Touching the Greek Church this Cardinal speaketh untruly.

The Ambassadors Reply.

Whereunto the Ambassadors replied again, saying, That if he would first punish the Whoremasters, then might the Senate assist him the better in correcting the other: but the Cardinal was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their Bishop, and then if the Bishop would not punish Whoredom, he would come thither himself and see them punished accordingly.

The Assembly or Dyet at Ratisbone.

This Cardinal *Campeius*, how he was sent by Pope *Clement* the sixth to the second Assembly or Dyet of *Norenberg*, *Anno* 1524, and what was there done by the said Cardinal, is before signified. After this Council of *Norenberg*, immediately followed another Sitting at *Ratisbone*, where were present *Ferdinandus*, *Campeius*, the Cardinal of *Salisburg*, the two Dukes of *Bavaria*, the Bishops of *Trent* and *Ratisbone*; also the Legats of the Bishops, *Bamberg*, *Spires*, *Strasburgh*, *Ausburgh*, *Constance*, *Basil*, *Ersfing*, *Passaine*, and *Brixime*. By whom in the said Assembly it was concluded;

K.Hen. 8.

Popish Decrees made at the Council of Ratisbone.

That forasmuch as the Emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, *had condemned by his publick Edict set forth at* Worms, *the Doctrine of* Luther *for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed upon in both the Assemblies of* Norenbergh, *that the said Edict should be obeyed of all men; they likewise, at the request of Cardinal Campeius, do will and command the foresaid Edict to be observed through all their Fines and Precincts: That the Gospel, and all other holy Scriptures, should be taught in Churches according to the Interpretation of the ancient Forefathers: That all they which revive any old Heresies before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, either against Christ, his blessed Mother, and holy Saints, or which may breed any occasion of Sedition, are to be punished according to the Tenour of the Edict abovesaid: That none be admitted to preach without the Licence of his Ordinary: That they which be already admitted, shall be examined how, and what they preach: That the Laws which* Campeius *is about to set forth for Reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the Sacraments, in the Mass, and all other things, there shall be no Innovation, but all things to stand as in fore-time they did: That all they which approach to the Lord's Supper without Confession and Absolution, or do eat Flesh on days forbidden, or which do run out of their Order; also Priests, Deacons, and Sub-deacons, that be married, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without consent of the Magistrate: That no Book of* Luther, *or any Lutheran shall be printed or sold: That they of their Jurisdiction, which study in the University of* Wittenberg, *shall every one repair home within three Months after the publishing hereof, or else turn to some other place free from the Infection of* Luther, *under pain of confiscating all their Goods, and losing their Inheritance: That no Benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any Student of that University. Item, That certain Inquisitors fit for the same, be appointed to enquire and examine the Premisses. Item, lest it may be said, that this Faction of* Luther *taketh his origine of the corrupt Life of Priests, the said* Campeius, *with other his Assistants in the said Convocation of* Ratisbone, *chargeth and commandeth, that Priests live honestly, go in decent Apparel, play not the Merchants, haunt not the Taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their Ministration; such as keep Concubines to be removed; the number also of Holy-days to be diminished*, &c.

These things would *Campeius* have had Enacted in a full Council, and with the consents of all the Empire: but when he could not bring that to pass, by reason that the minds of divers were gone from the Pope; he was fain therefore to get the same ratified in this particular Conventicle, with the Assents of these Bishops above reherred.

Campeius' mission of his purpose in Germany.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be fein in the Commentaries of *John Sleiden*, it remaineth next after the Story of *Martin Luther*, somewhat to adjoyn likewise touching the History of *Zuinglius*, and of the *Helvetians*. But before I come to the explication of this Story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the Towns, called Pages, of these *Helvetians*, and of their League and Confederation first begun amongst them.

The History of the Helvetians *or* Switzers, *how they first recovered their Liberty, and after were joyned in League together.*

How the Helvetians came first, and joyned together in league.

THE *Helvetians*, whom otherwise we call *Switzers*, are divided principally into thirteen Pages. The Names of whom are *Tigurini*, *Bernates*, *Lucernates*, *Uranii*, *Suicenfes*, *Unterualdii*, *Tugiani*, *Glaronii*, *Basilienses*, *Solodurii*, *Friburgii*, *Scafusiani*, *Appenzelenses*. Furthermore, to these be added seven other Pages, albeit not with such a full Bond as the other be, together conjoyned; which be these: *Rhetii*, *Leontii*, *Sedunii*, *Veragri*. *Sangalli*, *Mullosiani*, *Rotulenses*. Of these thirteen confederate Pages above recited, these three were the first, to wit, *Uranii*, *Suicenfes*, and *Silvanii*, or (as some call them)

Ex Chron. Helvetic. Ex Sebaft. Munch. Cosmog. lib. 3. Ex Com. Joan. Stisl. lib. 3.

K.Hen.8. Note that the Pages in Switzerland are for the most part situate in Valleys.

(1) Extortion in Rulers.

them) *Unterualdii*, which joyned themselves together. If credit should be given to old Narrations, these three Pages or Valleys * lift suffered great Servitude and Thraldom under cruel Rulers or Governours: informuch that the Governour of *Sylvania* (a) required of one of the Inhabitants a yoke of his Oxen; which when the Townsmen denied to give him, the Ruler sent his servant by force to take his Oxen from him. This when the Servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's Son, and cutteth off one of his Fingers, and upon the same avoided. The Governour hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

Example of true Gladity in a Matron.

At another time in the faid *Sylvania*, as the good man of the House was absent abroad, the Governour which had then the rule of the Town, entring into the House, commanded the Wife to prepare for him a Bath, and to let him have his pleasure of her. Whereunto the being unwilling, deferred the Bath as long as she might, till the return of her Husband. To whom then the making her complaint, fo moved his mind, that he, with his Ax or Hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous Ruler and flew him.

Adultery justly punished.

Another example of like violence is reported of the Ruler of *Suicia* and *Sylvania*, who, surprised with the like Pride and Disdain against the poor Underlings, caused his Cap to be hanged upon a Pole, charging and commanding by his Servant, all that passed by to do obeysance to his Cap. Which when one named *William Tell* refused to do, the Tyrant caused his Son to be tied, with an Apple set upon his Head, and the Father with a Cross-bow, or a like Instrument, to shoot at the Apple. After long refusing, when the wofull Father could not otherwise chuse, being by force constrained, but must level at the Apple; as God would, he mift the Child, and struck the Mark. This *Tell* being thus compelled by the Tyrant to shoot at his Son, had brought with him two Shafts; thinking that if he had struck the Child with one, the other he would have let drive at the Tyrant. Which being understood, he was apprehended and led to the Ruler's House: but by the way escaping out of the Boat between *Urania* and *Brun*, and passing through the Mountains with as much speed as he might, he lay in the way secretly as the Ruler should pass, where he discharged his Arrow at the Tyrant and slew him.

Example of ingular tyranny.

Will. Tell.

Pride and Tyranny well rewarded.

And thus were these cruel Governours utterly expelled out of these three Valleys or Pages aforesaid; and after that such order was taken by the Emperor *Henricus* the seventh, and also by the Emperor *Ludovicus* Duke of *Bavaria*, that henceforth no Judge should be set over them, but only of their own Company, and Town-dwellers. *Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. lib.* 3.

Ex Seb. Munster. Cosmog. l. 3.

It followed after this, in the year of our Lord, 1315, that great Contention and War fell between *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, and *Lodovick* Duke of *Bavaria*, striving and fighting the space of eight years together about the Empire. With *Ludovicus* held the three Pages aforesaid; who had divers Conflicts with *Lupoldus*, Brother to the aforenamed *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, fighting in his Brother's quarrel. As *Lupoldus* had raised a mighty Army of twenty thousand Footmen and Horsemen, and was come to *Egree*, to pass over the Mountains to subdue the Pages; he began to take advice of his Council, by what way or passage best he might direct his Journey towards the *Switzers*. Whereupon as they were busie in consulting, there stood a Fool by, named *Kune de Stocken*, which hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his Bolt withal, and told them, that their Counsel did not like him: For all you (quoth he) consult how we should enter into yonder Country; but none of you giveth any counsel how to come out again after we be entred. And in conclusion, as the Fool said, so they found it true. For when *Lupoldus* with his holt had entred into the Streights and Valleys between the Rocks and Mountains, the *Switzers* with their Neighbours of *Urania* and *Sylvania*, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage, and with tumbling down Stones from the Rocks, and fudden coming upon their Backs in blind Lanes, did so incumber them, that neither they had convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away. By reason whereof a great part of *Lupoldus* Army there, being inclosed about the place called *Morgarten*, lost their lives, and many in the flight were slain. *Lupoldus* with them that remained, retired and escaped to *Turgoia*. This Battel was fought *Anno* 1315, the fixteenth day of *November*.

A Fools bolt sometimes hits the mark.

After this, the Burgers of these three Villages, being continually vexed by *Frederick* Duke of *Austria*, for that they would not acknowledge him for Emperor, assembled themselves in the Town of *Uranis*, *Anno* 1316, and there entred a mutual League and Bond of perpetual Society and Conjunction, joyning and swearing themselves, as in one Body of a Common-wealth, and publick Administration together. After that came to them *Lucernates*, then *Tugiani*, after them the *Tiguriues*, next to them followed *Bernates*, the last almoft of all were the *Basilians*, then followed after the other seven Pages above recited.

The first League betwixt the three Pages.

And thus have ye the Names, the Freedom, and Confederation of these *Switzers*, or Cantons, or Pages of *Helvetia*, with the Occasions and Circumstances thereof, briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our Story intended, which is to declare the succes of Christ's Gospel and true Religion received among the *Helvetians*: also touching the Life and Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, and order of his Death, as here enfueth.

The Acts and Life of Zuinglius: *and of receiving the Gospel in* Switzerland.

Ulricus Zuinglius.

IN the tractation of *Luther's* Story, mention was made before of *Ulricus Zuinglius*, who first abiding at *Glarona*, in a place called then *our Lord's Ermitage*, from thence removed to *Zurick* about the year of our Lord 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the Minster among the Canons or Priests of that Close; using with them the same Rites and Ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travel, and no less dexterity. And because Pope *Leo* the same year had renewed his Pardons again through all Countries (as is above declared) *Zuinglius* zealously withstood the same, detecting the Abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other Corruptions reigning then in the Church, and so continued by the space of two years and more, till at length *Hugo* Bishop of *Constance* (to whose Jurisdiction *Zurick* then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his Letter to the Senate of the faid City of *Zurick*, complaining grievously of *Zuinglius*; who also wrote another Letter to the Colledge of Canons, where *Zuinglius* was at the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new Teachers which troubled the Church, and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And forasmuch as both the Pope and the Emperor's Majesty had condemned all such new Doctrine by their Decrees and Edicts, he willed them therefore to admit no such new Innovations of Doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertain. *Zuinglius* hearing thereof, referreth his cause to the judgment and hearing of the Senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his Faith. And for to much as the Bishop's Letter was read openly in the Colledg, *Zuinglius* directeth another Letter to the Bishop again, declaring that the faid Letter proceeded not from the Bishop, and that he was not ignorant who were the Authors thereof; defiring him not to follow their finister Counsels; for that Truth (said he) is a thing invincible, and cannot be refisted. After the same tenour certain other of the City likewise wrote unto the Bishop, defiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the Gospel: requiring moreover, that he would forbear no longer the filthy and infamous life of Priests, but that he would permit them to have their lawful Wives, &c. This was in the year of our Lord 1522.

Zuinglius reading the Scriptures at Zurick.

Zuinglius against the Popes Pardons.

Anno 1521.

The Bishop of Constance complaineth against Zuinglius.

Besides this, *Zuinglius* wrote also another Letter to the whole Nation of the *Helvetians*, admonishing them in no case to hinder the passage of sincere Doctrine, nor to infer any molestation to Priests that were married. For as for the Vow and Coaction of their single life, it came (saith he) of the Devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore whereas the faid *Helvetians* had such a Right and Custom in their Towns and Pages, that when they received any new Priest into their Churches, they used to premonish him before to take his Concubine, lest he should attempt any misule with their Wives and Daughters: he exhorted them that they would no less grant unto them to take their Wives in honest Matrimony, than to take Concubines and Harlots, against the Precept of God:

Zuinglius writeth to the Helvetians.

Priests Marriage.

An old use of the Helvetians to forewarn their Priests to take Concubines.

Thus

Zuinglius confuted by Adversaries.

Thus as *Zuinglius* continued certain years, labouring in the Word of the Lord, offence began to rise at this new Doctrine, and divers stept up, namely the Dominick Friers on the contrary side, to preach and inveigh against him. But he, keeping himself ever within the Scriptures, prospered that he would make good by the Word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the Magistrates and Senate of *Zurick* sent forth their Commandment to all Priests and Ministers within their Dominion, to repair to the City of *Zurick* against the nine and twentieth day of *January* next ensuing (this was *Anno* 1523) there every one to speak freely, and to be heard quietly touching these Controversies of Religion. what could be said : directing also their Letters to the Bishop of *Constance*, That he would either make his repair thither himself, or else send his Deputy. When the day appointed came, the Bishop's Vicegerent, which was *Joannes Faber*, was also present. The Consul first declaring the cause of this their Frequency and Assembly (which was for the Dissention newly risen about matters of Religion) required, that if any there had to object or infer against the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, he should freely and quietly declare and utter his mind.

Disputation at Zurick about Religion.

Joan. Faber Stapulensis maintaineth Zuinglius. Ex Ioan. Sleid. lib. 3.

Zuinglius had disposed his matter before, and contrived all his Doctrine in a certain order of places, to the number of sixty seven Articles: which Articles he had published also abroad before, to the end that they which were disposed, might resort thither the better prepared to the Disputation. When the Consul had finished that which he would say, and had exhorted others to begin : then *Faber*, first entring the matter, began to declare the cause of his sending thither, and afterward would perswade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit for the discussing of such matters by Disputation, but rather that the Cognition and Tractation thereof belonged to a General Council, which, he said, was already appointed, and now near at hand. Notwithstanding *Zuinglius* still continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say or to dispute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he answered again, That he would confute his Doctrine by Writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, when no man would appear there to offer any Disputation, the Assembly brake, and was dismarged. Whereupon the Senate of *Zurick* incontinent caused to be proclaimed through all their Dominion and Territory, that the Traditions of Men should be disputed and abandoned, and the Gospel of Christ purely taught out of the Old and New Testament. *Anno* 1523. *ex Ioan. Sleid. lib.* 3.

Sixty seven Articles of Zuinglius.

John Faber refuteth Disputation.

The Assembly of Zurick brake up without Disputation. The Gospel publickly preached at Zurick. Traditions of Men abolished.

When the Gospel thus began to take place, and to flourish in *Zurick* and certain other places of *Helvetia*, the year next following, *Anno* 1524, another Assembly of the *Helvetians* was convented at *Lucerna*, where this Decree was made on the contrary part: *That no man should deride or contemn the Word of God, which had been taught now above a thousand and four hundred years heretofore : nor the Mass to be scorned, wherein the Body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the Comfort both of the quick and the dead.*

Con'r fut'on in the Councel of Lucerna.

That they who are able to receive the Lords Body at Easter, *shall confess their sins in* Lent *to the Priests, and do all other things, as the use and manner of the Church requireth.*

That Rights and Customs of holy Church be kept.

That every one obey his own proper Pastor and Curate, and receive the Sacraments of him, after the manner of holy Church, and pay him his yearly Duties.

That honour be given to Priests.

Item, *to abstain from Flesh-eating on Fasting-days, and in* Lent *to abstain from Eggs and Cheese.*

That no opinion of Luther be taught privily or apertly, contrary to the received Determination of holy Church ; and that in Taverns and at Table no mention be made of Luther, *or any new Doctrine.*

That Images and Pictures of Saints in every place be kept inviolate.

That Priests and Ministers of the Church be not compelled to render account of their Doctrine, but only to the Magistrate.

That due Aid and Supportation be provided for them, if any Commotion do happen.

That no person deride the Reliques of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

Finally, That all the Laws and Decrees set forth by the Bishop of Constance, *be observed.*

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These Constitutions whosoever shall transgress, let them be presented to the Magistrate, and Overseers to be set over them that shall so transgress.

After these things concluded thus at *Lucerna*, the Cantons of *Helvetia* together direct their publick Letter to the *Tigurines* or men of *Zurick*; wherein they may much lament and complain of this new broached Doctrine which hath set all men together by the ears, through the occasion of certain rash and new fangled Heads which have greatly disturbed both the State of the Church, and of the Common-wealth, and have scattered the Seeds of Discord, whereas before time all things were well in quiet. And although this Sore, said they, ought to have been looked to betime, so that they should not have suffered the Glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin, and other Saints so to be dishonoured, but rather should have bestowed their Goods and Lives to maintain the same ; yet notwithstanding they required them now to look unto the matter, which otherwise would bring to them Destruction both of Body and Soul: as for example, they might see the Doctrine of *Luther*, what Fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar People now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all Licence and Rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient Proofs of late ; and like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of *Zuinglius*, and of *Leo Juda*, which so took upon them to expound the Word of God after their own Interpretation, opening thereby whole Doors and Windows to Discord and Dissention. Albeit of their Doctrine they were not certain what they did teach ; yet what inconvenience followed upon their Doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all Fasting was laid down, and all days are alike to eat both Flesh and Eggs, as well one as another : Priests and religious persons both Men and Women brake their Vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying ; God's Service was decayed, singing in the Church left, and Prayer ceased ; Priests grew in contempt, Religious Men were thrust out of their Cloisters ; Confession and Penance was neglected ; so that men would not stick to presume to receive at the holy Altar, without any Confession made to the Priest before. The holy Mass derided and scorned ; our blessed Lady, and other Saints blasphemed ; Images plucked down and broken in pieces, neither was there any honour given to the Sacrament. To make short, men now were grown unto such a Licence and Liberty, that unneth the Holy Ghost could be safe within the Priest's hands, &c.

The Letter of the Helvetians to the Tigurines.

Zuinglius and Leo Juda were Preachers at this time in Zurick.

The Disorder of all which things as it is of no small importance, so it was, said they, to them so grivous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no longer. Neither was this the first time (they said) of this their complaining, when in their former Assembly they sent unto them before the like Admonition, writing to them by certain of the Clergy, and craving their aid in the same, which seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly call upon them touching the Premisses, desiring them to succease from such doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the Religion of their old Ancestors which were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the Bishop of *Rome* the Cardinal, Bishops, or other Prelates, either for their Ambition in heaping, exchanging and selling the Dignities of the Church, or for their oppression in pilling men's Purses with their Indulgences, or else for their usurped Juridiction and Power, which they extend too far, and corruptly apply it to matters external and political, which only ought to serve in such cases as be spiritual : if these and such other Abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the Correction and Reformation thereof, they would also themselves joyn their diligence and good will thereto, forsomuch as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their Counsels together with them, how and by what way such Grievances might best be removed.

To this effect were the Letters of the *Helvetians* written to the Senate and Citizens of *Zurick*. Whereunto the *Tigurines* made their Answer again the one and twentieth day of *March*, the same year, in manner as followeth.

An

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An Answer again of the Titurgines, *to the Letter aforesaid.*

* *The Letter of the Tigurines answering again the letter of the Helvetians.*

† *Of the scope of Doctrine be well marked, between the Papists and the Protestants, it will not be hard for any Man to judg which is the true Doctrine. For the whole end and scope of the Pope's Doctrine, tendeth to set up the honour and wealth of Man, as may appear by the Doctrine of Supremacy, of Confession, of the Mass of the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. All which do tend to the magnifying of Priests : like as Purgatory, Obsequies, Pardons, and such other forged Matters propt. Contrariwise, the teaching of the Protestants, as well touching Justification, original sin, as also the Sacraments and Invocation, and all other such like, tend only to the setting up of Christ alone, and casting down of Man.*

FIrst, * declaring, how their Ministers had laboured and travelled among them, teaching and preaching the Word of God unto them the space now of five years. Whose Doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard the same before. But after that they understood and perceived the † scope of that Doctrine only to tend to this, to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the Pillar and Refuge of our Salvation, which gave his Life and Blood for our Redemption, and which only delivered us alfo sinful Misers from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of Mankind before God ; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyful message.

The holy Apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the Gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and conjoined together : and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the Word of God, setting aside Mens Doctrines and Traditions disonant from the same.

Whatsoever *Luther* or any other Man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the Persons, why the Doctrine which they teach, should be either evil or well-judged upon, but only for that it agreeth with, or disagreeth from the Word of God : for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the Authority of the Word of God, which ought to rule Man, and not to be measured by Man.

No injury to Saints, if Christ only be worshipped.

And if Christ only be worthipped, and Men taught solely to repose their confidence in him ; yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any Saint else, receive any injury thereby, who being here in Earth, received their Salvation only by the Name of him.

Whose they that wrest the Scripture ?

And whereas they charge their Ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had stirred up such Light now in the hearts of Men, that the most part of their City have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same ; so that their Preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any Sects or Factions in them ; but rather such Sects are to be objected to those, who for their gain and dignity, wrest the Word of God after their own Affections and Appetites.

Error many times objected where none can be proved.

And whereas they, and other, have accused them of Error, yet was there never Man that could prove any Error in them : Altho divers Bishops of *Constance*, of *Basil*, of *Coriake*, with divers Universities besides : Also they themselves have been sundry times desired so to do ; yet to this present day neither they, nor ever any other so did ; neither were they, nor any of all the foresaid Bishops, at their last Assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only the *Schaphusians* and *Sangallians*. In the which foresaid Assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering throughly the whole case of the matter, condefcended together with them.

And if the Bishops haply will object again, and say, that the Word of God ought not so to be handled of vulgar people ; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the Bishops Office, to provide that the Sheep should not go astray, and most convenient it were that by them they should be reduced into the way again ; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the Fathers and to Councils : therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what Man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in the Scripture. Neither have their Ministers given any occasion of this division ; but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their own private lucre and preferments, contrary to the Word of the Lord, do seduce the people into Error, and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold Calamities. Who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure Doctrine of his Word, seeking not the Will of Man, but what is the Will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

Bishops neither will feed the Flock, nor yet suffer them to feed themselves.

* As for the eating of Flesh and Eggs, altho it be free to all Men, and forbidden to none by Christ ; yet they have set forth a Law to refrain rath intemperance, and uncharitable offension of other.

* *It was the Pope's Law then, that in Lent no Man should eat Flesh, or Eggs, nor any other white meat ; wherein it may seem to be verified which St. Paul doth prophesy,* 1 Tim. 4. *In the latter days certain shall depart from the Faith, hearkning to the Doctrine of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to eat, &c.*

And as touching Matrimony, God is himself the Author thereof, who hath left it free for all Men. Also *Paul* willeth a Minister of the Church to be the Husband of one Wife.

Priests Marriage.

And seeing that Bishops for Mony permit their Priests to have Concubines, which is contrary both to God's Law, and to good example ; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawful Matrimony which he hath ordained, as to resist God in forbidding the same ? The like is to be said also of Women vowing chastity ; of whom this they judg, and suppose, that such kind of Vows and coacted Chastity, are not available nor allowed before God : and seeing that Chastity is not all Mens gift, better it were to marry, (after their judgments) than filthily to live in single life.

Vows of chastity not agreeing to God's Laws.

Monasteries first given for relief only of the poor and needy ; whereas now they who inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live of their own Patrimony in such fort, as many times some one of them hath so much, as well might suffice a great number. Wherefore it seemeth to them not unconvenient, that those goods should be converted again to the use of the poor : Yet nevertheless they have used therein such moderation, that they have permitted the Inhabitants of those Monasteries to enjoy the possessions of their goods, during the term of their natural Life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

Monasteries first given to the poor, but now serve to feed the rich.

Goods of Monasteries converted to the relief of the poor.

Ornaments of Churches serve nothing to God's Service ; but this is well agreeing to the Will and Service of God, that the poor should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young Man in the Gospel that was rich, not to hang up his Riches in the Temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

Ornaments of Churches better bestowed upon the poor.

The Order of Priesthood they do not contemn ; such Priests as will truly discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they do magnify. As for the other Rabble, which serve to no publick Commodity, but rather damnify the Common-wealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing and Prayers of such Priests be available before God, it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or sing, but only for hire of Wages do the same.

Good Priests not to be contemned, the rabble of them to be diminished.

As for secret Confession, wherein Men do detect their sins in the Priests ear, of what virtue this confession is to be esteemed, they leave it in suspence. But that confession, whereby repenting sinners do fly to Christ, our only Intercessor, they account not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled Consciences. As for satisfaction, which Priests do use, they reckon it but a practice to get Mony, and the same to be not only erroneous, but also full of impiety. True penance and satisfaction is, for a Man to amend his life.

Confession to the Priest, not sufficient for Christ.

The Order of Monkery, come only by the invention of Man, and not by the institution of God.

The Order of Monkery.

And as touching the Sacraments, such as be of the Lord's Institution, them they do not despise, but receive with all reverence, neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becometh, but to use rightly according to the prescript rule of God's Word. And so with the like reverence they use the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according as the Word prescribeth,

The use of Sacraments.

not, as many do abuse it, to make of it an Oblation and a Sacrifice.

False calumnies.

And if the Messengers sent to them of the Clergy, in their Letters mentioned, can justly charge them with any hindrance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themselves, or to satisfy the offence. And if they cannot, then reason would that these Messengers of the Clergy should hereafter look better to their doings, and to their Doctrine, and to cease from such untrue slanders and contumelies.

The only way of true reformation is that the Word of God only be received. The Pope cannot abide the preaching of the Word, and why.

Finally, Whereas they understand by their Letters how desirous they are to have the Pope's Oppressions and Exactions, and usurped Power abolished, they are right glad thereof and joyful, supposing that the same can by no means be brought to pass, except the Word of God only and simply be received. For otherwise, so long as Mens Laws and Constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place of Reformation. For by the preaching of God's Word, their estimation and dignity must needs decay: and that they well perceive, and therefore by all means do provide how to stop the course of the Word: and because they see themselves too weak to bring their purpose about, they fly to the aid of Kings and Princes. For the necessary Remedy whereof, if they shall think good to join their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalf, what they are able either in counsel or goods to do in the matter; declaring moreover, that this should have been seen to long before. Which being so, they prayed and desired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound that which they did write. As for their own part, they required nothing else more, than peace both between them and all Men. Neither was it ever their intent to stir any thing that should be prejudicial against their League and Band agreed upon between them. But in this cause which concerneth their eternal Salvation, they can do no otherwise but as they have done, unless their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them.

The Tigurines will be judged by the Scripture.

Wherefore, as they did before, so now they desire again, that if they think this their Doctrine to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture, they will gently shew and teach them their error, and that before the end of the month of *May* next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the Bishop of *Constance*, and also from the University of *Basil*. And thus much contained the Answer of the *Tigurines* unto the Letter of their other Colleagues of *Helvetia*.

The Bishop of Constance answereth the Tigurines by writing.

In the mean time, as this passed on, and the month of *May*, above mentioned, was now come, the Bishop of *Constance*, with the advice of his Council about him, did answer the *Tigurines*, as he was requested of them to do, in a certain Book first written, and afterward printed; wherein he declareth what Images and Pictures those were, which the prophane Jews and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what Images these be which the Church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between those Idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these Images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture speaketh against Images, and willeth them not to be suffered, that is to be understood of such Images and Idols, as the Jews and Idolatrous Gentiles did use: yet nevertheless such Images and Pictures as the Church hath received, are to be used and retained.

A Popish difference between the Jewish and Christian Images.

From this he entreth next into the discourse of the Mass, where he proveth, by divers and sundry Testimonies, both of the Pope's Canons and Councils, the Mass to be a Sacrifice and Oblation.

The Book of the Bishop of Constance written to the Senate of Zurick, in defence of the Mass and Images.

This Book being thus compiled and written, he sent it unto the Senate of *Zurick*, about the beginning of *June*, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to suffer their Images, or the Mass to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said Book in print, and sent it to the Priests and Canons of the Minster of *Zurick*, requiring them to follow the custom of the Church received, and not to suffer themselves otherwise to be persuaded by any Man.

The answer of the Tigurines to the Bishops Book.

The Senate again, answering to the Bishop's Book, about the midst of *August*, did write unto him: first, declaring that they had read over and over again his Book with all diligence: The which Book, forsomuch as the Bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad, because the whole World thereby might judg between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the Judgment and Doctrine of their Ministers and Preachers: and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scripture, convinced his Opinion, and proved the Doctrine of his Book to be false. But before they sent their Answer to him, about the 15*th* day of *June*, they commanded all the Images, as well within the City as through their Dominions, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after an Order was taken in the said City of *Zurick*, between the Canons of the Church and City, for disposing the Lands and Possessions of the College.

K. Hen. 8.

Images abolished within all the Dominions of Zurick.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that hapned among the *Helvetians* upon this new alteration of Religion; but briefly, to contract, and to run over the chief Specialities of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the *Helvetians* which were confederate together in the 13 pages, chiefly, six there were which most disdained and maligned this Religion of the *Tigurines*: to wit, *Lucernates*, *Vrani*, *Suitenses*, *Unterwaldii*, *Tugiani*, *Friburgenses*; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest shew themselves more favourable. But the other, which were their Enemies, conceived great grudge, and raised many thunderous reports and false rumors against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, first, for refusing to join their consent to the publick League of the other Pages with *Francis* the French King: then for dissenting from them in Religion: and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the Popish Decree made the Year before at *Ratisbone*, by *Ferdinandus*, and other Bishops above mentioned. They laid moreover to their accusation, for aiding the *Vualstatenses* their Neighbours, against *Ferdinandus* their Prince; which was false. Also for joining league secretly with other Cities, without their knowledg; which was likewise false.

Certain Pages or Tokens of the Suitzers complained against the Tigurines.

False matter of accusation laid against the Tigurines by the other Pages.

Item, That they should intend some secret Conspiracy against them, and invade them with War; which was as untrue as the rest. Many other quarrels besides they pretended against the *Tigurines*, which were all false and cavelling slanders: as that they should teach and preach, That *Mary* the Mother of Christ had more Sons; and that *James* the younger, the Apostle, did die for us, and not Christ himself. Against these and such other untruths, being meer matters of cavillation and slander, the *Tigurines* did fully and amply purge and acquit themselves by writing, and did expostulate vehemently with them, not only for these false and wrongful suspitions of their parts undelerved, but also for other manifold Injuries received and born at their hands, among which other Wrongs and Injuries, this was one; that the Burghmasters of *Turegia* had apprehended a certain Preacher, named *Joannes Oxinus*, and led him as Prisoner unto his house; being taken within the precinct and limits of the City of *Zurick*, contrary to Law and Order.

What Tigurines answer again to the complaint of the Pages.

John Oxinus a Preacher apprehended for Religion.

Finally, After much discourring, wherein they in a long Letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their League, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their Country; as touching the cause of Religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise if none so could, or would prove wherein they did err by the Word of God, they could not, they said, alter any thing in the state of that Religion wherein their Consciences were already staid by the Word of God and settled, whatsoever peril or danger should happen to them for the same.

Altho here was no cause why these Pages or Cantons, which were so confederate together in the League of Peace, should disagree amongst themselves; yet herein we may see the course and trade of the World, that when difference of Religion beginneth a little to break the knot of Amity, by and by how Friends be turned to Foes, what suspitions do arise, what quarrels and grudges do follow, how nothing there liketh Men, but every thing is taken in the worst part; small Motes are made Mountains, Vertues made Vices, and one Vice made a thousand, and all for lack only of a little good will betwixt Party and Party. For as Love and Charity commonly among Men, either covereth or seeth not the Faults of their Friends, so Hatred and Disdain,

What love and hatred doth among Men.

K. Hen. 8.

Disdain, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their Foes that they can like. And thus did it happen betwen these good Men of *Zurick*, and these other Suitzers above mentioned.

The Mass with all the Ceremonies put down in Zurick.

These Letters of the *Tigurines* to the other *Cantons*, were written upon the occasion of their apprehending the Preacher, *Joannes Oxinus* above-mentioned, *Januar.* 4. 1525. And in the month of *April* next following, the Magistrates and Senate of the said City of *Zurick*, commanded the Mass, with all the Ceremonies and Appurtenances thereto belonging, to be put down, as well within the City, as without throughout their Jurisdiction: and instead thereof was placed the Lord's Supper, the reading of the Prophets, Prayer, and Preaching. Also a Law was made against Whoredom, and Adultery, and Judges ordained to hear the Causes of Matrimony. *Anno* 1525. *Ex Comment. Sleid. lib.* 4.

A Law in Zurick made against Adultery.

All this while the Gospel was not as yet received in any other Page of *Helvetia*, but only in *Zurick*. Wherefore the other 12 Pages, or Towns appointed among themselves concerning a Meeting or a Disputation to be had at *Baden*: where were present among the Divines, *Joannes Faber*, *Eckius*, and *Murnerus* above mentioned. The Bishops also of *Lucerne*, *Basil*, *Curiake*, and *Lausanna*, sent thither their Legats. The Conclusions there propounded were these.

Disputation at Baden in Helvetia.

That the true Body and Blood of Christ is in the Sacrament.

Theams or Propositions propounded in the Disputation at Baden.

That the Mass is a Sacrifice for the quick and dead.

That the blessed Virgin, and other Saints, are to be invocated as Mediators and Intercessors.

That Images ought not to be abolished.

That there is a Purgatory.

Eckius defended, Oecolampadius against Eckius, Zuinglius excuseth himself for not coming to the Disputation.

Which Conclusions or Assertions, *Eckius* took upon him stoutly to defend. Against him reasoned *Oecolampadius*, (who was then chief Preacher at *Basil*,) with certain other more. *Zuinglius* at that time was not there present, but by writing confuted the Doctrine of *Eckius*; declaring withal the causes of his absence: which were for that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself unto the hands of *Lucernates*, *Vrani*, *Suitii*, *Unterwaldii*, and *Tugiani*, his Enemies: and that he refused not to dispute, but the place only of the disputation; excusing moreover that he was not permitted of the Senate to come: nevertheless, if they would assign the place of disputation, either at *Zurick*, or at *Berne*, or at *Sangallum*, thither he would not refuse to come. Briefly, the conclusion of the disputation was this, that all should remain in that Religion which hitherto they had kept, and should follow the Authority of the Council, neither should admit any other new Doctrine within their Dominions, &c. This was in the month of *June*, the said year above-mentioned.

Disputation at Bern in Helvetia.

As the time proceeded, and diffention about Religion increased, it followed the next year after, *Anno* 1527, in the month of *December*, that the Senate and People of *Berne*, (whose power among all the *Suitzers* chiefly excelleth) considering how neither they could have the acts of the Disputation of *Baden* communicated unto them, and that the variance about Religion still more and more increased, assigned another Disputation within their own City, and sending forth writings thereof, called unto the same all the Bishops bordering near about them, as the Bishops of *Constance*, *Basil*, *Sedune*, *Lausanna*; warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their Divines with them, or else to lose all such possessions as they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain Ecclesiastical Persons of their Jurisdiction to dispute, prescribing and determining the whole Disputation to be decided only by the Authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come thither, they granted safe conduct. Also they appointed, that all things there should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; and that every one should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation, that every Man's saying might be received by the Notary, and penned: with this *proviso* made before, that whatsoever there should be agreed upon, the same should be ratified, and observed through all their Dominions: and to the intent Men might come thither better prepared before, they propounded in publick writing, ten Conclusions in the said Disputation to be defended of their Ministers by the Scriptures; which Ministers were, *Franciscus Colbus*, and *Bertholdus Hallerus*. The Theams or Conclusions were these.

Godly Laws of Disputation.

1. That the true Church, whereof Christ is the Head, riseth out of God's Word, and persisteth in the same, and heareth the voice of no other.

Theams to be disputed.

2. That the same Church maketh no Laws without the Word of God.

3. That Traditions, ordained in the Name of the Church, do not bind, but so far forth as they be consonant to God's Word.

4. That Christ only hath made satisfaction for the sins of the World: and therefore if any Man say there is any other way of Salvation, or mean to put away sin, the same denieth Christ.

5. That the Body and Blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the Testimony of the Scripture.

6. That the use of the Mass, wherein Christ is present and offered up to his Heavenly Father, for the Quick and the Dead, is against the Scripture, and contumelious to the Sacrifice which Christ made for us.

7. That Christ only is to be invocated, as the Mediator and Advocate of Mankind to God the Father.

8. That there is no place to be found in the holy Scripture, wherein Souls are purged after this Life: and therefore all those Prayers and Ceremonies, yearly Diriges and Obits, which are bestowed upon the dead; also Lamps, Tapers, and such other things, profit nothing at all.

9. That to set up any Picture or Image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the Holy Scripture; and therefore, if any such be erected in Churches for that intent, the same ought to be taken down.

10. That Matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of Men, but for eschewing of Fornication generally is commanded and permitted to all Men by the Word of God. And forasmuch as all Fornicators are excluded, by the testimony of Scripture, from the Communion of the Church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single Life of Priests, is moft of all unconvenient for the Order of Priesthood.

When the Senate and People of *Berne* had sent abroad their Letters with these Themes and Conclusions to all the *Helvetians*, exhorting them both to send their learned Men, and to suffer all other to pass safely through their Countries: the *Lucernates*, *Uranites*, *Subsilvani*, *Unterwaldiani*, *Tugiani*, *Glaronti*, *Soloturnici*, and they of *Friburg*, answered again by contrary Letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprize: putting them in remembrance of their League and Composition made, and also of the Disputation of *Baden* above-mentioned, of the which Disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors: saying moreover, that it was not lawful for any Nation or Province to alter the state of Religion, but the same to belong to a General Council: wherefore they defired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the Religion which their Parents and Elders had observed: and in fine, thus in the end of their Letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned Men to come, nor yet grant safe conduct to any others to pass through their Country. To this and such like effect tended the Letters of these *Suitzers* above-named.

The Letters and Answer of every one to the Senate and People of Berne.

Ex Com. Sleid. lib. 8.

All which notwithstanding, the Lords of *Bern* proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed (which was *Jan.* 7.) began their Disputation. Of all the Bishops before signified (which were assigned to come) there was not one present. Neverthelesse the City of *Basil*, *Zurick*, and *Schafuse*, and *Abbecella*, *Sangallium*, *Mullusia*, with the Neighbours of *Rhetia*, also they of *Strasburg*, *Vlme*, *Ausburg*, *Lindave*, *Constance*, and *Isne*, sent thither their Embassadors.

The dissention begins. The part defendent. The part opponent. The Pope's Doctrine cannot abide the trials of the Scripture.

The Doctors above-mentioned, of the City of *Bern*, began the Disputation. Wherein the same time were present *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucerus*, *Capito*, *Blaurerius*, with other more; all which defended the affirmative of the Conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, of them which were the Opponents, the Chieftain was *Conradus Tregerus* a Frier Augustine: who to prove his Assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seek help of other Doctors, and the Moderators of the Disputation would not permit the same, (being contrary to the order, before appointed) he departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

Reformation of Religion at Bern. Masses and Images put down at Bern.

The Disputation endured 19 days; in the end whereof it was agreed by the assent of the moſt part, that the concluſions there diſputed, were conſonant to the truth of God's Word, and ſhould be racified not only in the City of *Berne*, but alſo proclaimed by the Magiſtrates in ſundry other Cities near adjoining: Furthermore, That Maſſes, Altars, and Images, in all places, ſhould be abolliſhed.

The Popes Clergy cannot abide to be beſhrallied from Fornication and Adultery.

At the City of *Conſtance*, certain things began to be altered a little before. Where alſo, among other things, Laws were made againſt Fornication and Adultery, and all ſuſpect or unlaweth Company; whereat the Canons (as they are called) of the Church taking great grief and diſpleaſure, departed the City. In the ſaid City was then Teacher, *Ambroſius Blaurerus*, a learned Man, and born of a noble Stock, who had been a Monk a little before, profeſſed in the Monaſtery of *Alperſpake*, in the Dutchy of *Wittenberg*, belonging to the Dominion of *Ferdinandus*. Which *Blaurerus*, by reading of *Luther*'s Works, and having a good Wit, had changed a little before his Religion, and alſo his Coat, returning again home unto his Friends; and when his Abbat would have had him again, and wrote earneſtly to the Senate of *Conſtance* for him, he declared the whole caſe of the matter in writing, propounding withal, certain conditions, whereupon he was content (as he ſaid) to return. But the conditions were ſuch, that the Abbat was rather willing not contented, that he ſhould remain ſtill at *Conſtance*, and ſo he did.

Ambroſe Blaurerus, Preacher at Conſtance.

Reformation of Religion at Conſtance.

After this Diſputation thus concluded at *Berne*, (as hath been ſaid) the Images and Altars, with Ceremonies and Maſſes, were abolliſhed at *Conſtance*.

Reformation of Religion at Geneua.

They of *Geneva* alſo, for their parts were not behind, following likewiſe the example of the City of *Berne*, in extirpating Images and Ceremonies. By reaſon whereof the Biſhop and Clergy there left and departed the City in no ſmall anger.

The Lanceknights of Bernu uſed Fabricks, for take their League with the French King.

The *Bernates*, after they had redreſſed with them the ſtate of Religion, they renounced the League made before with the French King, refuſing and forſaking his warly ſtipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his Wars; following therein the example of the *Tigurines*, which before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly Penſion that the King payeth to every Page of the *Helvetians*, to keep peace.

* Viſtory of the Confed. An. 1528.

* The day and year when this Reformation with them began, from Popery to true Chriſtianity, they cauſed in a Pillar to be engraven with golden Letters, for a perpetual memory to all Poſterity to come. This was *Anno* 1528.

Reformation of Religion in Strasburg.

After that the rumor of this Diſputation and Alteration of *Berne*, was noiſed in other Cities and Places abroad, firſt the Miniſters of *Strasburgh*, encouraged by this occaſion, began likewiſe to affirm and teach, that the Maſs was wicked, and a great blaſphemy againſt God's holy Name, and therefore was to be abrogated, and inſtead thereof the right uſe of the Lord's Supper to be reſtored again. Which, unleſs there could proove by the manifeſt Teſtimonies of the Scripture to be true, they would refuſe no manner of puniſhment. On the contrary part, the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Clergy did hold and maintain, that the Maſs was good and holy; whereupon kindled great contention on both ſides: which when the Senate and Magiſtrates of the City would have brought to a Diſputation, and could not, becauſe the Prieſts would not condeſcend to any reaſoning; therefore ſeeing they ſo accuſed the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cauſe, the ſaid Magiſtrates commanded them to be ſilence. The Biſhop in the mean while ceaſed not with his Letters and Meſſengers daily to call upon the Senate, deſiring the Senate to perſevere in the ancient Religion of their Elders, and to give no ear to thoſe new Teachers, declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them.

The Biſhop of Strasburg to the Senate.

The Senate of Strasburg replieth to the Biſhop.

The Senate again deſired him as they had done oftentimes before, that ſuch things which appertained to the true Honour and Worſhip of God, might be ſet forward, and all other things, which tended to the contrary, might be removed and taken away, for that properly belonged to his Office to ſee to: But the Biſhop, ſtill driving them off with delays, pretended to call an Aſſembly for the ſame, appointing alſo time and place for the hearing and diſcuſſing of thoſe Controverſies, where indeed nothing was performed at all: but with his Letters he did often ſollicite them to forceaſe their enterprize, ſometimes by way of intreating, ſometimes with menacing words terrifying them; and at laſt, ſeeing he could nothing by that way prevail, he turned his ſuit to the Aſſembly of the Empire, which was then at *Spires* collected, intreating them to ſet in a foot, and to help what they could with their Authority.

K. Hen. 8.

The Biſhop of Strasburg complaineth to the Council of Spires.

They ready to ſatisfy the Biſhop's requeſt, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Senate and Citizens of *Strasburg*, about *December* the year abovelaid, requiring them not to put down the Maſs; for neither it was, ſaid they, in the power of the Emperor, nor of any other Eſtate, to alter the ancient Religion received from their Forefathers, but either by a General, or by a Provincial Council; which Council if they ſuppoſed to be far off, at leaſt that they would take a pauſe till the next ſitting of the Empire, which ſhould be with ſpeed: where their Requeſts being propounded and heard, they ſhould have ſuch reaſonable anſwer, as ſhould not miſcontent them: For it was (ſaid they) againſt all Law and Reaſon, for a private Magiſtrate to infringe and diſſolve thoſe things, which by general conſent of the whole World have been agreed upon: and therefore good reaſon required, that they ſhould obtain ſo much at their handsor elſe if they ſhould obſtinately proceed in this their attempt, ſo with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune, the Emperor, their ſupream Magiſtrate under God, and alſo *Ferdinandus* his Deputy, would not take it well, and ſo ſhould be compelled to ſeek ſuch Remedy therein, as they would be ſorry to uſe. Wherefore their requeſt was, and advice alſo, that they ſhould weigh the matter diligently with themſelves and follow good counſel: who in ſo doing, ſhould not only glad the Emperor, but alſo work that which ſhould redound chiefly to their own commendation and ſafety.

The Meſſage from the Council of Spires to the City of Strasburg.

Beſides the Meſſengers thus ſent from the Council of *Spires*, the Biſhop alſo of *Hildeſſom* had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the Emperor's Name after like manner. Neither did the Biſhop of *Strasburg* alſo ceaſe with his Meſſengers and Letters daily to labour his Friends there, and eſpecially ſuch of the Senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwiſe by any Gifts or Friendſhip, that, ſo much as in them did lie, they ſhould uphold the Maſs, and gainſtand the contrary proceeding of the other.

The Biſhops of Hildeſſom and of Straſburg, travel to keep the City of Strasburg in their old Religion.

The Senate of *Strasburg* in the mean time, ſeeing the matter did ſo long hang in controverſy the ſpace now of two Years, and the Preachers daily and inſtantly calling upon them for a Reformation; and ſuit alſo being made to them of the Citizens, aſſembled their great and full Council to the number of 300 (as in great matters of importance they are accuſtomed to do) and there with themſelves debated the caſe, declaring on the one ſide, if they abolliſhed the Maſs, what danger they ſhould incur by the Emperor: On the other ſide, if they did not, how much they ſhould offend God; and therefore, giving them reſpite to conſult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and ſentence in the matter. When the day came that every Man ſhould ſay his mind; it fell out, that the Voices and Judgments of them which went againſt the Maſs, prevailed. Whereupon immediatly a Decree was made, the twentieth of *February*, *Anno* 1529, that the Maſs ſhould be ſuſpended and laid down, till the time that the adverſary part could prove by good Scripture, the Maſs to be a ſervice available and acceptable before God.

Reformation of Religion at Strasburg.

The Maſs overthrown at Strasburg.

This Decree being eſtabliſhed by the conſent of the whole City, the Senate eſtſoons commanded the ſame to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect, as well within the City, as alſo without, ſo far as their Limits and Dominion did extend; and afterward by Letters certified their Biſhop touching the doing thereof. Who hearing this news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did ſignify to them again, how he received their Letters, and how he underſtood by them the effect and ſum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digeſt with ſuch patience as he could, tho they went fore againſt his ſtomach, ſeeing for the preſent time he could no otherwiſe chuſe: hereafter would ſerve, he ſaid, he would fee thereunto, according as his Charge and Office ſhould require.

The Biſhops patience perforce.

Thus how the Maſs was overthrown in *Zurich*, in *Berne*, and *Geneva*, and in *Strasburg*, you have heard.

heard. Now what followed in *Baſil*, remaineth likewiſe to underſtand. In this City of *Baſil* was *Oecolampadius* Preacher (as is above ſignified) by whoſe diligent labour and travel, the Goſpel began there to take ſuch Fruit, that great diſſention there alſo aroſe among the Citizens about Religion, and eſpecially about the Maſs. Whereupon the Senate of *Baſil* appointed, That after an open Diſputation it ſhould be determined by Voices, what were to be done therein. This not withſtanding the Papiſts, ſtill continuing in their former purpoſe, began more ſtoutly to inveigh againſt the other part; and becauſe they were ſo ſuffered by the Magiſtrate without puniſhment, it was therefore doubted by the Commons, that they had ſome privy Maintainers among the Senators. Whereupon certain of the Citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole Commons, to ſue to the Senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promiſe. Whoſe Suit and Requeſt was this, That thoſe Senators which were the aiders and ſupporters of the Papiſts, might be diſplaced, for that it did as well tend to the contempt of their former Decree there made, as alſo to the publick diſturbance of the City. But when this could not be obtained of the Senate, the Commons, upon *Feb.* 8. the year abovelaid, aſſembled themſelves in the gray-Friers Church, and there, conſidering with themſelves upon the whole matter, repaired again with their Suit into the Senate, but not in ſuch humble wiſe as before: And therewithal gathered themſelves in the publick places of the City, to fortify the ſame, albeit as yet without Armour. The ſame evening the Senators, upon their word, That at their requeſt they granted, that thoſe Senators, although remaining ſtill in office, yet ſhould not ſit in the Council what time any matter of Religion ſhould come in talk.

K. Hen. 8. Reformation begineth at Basil. Joannes Oecolampad.

The Popiſh Senators diſplaced at Basil.

Religion in Basil defended by the Commons.

By this Anſwer the Commons, gathering that the whole State was governed by a few, took thereat grief and diſpleaſure, proteſting openly, that they would take courſel by themſelves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in caſes of Religion, but alſo in other matters of Civil Government, and forthwith took them to Armour, keeping the Towers and Gates, and other convenient places of the City with Watch and Ward, in as forcible wiſe, as if the Enemy had been at hand.

The next day the Senate, requiring reſpite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the Commons before had ſent as fuiters unto them. Which offer the Citizens did not refuſe, but with this condition, that theſe Senators, which were guilty, ſhould in the mean ſeaſon follow their Plea, as private Perſons, upon their own private Coſts and Charges: the other, which defended the publick Cauſe for the behoof of their Poſterity, ſhould be maintained by the publick Charges of the City. This the Senate was glad to grant unto, with ſome other like matters of lighter weight, to appeaſe their rage.

It hapned the very ſame day, that certain of the Citizens, ſuch as were appointed to go about the City for the viewing of things, came into the high Church, where one of them ſmiting on a certain Image with his Staff, eſtſoons it fell down and brake. By the occaſion whereof, other Images alſo in like ſort were ſerved after the ſame devotion. But when the Prieſts came running to them, which ſeemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, becauſe they would not paſs their Commiſſion, ſtaid their hands and departed.

Reformation of Religion at Strasburg.

God's hand working in throwing down Images in Basil.

Images thrown down at Basil.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the Citizens which ſtood in the Market-place, the matter being made worſe unto them than it was, they incontinent diſcharged out 300 armed Men, to reſcue their Fellows in the Church, ſuppoſing them to be in danger. Who coming to the Church, and not finding their Fellows there, and all things quiet, ſave only a few Images broken down; they likewiſe left they ſhould have loſt all their labour, threw down alſo the other Idols and Images which they found there ſtanding; and ſo paſſing through all Churches in the City, did there alſo the like: and when certain of the Senate came forth to appeaſe the tumult, the Citizens ſaid, that which you have ſtood about theſe three years, conſulting and adviſing whether it were beſt to be done or not, that ſhall we diſpatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention ſhall grow between us for Images: and ſo the Senate permitted them free leave, without any more reſiſtance; and twelve Senators were diſplaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or diſhoneſty. Alſo a Decree the ſame time was made, that as well within the City of *Baſil*, as without, throughout all their Juriſdiction, the Maſs with all Idols ſhould be abandoned: and further, that in all ſuch matters and caſes as concerned the Glory of God, and the Affairs of the publick Wealth, beſides the number of the other Senators, 200 of the Burgers or Citizens ſhould be appointed out of every Ward in the City to ſit with them in Counſel. Theſe Decrees being eſtabliſhed, after they had kept watch and ward about the City 3 days and nights, every one returned again to his houſe quiet and joyful, without any blood or ſtroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the Images.

22 Senators diſplaced at Basil.

Maſs put down at Basil.

Ex Farrag. Epiſt. Erat.

On the 24 day, which was *Aſhwednesday*, (as the Pope's ceremonial Church doth call it) all the wooden Images were diſtributed among the poor of the City, to ſerve them for firewood. But when they could not well agree in dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themſelves, it was agreed that the ſaid Images ſhould be burnt altogether: ſo that in nine great heaps all the Stocks and Idols there the ſame day were burnt to aſhes before the great Church door. And thus by God's Ordinance it came to paſs, that the ſame day wherein the Pope's Prieſts are wont to ſhew forth all their mourning, and do mark Mens foreheads with aſhes, in remembrance that they be but aſhes, was to the whole City feſtival and joyful, for turning their Images to Aſhes, and ſo is obſerved and celebrated every year ſtill unto this preſent day, with all mirth, plays and paſtimes, in remembrance of the ſame Aſhes, which day may there be called a right *Aſhwednesday* of God's own making. The Men of *Zurich*, of *Bern*. of *Solodure*, hearing what buſineſs was at *Baſil*, ſent their Embaſſadors to be a mean between them: but before the Embaſſadors came, all was ceaſed and at quiet.

Aſhwednesday at Basil, a day of all paſtime. A true Aſhwednesday of God's own making.

All this mean ſpace the Emperor and the French King were together occupied in Wars and Strife. Which as it turned to the great damnage and detriment of the French King, who in the ſaid Wars was taken Priſoner by the Emperors; ſo it hapned commodious and opportune for the ſucceſs of the Goſpel; for elſe it is to be thought that thoſe *Helvetians* and other *Germans*, ſhould not have had that leiſure and reſt to reform Religion, and to link themſelves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God of his ſecret Wiſdom diſpoſeth Times and Occaſions to ſerve his Will and Purpoſe in all things. Albeit *Ferdinandus* the Emperor's Brother, and Deputy in *Germany*, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in reſiſting the proceedings of the Proteſtants, as appeared both by the Decree ſet forth at *Ratisbone*, and alſo at *Spires*, in the which Council of *Spires*, *Ferdinandus* at the ſame time, which was the year of our Lord 1529, had decreed againſt the Proteſtants in effect as followeth.

God's providence to be noted for the ſucceſs of the Goſpel.

The Decree made at Spires by Ferdinandus.

Firſt, That the Edict of the Emperor made at *Worms*, ſhould ſtand in force through all *Germany*, till the time of the General Council which ſhould ſhortly follow. Alſo, that they which already had altered their Religion, and now could not revoke the ſame again for fear of Sedition, ſhould ſtay themſelves, and attempt no more Innovations hereafter, till time of the General Council.

Item, That the Doctrine of them which hold the Lord's Supper otherwiſe than the Church doth teach, ſhould not be received, nor the Maſs ſhould be altered: and there, whereas the Doctrine of Religion was altered, ſhould be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were diſpoſed to come to Maſs, might ſafely therein uſe their devotion; againſt Anabaptiſts likewiſe; and that all Miniſters of the Church ſhould be injoined to uſe no other interpretation of holy Scripture, but according to the expoſition of the Church Doctors, other matters that were diſputable not to be touched. Moreover, that all Perſons and States ſhould keep peace, ſo that for Religion, neither the one part ſhould infer moleſtation to the other, nor receive any confederates under their protection and ſafeguard. All which Decrees they which ſhould tranſgreſs, to be outlawed and exiled.

Unto this ſitting at *Spires*, Firſt, the Embaſſadors of *Stasburg* were not admitted, but repelled by *Ferdinandus*, becauſe they had rejected the Maſs: And therefore the ſaid City of *Strasburg* denied to pay any contribution againſt the Turk, except they with other Germans might be likewiſe admitted unto their Councils. The other Princes which were received and not rejected, as the Duke of *Saxony*, and *George* of *Brandenburgh*, Erneſtus,

The Decree of Spires rejected by the Proteſtants.

Ernestus, and *Franciscus*, Earls of *Luxenburg*, Landgrave *Anhaldius*, did utterly gainstand the Decree, and shewed their cause, in a large Protestation writtenwhy they so did: Which done, all such Cities which subscribed and consented to the said Protestation of the Princes; effoons conjoined themselves in a common League with them, whereupon they had their name therefore called *Protestants*. The names of the Cities were these; *Argentia*, or *Strasburg*, *Norimberg*, *Ulmes*, *Constance*, *Rutteling*, *Winssemium*, *Meninges*, *Lindavia*, *Campodunum*, *Hailbrunum*, *Isna*, *Wilsenburgum*, *Norlinge*, *Sangallum*.

The name of Protestants, how it first began.

Quinq; pag. The popish Pages hitherto confederate with Ferdinandus

Furthermore, as touching the *Helvetians*, from whence we have somewhat digressed) how the City of *Berne* and *Zurick*, had conformed and joined together in reformation of true Religion, you heard before. Wherefore the other Pages in *Helvetia*, which were of contrary profession, in like manner confederated themselves in League with *Ferdinandus*: the number and names of which Pages especially were five, to wit, *Lucernates*, *Urani*, *Switenses*, *Untervaldii*, and *Tugiani*, which was in the year abovesaid; to the intent, that they conjoining their power together, might overrun the Religion of Christ, and the professors of the same. Who also, for hatred and despight, hanged up the Arms of the foresaid Cities of *Zurick* and of *Berne* upon the Gallows, besides many other Injuries and Grievances which they wrought against them. For the which cause the said Cities of *Berne* and *Zuricke* raised their power, intending to set upon the foresaid *Switzers*, as upon their capital Enemies. But as they were in the Field, ready to encounter one Army against the other, through the means of the City of *Strasburg*, and other Intercessors, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

The Council of Ausburg. The Confession of the Protestants at Ausburg.

As touching the Council of *Ausburg*, which followed the next year after the Assembly of *Spires*, *Anno* 1530, how the Princes and Protestants of *Germany*, in the same Council exhibited their Confession, and what labour was fought to confute it, and how constantly Duke *Frederick* perstited in defence of his Conscience against the threatning words and replications of the Emperor; also in what danger the said Princes had been, had not the *Lantgrave* privily by night flipt out of the City, pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

To return therefore unto *Zuinglius* and the *Helvetians*, of whom we have here prelently to treat. You heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two Cities of *Zurick* and *Berne*, and the other five Cities of the *Cantons*, was pacified by the means of intercession; which Peace so continued the space of two years. After that the old Wound waxing raw again, began to burst out, and gather to an head: which was by reason of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed Cities had received of the other; wherefore the *Tigurines* and the *Bernates*, stopping all passages and straits, would permit no Corn nor Victual to pass unto them. This was in the year of our Lord 1531.

Wars between the Gospellers and the five popishmen of Suitzerland. Conditions of Peace drawn, but not kept. The Tigurines provoked & compelled to war against their Enemies.

And when great trouble was like to be thereby, the French King, with certain other Townthips of *Switzerland*, as the *Glarians*, *Friburgians*, *Solothurnians*, and other coming between them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of Peace between them: which Conditions were these. That all Contumelies and Injuries past should be forgotten. That hereafter neither part should molest the other. That they which were banished for Religion, should again be restored. That the five Pages might remain without disturbance in their Religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the Old and New Testament. That no kind of dignitaries should be procured against them *of Berne* and *Zurick*: and that either part should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the other, as in times past. But the five Pagemen would not observe these Covenants made, neither would their malicious Hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the *Bernates* and *Tigurines*, shewing and declaring, first, their caule in publick writing, to purge and excuse the necessity of their War, being prested with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the Sword in hand, did, as before befet the high-ways and passages, that no furniture of Victual or other Forrage could come to the other Pages. By reason whereof, when they of the five Towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlick array towards the borders of *Zurick*, whereas then was lying a Garison of the *Zurick* Men, to the number of a thousand and more. Whereupon word was sent incontinent to the City of *Zurick*, to succour their Men with speed; but their Enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them. For when they were come to the top of the Hill, whereby they must needs pass, they saw their Fellows being in great distress in the Valley under them: whereupon they, incouraging themselves, made down the Hill with more haste than order, striving who might go fastest: but the nature of the Hill was such, that there could but one go down at once. By reason whereof, forasmuch as they could not keep their Ranks to join all together, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude, which was *October* 11, the year aforesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also *Ulderick Zuinglius*, the blessed Servant and Saint of God. Also the Abbot of *Capella*, and *Commendator Kunaconsis*, with thirteen other learned and worthy Men were slain, being as is thought, fally betrayed, and brought into the hands of their Enemies.

Kilken. 8. Another slaughter between the Tigurines, and the five Pagemen in Suitzerland.

The Tigurines overmatched & overcome.

Ulderick Zuinglius slain.

As touching the cause which moved *Zuinglius* to go out with his Citizens to the War, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by *Jo. Sleid*, and especially by *Oecolampadius*, in his Epistle, (*ap Mart. Freckum. & Som. Epist.* l. 4.) where first is to be understood, that it is an old received manner among the *Zurick* Men, that when they go forth in Warfare, the chief Minister of the Church goes with them. *Zuinglius* also of himself being a Man (saith *Sleid.*) of a stout and bold courage, considering if he should remain at home, when War should be attempted against his Citizens, and if he, which in his Sermons did so incourage others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what shame and dildain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his Brethren did.

The death of Oecolampadius An. 1531.

Ex Joan. Sleid. lib. 8. Ex Epist. Joan. Oecolampad. l. 4.

Oecolampad. moreover addeth, that he went not out as a Captain of the Field, but as a good Citizen with his Citizens, and a good Shepherd ready to die with his Flock. And which of them all, saith he, that most cry out against *Zuinglius*, can shew any such noble heart in him, to do the like? Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather defired not to go; foreseeing belike, what danger thereof would ensue. But the Senate being importune upon him, would have no nay, urging and inforcing him most instantly to go: among whom were thought to have been some false Betrayers, saying and objecting to him, that he was a daftard if he refused to accompany his Brethren, afwell in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the said *Zuinglius*, among other secular Arts, had also some skill in such matters of warfare. Hæc *Oecolampad.* When he was slain, great cruelty was shewn upon the dead Corps; such was their hatred to him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should burn his body being dead. *Ex com. Joan. Sleid. lib.* 8.

Zuinglius exculed for his going out to War.

The death of John Frederick Duke of Saxony.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in four pieces, and then confumed with fire; three days after his death, his Friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the ashes whole and unburned; in much like manner as was also the heart of *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which in the ashes was found and taken up unconfumed, as it is credibly reported.

Zuinglius his dead body burned. Ex Oswaldo Miconio de vita & obitu Zuinglii. The heart of Zuinglius found whole in the Ashes. The cruel handling of the Abbat Capellensis.

Furthermore, such was then the rage of these five Pages against the foresaid Abbot *Capellensis*, that they took him being slain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a Monk's Coal, and set him in the Pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in most despiteful manner. Ex *Epist. Oecolamp. ad Wolfg. angum Capitonem.* l. 4. *Ulderick Zuinglius* was when he died of the Age of 44 years, younger than *Martin Luther* by four years.

The *Bernates*, who were purposed the same time to atchieve War against the *Untervoldians* bordering near unto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the *Tigurines*, to comfort them again, defired them to be of good chear and courage, promising that they would not fail but come, and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the *Tigurines* had assembled their Power together, which was the eighth day after the Battel, and had received aid from the *Schaffusians*, *Mullusians*, *Sangallers*, and from *Basil*, (the *Bernates* lawfully out of such Meats offered to Idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's Table: You cannot (saith he) be partakers both of the Lord's Table, and the Table of Devils, &c. Wherefore St. Paul's meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what Faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he which hath a right Faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which he given to Idols: for he is now a Member of another Body, that is of Christ: so that he cannot join himself now to be one Body with Idolaters. And therefore those be they which do not judge or discern the Lord's Body, that make no difference between the Church of Christ, and the Church of Idolaters. For they which sit at the Lord's Table, eating of Idol Meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's Supper, and the Supper of the Deuils; which be they whom Paul saith not to judge the Body of our Lord, that is, which make no discrepance, nor give any more regard to Christ's Church, than to the Church of Devils. Whereas if we would judge our selves, that is, if we would throughly search and examine our own Conficences as we should, in coming to the Table of the Lord, we finding any Faith in us, would never go to the Table, or make thereof the Feast of Devils: wherefore your judgment herein is not amiss in expounding the Word of judging in St. Paul, to signify as much as considering, perpending and inquiring.

The place of St. Paul of judging the Lord's Body expounded.

Whose they which judg not the Lord's Body.

To your second Question, I answer, That Jesus took Bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the Cup, &c. Ista verba sunt peculiariter agentis, non hospitaliter invitantis: that is, Those words declare the action of one which properly doth a thing, and not the hospitality of one which inviteth another to eat.

Jesus took Bread.

Touching your third Question, out of the 6th Chap. of John, Doth this offend you? Herein I do fully agree with you.

As for this word Oftren, which is your fourth Question, I understand thereby the time of the great Feast or Solemnity, which we keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's People from the thraldom now of Satan, before from the thraldom of Pharaoh. Neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing it self be one, and the analogy and consonancy of the Scriptures be kept: for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St. Paul calleth him our Easter or Passover. Now your word, Wandersest, well pleaseth me, for the Passover, or Pesah.

The word Easter.

To your fifth Interrogation, of Christ's descending into Hell; I suppose this Particle was inserted into the Creed by the Sentence of the Fathers, to declare how the Fathers, which died in the Faith, were redeemed by the death of Christ. For Christ led away Captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into Heaven: so that his going down into Hell, non sic intelligatur, quasi circumscripive, sed potentionaliter; that is, he not so understood, as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place, but by power, which is by the operation of the Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the Article of Christ's descending into Hell importeth as much, as that his death redeemed them which were in Hell. Whereunto St. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, * The Gospel also was preached to them which were dead; that is, That they also did feel the good tidings of the Gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they which rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in Heaven, who nevertheless in flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of Man shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. Return to the places of Peter, the one in his first Epistle, the other in the later: and so be you contented with this present Answer rashed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well. And comfort my William, the good aged Father, by the Grace of God which is in you. Commend me to John Eggenberge.

The defending of Christ into Hell. Circumscriptio, quæ contemplatur loca. Ut mortilli. ea cos quiescant apud sepulcra. redimeret.

* 1 Pet. 3.

From *Zurick*, *Septemb.* 11 1527.

Kilken. 8.

A Letter of Ulderick Zuinglius.

1 Cor. 10. & 11.

Bernates at this time were nothing hasty) out of the whole number they chose out certain Enligns, which setting forth in the night, lay in the Hill befide *Meeinge*, intending when the Moon was up, to take the Town of *Tugie*, lying near at hand, upon the sudden. Which when their Enemies had perceived, which were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secreet manner they came upon them being at rest, the 24th day of *October*, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry: so it fell out in conclution, that many on both Parties were slain. And albeit the five Pagemen had the upper hand, yet would they of *Zurick* nothing relent in their Religion. At the last, through mediation, a Peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed: that the *Tigurines*, *Bernates*, and *Basilians*, should forsake the League which they had lately made with the City of *Strasburg*, and the Lantgrave: likewise should the five Page-men give over their League and Compolition made with *Ferdinandus*: and hereof Obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of *November*.

Peace concluded between the Protestants and the Papists in Suitzerland.

Oecolampadius the Preacher of the City of *Strasburg*, above recorded, hearing of the death of *Zuinglius* his dear Friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow; insomuch that it is thought to have increased his Disease, and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of *November* above mentioned, being of the age of 49 years, elder than *Martin Luther* by one year. Altho this *Oecolampadius* then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other worthy Works which he left behind him, live still and shall never die.

The Commentaries of Oecolampadius upon the Prophets.

The next year following, which was *Anno* 1532, in the month of *August*, died also the worthy and memorable Prince *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, who for testimony of Christ and of his Gospel, sustained such Trials, so many Brunts, and so vehement Conflicts with the Emperor, and that especially at the Council assembled at *Ausburge*; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him, or any Prince, to have indured so constant and unremoveable against so many persuasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded *John Frederick* his Son, &c.

And thus have you the History of *Zuinglius*, and of the Church of *Switzerland*, with their Proceedings and Troubles, from the first beginning of their Reformation of Religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will add one certain Epistle of the said *Zuinglius*, taken out of his other Epistles, and so therewith close up his Story. Which Epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded for true meaning of the Apostle, writing to the *Corinthians* concerning how to judg the Lord's Body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his Letter be these as follow.

Huldricus Zuinglius N. fratri in Domino.

Gratiam & pacem in Domin. Accipe igitur charis. frater, &c.

In English thus.

Unto your Questions propounded to me in your former Letters, (well-beloved Brother) I have sent you here mine Answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's Supper is a very Thanksgiving: for so the Apostle himself meaneth, saying, Ye shall shew forth the Lord's Death. *Where the word of shewing forth, signifieth as much as Praising or Thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is an Eucharist, or a Thanksgiving; in my judgment, no other thing ought to be abrouded to Mens Conficences, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, yet this is not to be neglected, that every Man do prove and examine himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own Conficences, What Faith we have in Christ Jesus? which if it be found and sincere, we may approoch without stay to this Thanksgiving. For he that hath no Faith, and yet faineth or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the Table eating Meats offered to Idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul a little before writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, which, bragging upon their knowledg, thought they might*

the misordered doings and corrupt examples of the See and Bishop of *Rome* from time to time, unto the coming of this *Luther?* wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear no less to all godly disposed Men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish Bishop hath had great Enemies and Gainsayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet notwithstanding never any could prevail before the coming of this Man. The cause whereof, altho it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto Men, yet so far as Men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought: That whereas other Men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the Bishop of *Rome*, charged him only, or most especially, with examples and manners of Life; *Luther* went further with him, charging him not with Life, but with his Learning; not with his Doings, but with his Doctrine; not picking at the Rine, but plucking up the Root; not seeking the Man, but shaking his Seat; yea, and charging him with plain Heresy, as prejudicial and relishing plainly against the Blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred Testament of God's holy Word. For whereas the Foundation of our Faith, grounded upon the holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his Blood; the Pope proceeding with a contrary Doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our Salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of Mens meriting and deserving by Works. Whereupon rose divers sorts of Orders and religious Sects among Men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every Man seeking his own Righteousness, but few seeking the Righteousness of him which is set up of God to be our Righteousness, Redemption, and Justification.

The Pope charged with Heresy by Luther.

The foundation of the Popes Doctrine contrary to Christian Faith.

Justification by Faith preserved by Luther.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were drowned in darkness. Whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of Men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own Righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this Doctrine appeared to the World after long ignorance, the greater persecution followed upon the same. And where the Elect of God took most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the Adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true Word of God to bring with it ever diffention and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, *That he came not to send Peace on Earth but the Sword.* And this was the cause why that, after the Doctrine and Preaching of *Luther*, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the World; whereby arose great disquietness amongst the Prelates, and many Laws and Decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruel handling of many good and Christian Men. Thus while Authority, armed with Laws and Rigor, did drive against simple verity; lamentable it was to hear how many poor Men were troubled, and went to wrack, some toss from place to place, some exiled out of the Land for fear, some caused to abjure, some driven to Caves in Woods, some wracked with torments, and some pursued to death with Faggot and Fire. Of whom we have now (Christ willing) in this History following to intreat, first beginning with certain that suffered in *Germany*, and then to return to our own Stories, and Martyrs here in *England.*

K.Hen. 8.

Stat. 10. Great persecutions after the Doctrine of Luther.

The cause of their accusation and martyrdom.

Henry Voes *and* John Esch *Friers Augustines.*

IN the year of our Lord 1523, two young Men were burnt at *Bruxels* the one named *Henry Voes*, being of the age of 24 years; and the other *John Esch*, which before had been of the Order of the *Augustine* Friers. They were degraded the first day of *July*, and spoiled of their Friers Weed, at the Suit of *Egmondanus* the Pope's Inquisitor; and the Divines of *Louaine*; for that they would not retract and deny their Doctrine of the Gospel, which the Papists call *Lutheranism.* Their Examiners were *Hochstratus*, and others, who demanded of them, What they did believe? They said, The Books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the Decrees of the Councils, and of the Fathers? They said, Such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, Whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the Decrees of the Fathers, and of the Bishop of *Rome?* That (said they) is to be attributed only to the Precepts of God, to bind the Conscience of Man, or to loose it. Wherein when they constantly persisted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their Heavenly Father, which had delivered them through his great goodness, from that false and abominable Priesthood, and made them Priests of his holy Order, receiving them unto him as a Sacrifice of sweet Odour. Then there was a Bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the People, to declare what Faith and Doctrine they held. The greatest Error that they were accused of, was, That Men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as Men are liers and deceitful in all their Words and Deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

Two Friers burned at Bruxels.

Egmondanus and Hochstratus Doctors of Louvain, Persecutors.

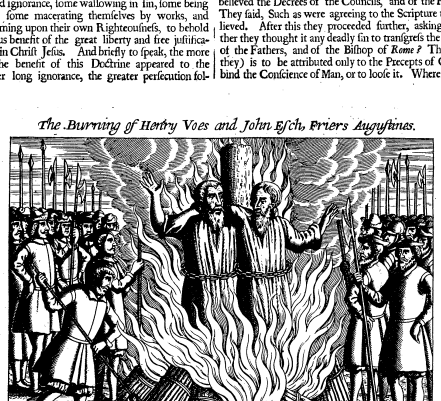
Their Examination.

Behold how courtearly and joyfully these Martyrs take their death.

As they were led unto the place of Execution, which was the first of *July*, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the Glory of God, and the Doctrine of the Gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the Holy Church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were disposed of their Garments, they carried a great space in their Shirts, and joyfully embraced the Stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them, praising God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and singing Psalms, and rehearsing the Creed, in testimony of their Faith. A certain Doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto *Henry*, that he should take heed to foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the Cross of my Lord Jesus Christ. Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, I trust that I carry him truly in my heart. One of them seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, Methinks ye do strew Roses under my feet. Finally, the smoke and the flame mounting up to their faces, choaked them.

Against all reason that the Clergy should be exempted from the civil Magistrate. Jacobus Latherianus.

Henry being demanded amongst other things, whether *Luther* had seduced him or no: yea, said he, even as Christ seduced his Apostles. He said also, that it was contrary to God's Law, that the Clergy should be exempted from the Power and Jurisdiction of the Magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in Office by the Bishops, have no power, but only to preach the Word of God, and to feed their Flock therewithal. After their death, their Monastery was dissolved at *Antwerp.* The Confident thereof, by the Papists called *Jacobus Latherianus*, after divers and direry troubles and afflictions was forced to recant at *Bruxels*; but afterward his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto *Luther. Ex 6. Tomo M. Lutheri, fol. 397.*



The Burning of Henry Voes and John Esch, Friers Augustines.

Henry Sutphen, *Monk, put to death in* Diethmar.

Henry Sutphen.

THE next year after the burning of those two Christian Martyrs at *Bruxels* above mentioned, with like Tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of Judgment or just Condemnation, about the City of *Diethmar* in the borders of *Germany*, one *Henry Sutphen*, Monk, *Anno* 1524, of whom mention is partly touched in the Commentaries of *John Sleidan lib.* 4. but his History is more amply described of *Luther*, of *Paulus Eberus* in his Calendar of *Ludov. Rabus Crispinus*, and others. This *Sutphen* had been before with *Martin Luther*, and afterward coming to *Antwerp*, was from thence excluded for the Gospel, and so came to *Breme*, not to the end there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to *Wittenberg*, being driven from *Antwerp*, as is above said. Who being at *Breme*, was there required by certain godly Citizens of *Breme* to make one or two brief Exhortations upon the Gospel. Whereunto, through the earnest Love and Zeal that was in him, he was easily assured and persuaded. He made his first Sermon unto the People the Sunday before St. *Martins* day. When the People heard him preach the Word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his Doctrine, that the whole Parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the Gospel; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious Rout had understanding hereof, especially the Canons, Monks, and Priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust both him out of the City, and also the Gospel of Christ (for that was their chief seeking:) whereupon they went unto the Senate, desiring that such an Heretick might be banished the Town, which in his Doctrine preached against the Catholick Church. Upon the complaint of the Canons, the Senate sent for the Wardens and head Men of the Parish where *Henry* had preached, who being come together, the Senate declared unto them the Complaint of the Canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the Citizens of *Breme*, taking their Preachers part, answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the Word of God. Notwithstanding if the Chapter-house or any other man could bring Testimonial or Witness, that the Preacher had taught any thing which either favoured of Heresie, or were repugnant to the Word of God, they were ready, they said, with the Chapter-house to persecute him: for God forbid that they should maintain an Heretick. But if contrariwise the Canons of the Chapter-house, and the other religious men will not declare and shew that the Preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any Error or Heresie, but were set only of malice by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the Senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them Equity and Justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their Preacher always, and to plead his Cause.

Henry Sutphen *sent to preach at* Meldorph. 81

Ex Commentis. Sleid. lib. 4.

Henry Sutphen preacheth at Breme.

The citizens of Breme excuse their Preacher.

Monks and Priests complain against the Preacher to the Archbishop of Breme.

This Answer the Senate commanded to be declared to the Chapter-house, When as the religious fort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, hurling out into a fury, they began to threaten, and thereupon what went straight unto the Archbishop to certify him how that the Citizens of *Breme* were become Hereticks, and would no longer obey their religious fort, with many other like things in their Complaint, so that it was to be feared, left the whole City shortly should be seduced.

Monks and Priests confore against Sutphen.

The Preacher cited to appear before the Archbishop.

When the Bishop heard tell of these things, straightway he sent two which were of his Council unto *Breme*, requiring that *Henry* should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they should have him sent, they answered, because he preached against the holy Church. Being again demanded in what Points or Articles, they had nothing to say. One of these Counsellors was the Bishops Suffragan, a naughty pernicious Hypocrite that sought by all means possible to carry away the said *Henry* captive. Finally they received this answer of the Senators, That forasmuch as the Preacher, being hired of the Churchwardens, had not hitherto been convict for any Heretick, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical Article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the Citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the Bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto *Breme* to dispute with him; and if he were convinced, they promised without any delay that he should be justly punished and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the Suffragan answered with a great Protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietness of the whole Country, taking God to his witness, that in this behalf he fought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his Country. But for all this they could prevail nothing, for the Senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the Suffragan being moved with anger, departed from *Breme*, and would not confirm their Children.

Fabl. Accusation.

The Senate desire to find the Preacher to the Bishop.

The Senate of Breme require a Disputation of the Articles Bishop.

The Suffragan would not confirm their Children for anger.

When he came unto the Bishop, he declared the answer of the Senate, and what he had heard and learned of the Priests and Monks there. Afterward, when daily news came, that the Preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter against the Religious Rout, they attempted another way, suborning great Men to admonish the Citizens of *Breme* into what Jeopardy their Commonwealth might fall by means of their Preacher, preaching contrary to the Decree of the Pope and Emperor. Besides that, they said, that he was the Prisoner of the Lady *Margaret*; for which cause they had gotten Letters of the Lady *Margaret*, requiring to have her Prisoner sent unto her again.

When the Bishop saw this his enterprize also frustrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both he, and also the Word of God with him should be wholly oppressed. Whereupon they decreed a Provincial

When the Bishop saw this his enterprize also frustrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both he, and also the Word of God with him should be wholly oppressed. Whereupon they decreed a Pro-

Another Practice of the Archbishop.

All these crafts and subtilties did nothing at all prevail, for the Senate of *Breme* answered all things without blame.

they

vincial Council, not to be holden at *Breme*, as it was accustomed, but at *Bustadt*, which place they thought most meet for their purpose.

To this Council were called the Prelates and learned Men of the Diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereunto to trust.

A Council of Priests called against Henry Sutphen.

Also to the said Council was *Henry* called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest Heretick, albeit he was not yet convict, nor had pleaded his cause before them. Wherefore the Rulers of the City, together with the Commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the Council. Then the said *Henry* gathered a Sum of his Doctrine into a few Articles, and sent it with his Letters unto the Archbishop; excusing his Innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convict of any error by the Testimony of the holy Scripture, to recant the same: notwithstanding earnestly requiring, that his Errors might be convicted by the holy Scriptures, by the Testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his Doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same: but this took no place amongst those anointed Prelates. What the determination of their Judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set upon the Church-porch the Bull of the Pope *Leo* the Xth, and Decree of the Emperor made at *Wormes*. Whereupon *Henry* contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the Gospel, adding always this Protestation, That he was ready willingly to give account touching his Faith and Doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy Catholicks could not be idle, but sent their Chaplains unto every Sermon to trap him in his words. But God, whose Foot-paths are in the midst of the Floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them; for he converted many of them: insomuch that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did openly witness his Doctrine to be God's Truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard; perswading them likewise, that they forsaking all Impiety, should follow the Word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief Priests, Canons, and Monks were so indurate and blinded with *Pharaoh*, that they became the worse for these Admonitions. When as God saw the time convenient that *Henry* should confirm the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel Murtherers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth.

Henry gathereth the Sum of his Doctrine in writing.

The Catholick proceeding of the Popes clergy.

They that went about to take him, were taken.

Henry Sutphen sent for to preach at Meldorph.

It happed in the year of our Lord 1524. that this *Henry* was sent for by Letters, by *Nicholas Boy* Parish Priest, and other faithful Christians of the Parish of *Meldorph*, which is a Town in *Diethmar*, to preach the Gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the Bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full Dominion.

These Letters being received upon St. *Katharine*'s Evening, calling together their Brethren, honest Citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of *Diethmar*, to preach the Gospel; adding moreover, that he was not only a Debtor unto them, but to all other which required his aid. Wherefore he thought good to go to *Diethmar*, to see what God would work by him, requiring also that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his Journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the People. Unto whom the Citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the Gospel had not yet taken so deep root in the People, but was as yet weak and especially in the Villages thereabout, and that the Persecution was very great, willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the Office of Preaching: and if they of *Diethmar* desired a Preacher, he should send some other in his place for they had before perceived the Disposition and Untruthfulness of them of *Diethmar*: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole Commonalty. Whereunto *Henry* made answer in this manner, That albeit he could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly Men at *Breme*, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the Gospel. Besides that the Parish were for the most part vanquished and overthrown, and such Folly known, even unto Women and Children; adding thereunto that he had now preached the Gospel by the space of two years at *Breme*, and that they of *Diethmar* lived without a Pastor even in the midst of Wolves: wherefore he could not with a safe Conscience deny their request. And whereas they alledged that they could not licence him without the consent of the whole Congregation, that, said he, was but of small effect; forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of *Diethmar* for a month or two, to lay a Foundation, and then to return again; desiring them, that after his departure they would declare unto the Congregation how he was sent for by them of *Diethmar*, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his Adversaries privily laying wait in every place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them, which had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the Congregation in his name, that when he had performed his Enterprise, he would straight return again. They being perswaded with these words, consented unto him, stedfastly hoping that they of *Diethmar* should be converted to the true Faith: which people above all other have been always given to Idolatry.

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In this rude Country of Diethmar M. Rogers our Countryman was Superintendent in time of the six Articles, where he with great danger of his life did very much good.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, the two and twentieth day of *October* he took his Journey, and came to *Meldorph* whither he was sent for: where he was joyfully received of the Parish Priest and others, as soon as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the Devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger. Above all other, one *Augustine Torahorch*, Prior of the Black Friers, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Mr. *J. Swicken* his Companion, and Commissary to the official of *Hamburg*, to take counsel what was to be done, lest they should lose their Kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not have licence to preach: for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the Priests and Monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a Folly to resist, remembring what had happened lately before in *Breme*. This Determination had, the Prior the next day early in the Morning (for he had not slept well all night for cares) went with great speed unto *Heyda*, to speak with the eight and forty Pensioners of the Country unto whom with great complaints he shewed how that a seditious fellow, a Monk was come from *Breme*, which would seduce all the People of *Diethmar*, as he had done the *Bremers*. There was moreover that did assist this Prior, Mr. *Gunterus*, Chancellor of the Country, and *Petrus Hannus*, both enemies unto the Gospel. These stoutly assisted the Prior, perswading the other forty six, being simple and unlearned Men, that they should obtain great favour and good will of the Bishop of *Breme*, if they would put this Heretick Monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this Monk should be put to death, neither heard, nor seen, much less convict.

Henry taketh his journey to Meldorph.

The Prior of the Black-Friers with the forty eight Pensioners consulte the death of Henry.

The chief Doers of this Conspiracy.

Furthermore, this Prior obtained Letters from the forty eight Prefidents to the Parish Priest, commanding him under great penalty, that he should put the Monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these Letters he came speedily to *Meldorph*, and delivered the Letters over-night unto the Parish Priest; trusting that by their Threatnings and Commandments, the said *Henry* should be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

Nicholas Boyes Parish Priest of Meldorph, commanded to put away Henry.

When as the Parish Priest had read over the Letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud Commandment, for that it had not been heard of before that the forty eight Presidents should meddle with Ecclesiastical matters, and that it had been of long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the Parish Priest: and long time before it was decreed by the whole Province, and customably used, that in every Church the Parish Priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the Preacher. These Letters the Parish Priest delivered unto *Henry*; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come being sent for by the whole Congregation to preach the Gospel of Christ, he would satisfie that Vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable

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table unto the whole Congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the Word of God, than Man. Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his Life in *Diethmar*, there was as near a way to Heaven, as in any other place; for that he doubted nothing at all, that once he must suffer for the Gospel's sake. Upon this Courage and Boldness, the next day *Henry* went up into the Pulpit, and made a Sermon, expounding the place of *Paul*, which is, *Rom. 1. Testis est mihi Deus.* &c. that is, *God is my Witness*; and the Gospel of the day. After the Sermon was done, the whole Congregation being called together, the Prior delivered the Letters that were sent by the forty eight Presidents, the Tenor whereof was this: That they of *Meldorph* should be fined with a Fine of a thousand Gilderns, if they suffered the Monk to preach; and commanded moreover, that they should send Ambassadors unto *Heida* with full Power and Authority. When they heard these Letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custom of the Country; forasmuch as every Parish Priest hath always had Authority, according to his Discretion, to chuse or put away the Preacher. Briefly they all determined with one voice, to keep *Henry* for their Preacher, and to defend him: for when they had heard the Sermon, they were greatly offended with the Prior.

The confusion of Henry in his Vocation.

Hen. preacheth at Meldorph. The Citizens of Meldorph write in defence of their Preacher.

After Dinner *Henry* preached again, expounding the place of St. *Paul*, Rom. 15. *Debemus nos qui potentes sumus.* &c. *We ought which are strong.* &c. The next day the Citizens of *Meldorph* sent their Messengers unto *Heida* offering to answer in all Causes before all Men, for their Preacher, whom they have received. Besides that, the Messengers declared what Christian and godly Sermons they heard him preach. The Parish Priest also wrote Letters by the said Legats unto the forty eight Rulers, wherein he excused himself, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of the said *Henry* to move Sedition, but only sincerely to preach the Word of God, and offer himself ready to answer for the said *Henry* to all men, whensoever he should be called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the Monks, which being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the Truth: saying moreover, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned, before the Truth be tried out, and his cause declared; and if, after due Inquisition had, he should be convict, then he should take condign Punishment. This submission with the publick Testimonial was nothing esteemed or regarded, neither was there any answer given thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat. Last of all, one *Peter Detbleues*, one of the Seigniours, answered; That albeit there were divers Dissentions in every place about the Christian Faith, and that they as men ignorant could not redress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the Judgment of determining this Difference should be referred to the next Council, which by the report of Master Chancellor was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also until all Discord and Dissention should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their Neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the Word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the People, and that there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withstand or resist their good doings, but that the Presidents would with this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move Sedition, and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next, and by that time it should be appeased, what should be received, and what left undone. With this Answer they were all very well contented; and the Messengers returned again to *Meldorph* with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole Congregation what Answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Good Counsell of Peter Detbleues.

Upon St. *Nicholas* day, this *Henry* preached twice, first upon the Gospel, *Homo quidam nobilis*, &c. *A certain Noble man*, &c. Secondly upon this Text, *Plures facti sunt Sacerdotes*, &c. *There are many made Priests*, &c. with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a Preacher. Upon the day of the Conception of our Lady, he also made two Sermons upon the first Chapter of *Matthew*, expounding the Book of the Generation; wherein he rehearsed the Promises made by God unto our Forefathers, and under what Faith our Fathers, that then were, had lived; adding also, that all respect of Works being set apart, we must be justified by the same Faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of Spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great Mercy, that had sent them such a Preacher, desiring him moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmass to preach; for they feared left he should be sent for to some other place.

Luke 19. Heb. 7.

The Bishop and the Monks against Henry confederate against the Gospel.

In the mean space, the Prior and Master *John Schink* were not idle: for when the Prior perceived that his malicious Enterprise took no good success, he adjoyned unto him a Companion, *William* a Doctor of the *Jacobines*, and so went up to *Laudanum* to the Monks Franciscans, and Minors, for help and counsel. For those kinds of Friers above all others are best instruct by their Hypocrisie to deceive the poor and simple People. These Friers straightway sent for certain of the Rulers, which had all the Rule and Authority, and especially *Peter Hannus*, *Peter Swine*, and *Nicholaus Iodocus*; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great Complaints, what an Heretick Monk had preached, and how he had obtained the Favour almost of all the simple People; which if they did not speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the Heretick to death, it would come to pass, that shortly the honour of our Lady, and all Saints, together with the two Abbeys, should utterly come to ruine and decay.

The death of Henry confirmed by the Monks and Friers.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved. Whereunto *Peter Swine* answered thus, That they had before written unto the Parish Priest and to *Henry* what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. No, said the Prior, this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the Heretick, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared, left the contagion of his Heresie also do infect you, being unlearned men: for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him. Wherefore they finally determined to take this *Henry* by night, and burn him before the People should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan Friers. *Petrus Hannus* the Priors chief Friend, willing to get the chief Praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Master *Gunter*, did associate unto him certain other Rulers of the Towns near adjoyning, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected Praise and Glory. The Names of the Presidents were these, *Peter Hannus*. *Peter Swine*'s Son, *Henricke Londane*, *John Hoheus*, *Laurence Hanmemanus*, *Nicolas Wislingbourgus*, *Ambrose* and *John Brentlosius*, *Marquardus Kremmerus*, *Henfredanus Ludeus*, *Joannes Wisling*, and *Petrus Grosius*, President of *Hemingstate*. All these Presidents, and all other that were of Counsel to this pretence, assembled together in the Parish of the new Church, in the House of *M. Gunter*, where also the Chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said *Henry* secretly, coming upon him without any Judgment or Sentence. They concluded the next day after the Conception of our Lady, to meet at *Hemning*, which is five Miles from *Meldorph*, with a great Band of Husbandmen. This Determination thus made, they layed Scouts in every place, that there should no news of their pretensed Mischiefs come to *Meldorph*; commanding that as soon as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the Country, unto whom was declared the cause of their Assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; for before no man knew the cause of the Assembly, but only the Presidents. When the Husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing such a detestable and horrible deed. The Presidents with most bitter threats kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more courageous, they gave them three Barrels of *Hamborough* Beer to drink.

Adrunken Monks.

About midnight they came in Armour to *Meldorph*. Whereunto the Betrayer of the Preacher.

The Citizens of Breme perswade Henry not to go to Diethmar.

The causes moving Henry to go to Diethmar.

The Names of the Conspirators and Persecutors.

The Monks prepared Torches for them, to the intent that *Henry* should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false Betrayer, named *Hennegus*, by whose

whose Treason they had perfect knowledg of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the Parish Priest, breaking and spoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken People is. If they found either Gold or Silver they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the Parish Priest, and with great noise cried out, kill the Thief, Kill the Thief. Some of them took him by the hair of the Head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as Prisoner: Other some cryed out, saying, that the Parish Priest was not to be medled withal, for they had no Commission to take him. After they had satisfied their Lust upon the Parish Priest, with great Rage and Fury they ran upon *Henry*, and drawing him naked out of his Bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that *Peter Hannus*, which otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel Persecutor of the Word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to *John Balco*, who rather drew him by violence than led him: when he was brought to *Hemmingsted*, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to *Diedmar?* unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried out, Away with him, away with him; for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us also Heretickes. Then he, being marvellous weary and faint, required to be set on horse-back, for his Feet were all cut and hurt with the Ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, Must we hire an Horse for an Heretick, he shall go a foot whether he will or no? Because it was night they carried him naked to *Heida*. Afterward they brought him to a certain man's House named *Galden*, and bound him there with Chains in the Stocks. The Master of the house seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon *Henry*, would not suffer it to be done. Wherefore he was carried away to a Priests house, the Officials Servant of *Hamburgh*, and shut up in a Cupboard, and was kept by the rude People, which all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all other there came unto him, *Simon in Altennard*, and *Christian*, Parish Priest of the new Church, both alike ignorant and wicked Persecutors of the Word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy Habit? unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant Persons understood nothing what he said. *Mr. Gunterus* also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather to be sent to the Bishop of *Breme*, or receive his Punishment in *Diedmar?* unto whom *Henry* answered, If I have preached any thing contrary to God's Word, or done any wicked Act, it is in their hands to punish me therefore. *Gunterus* answered, Hark, I pray you good Friends, hark, he desireth to suffer in *Diedmar*. The common People all the night continued in immoderate drinking and swilling.

The Parish Priest violently taken in his house by night.

Henry taken and carried away of the Murderers.

Hee brought to Hemmingsted.

The cruel handling of Gods Martyr.

A drunken Consultation. Crucifie, Crucifie.

In the Morning about eight of the clock, they gathered together in the Market-place to consult what they should do: Where the rustical People boiling with drink, cried out, Burn him, Burn him, to the Fire with the Heretick. Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great Glory and Praise both of God and Man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce with his Heresie. What need many words? Sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good *Henry* without any Judgment (his Cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commanded the Crier to proclaim, That every man that was at the taking of him, should be ready in Armour to bring him forth to the Fire. Amongst all other the Friers Franciscans were present, incouraging the drunken rude People, saying, Now you go the right way to work. Then they bound the said *Henry*, Hands, Feet, and Neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the Fire. As he passed by, a certain Woman standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly. Unto whom *Henry* turning himself, said, I pray you weep not for me. When he came to the Fire, for very weakness he fate down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the Presidents named *Moy*, which was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose, he condemned the said *Henry* to be burned, pronouncing this Sentence upon him.

The bloody brood of Friers help forward. Hee brought forth to the fire.

Forasmuch as this Thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the Commandment and Sufferance of our Reverend Father in Christ, the Bishop of *Breme*, and my Lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with Fire. Unto whom *Henry* answered, I have done no such thing: and, lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, he said, O Lord forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy Name, O Almighty God, is holy.

K.Hen.8. A false Sentence of a corrupt Judge.

In the mean time a certain Woman, the Wife of one *Jungar*, Sister of *Peter Hannus*, offered her self to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that til that he might plead his matter before the whole Convocation of the Country. When they had heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the Woman down under feet, and trod upon her, and beat the said *Henry* unmercifully. One of the rustical sort struck him behind on the head with a sharp Daggar. *John Holmes* of the new Church struck him with a Mace. Other some thurst him in the Back, and in the Arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master *Gunter* cried out, incouraging them, saying, Go to boldly good Fellows, truly God is with us present.

The tender compassion of a godly Woman.

The Tyranny and Fury of the People against this blessed Martyr.

After this, he brought a Frinciscan Frier unto *Henry*, that he should be confessed. Whom *Henry* demanded in this manner; Brother, when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger? Never said the Frier. What should I then confess unto you, said he, that you think you might forgive me? The Frier, being moved at these words, departed. The fire as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding they fatished their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kind of Weapons. The said *Henry* standing in the mean time in his Shirt before all this rude people; at the last they having gotten a great Ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one struck him upon the Face with his Fist, saying, Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt. Then another treading upon his Breast, bound his Neck so hard to a step of the Ladder, that the Blood gushed out of his Mouth and Nose. This was done to strangle him without, for they saw that for all his fore Wounds he would not die.

Where the silence is not done to man, confession to him there needeth not.

The fire would not kindle.

The Martyrdom of Men, Sutphen.

After he was bound to the Ladder, he was set upright. Then one running unto him, set his Halbert for the Ladder to lean against (for those Countrymen use no common Hangman, but every man exerciseth the Office without difference) but the Ladder, slipping away from the point of the Halbert, caused that the Halbert struck him through the Body. Then they cast this good man, Ladder and all upon the Wood, which tumbling down, light upon the one side. Then *John Holmes* ran unto him, and struck him with a Mace upon the Breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterward they roasted him upon the Coals; for the Wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly Preacher finished his Martyrdom, which was *Anno* 1524. *Ex Epist. Mart. Lut.*

John Clerk taken for calling down Images.

The grievous Torments of John Clerk.

Ex Ep. Mart. Lut.

Divers Martyrs secretly drowned in rivers.

About the same time many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the Testimony of the Gospel, were thrown into the River of *Rhene*, and into other Rivers, where their Bodies afterward were found, and taken up. Also in the said Town of *Diedmar* another faithful Saint of God, named *John*, suffered the like Martyrdom. Thus these two *Anno* 1524. *Ex Epist. Mart. Lut.*

The Confancy of this blessed Martyr.

John of Diedmar Martyr.

At the Town of *Hala* likewise, another Preacher named *M. George*, for ministring in both kinds, was martyred and slain of a like sort of Cut-throats set up by the Monks and Friers to murder him, near to the Town called *Haschenburge*. *Ex Crisp. & Pantal.*

M. George of Hala Preacher in Saxony, Martyr.

At *Prague* also in *Bohemia* another, for changing his Monkery into Matrimony, did suffer in the like manner. *Ex Lud. Rab.*

Furthermore, in the same year of our Lord above-mentioned 1524, and the two and twentieth of *October*, the Town of *Miltenberg* in *Germany* was taken and ransackt, and divers of the Inhabitants were slain, and many imprisoned for

The Town of Miltenberg.

K.Hen.8. Gaster Tamber, George a Scrivener of Vienna, Martyrs.

for maintaining and keeping with them *Carolostadius* to be their Preacher: *Ex Rab. & Pantal.*

In the same Catalogue of holy Martyrs likewise is to be placed *Gaspar Tamber*. Also another called *Georgius*, a Scrivener, which both were burned at *Vienna* in *Austria*.

The lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk *of* Melden *in* France.

John Clerk or Melden, Martyr. John Clerk scourged for calling the Pope Antichrist.

John Clerk marked in the Forehead.

Melden is a City in *France*, ten miles distant from *Paris*, where *John Clerk* was first apprehended and taken, *Anno.* 1523, for setting up upon the Church-door a certain Bill against the Pope's Pardons lately sent thither from *Rome*, in which Bill he named the Pope to be Antichrist. For the which his Punishment was this, That three several days he should be whipped, and afterward have a Mark imprinted in his Forehead, as a note of Infamy. His Mother being a Christian Woman, altho her Husband was an Adversary, when she beheld her Son thus pitiously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the Face, constantly and boldly did incourage her Son, crying with a loud voice, Blessed be Christ, and welcome be their Prints and Marks

After this Execution and Punishment sustained, the said *John* departed that Town, and went to *Rosie* in *Bry*, and from thence removed to *Metz* in *Lothoring*, where he remained a certain space, applying his Vocation, being a Woollen-carder by his Occupation. Whereas he the day before that the People of that City should go out to the Suburbs to worship certain blind Idols near by (after an old use and custom amongst them received) being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the City to the place where the Images were, and brast them all down in pieces. The next morrow after when the Canons, Priests, and Monks, keeping their old Custom, had brought with them the people out of the City to the place of Idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their Blocks and Stocks almighty by broken upon the ground. At the sight whereof they being mightily offended in their minds, set all the City on a Gog, to search out the Author thereof, who was not hard to be found; forsomuch as this foresaid *Clerk*, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was also seen somewhat late in the Evening before to come from the same place into the City. Wherefore he being suspected and examined upon the same, at first confessed the Deed, rendring also the cause which moved him so to do. The People hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of Doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the Judges, wherein he defended the pure Doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of Execution, where he sustained extreme Torments. For first his Hand was cut off from his right Arm, then his Nose with sharp Pinsons was violently pluckt from his Face; after that both his Arms and his Paps were likewise pluckt and drawn with the same Instrument. To all them that stood looking on, it was an horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his Pains: again to behold his patience, or rather the Grace of God giving him the gift to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he indured in his Torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing the Verses of the hundred and fifteenth *Psalm*; *Simulacra eorum sunt argentum & aurum*, &c. *Their Images are Silver and Gold, the work only of man's hand*, &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent Body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed; which was about the year of our Lord, 1524. *Ex Pantal. & Crisp.*

John Castellane.

John Castellane, Doctor and Martyr.

THE year next ensuing, which was 1525, Master *John Castellane* born at *Tourney*, a Dr. of Divinity, after that he was called to the knowledg of God, and became a true Preacher of his Word, and had preached in *France*, in a place called *Barledus*, also at *Vitrey* in *Partesis*, at *Chalon* in *Champaine*, and in the Town of *Vike*, which is the Chamber and Episcopal Seat of the Bishop of *Metz* in *Lorain*, after he had laid some Foundation of the Doctrine of the Gospel in the Town of *Metz*, in returning from thence he was taken Prisoner by the Cardinal of *Lorain*'s Servants, by whom he was carried from *Gorze* to the Castle of *Nommenie*; whereupon the Citizens of *Metz* took no little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously offended to have their Preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the Cardinals Subjects, and kept them Prisoners so long, until the Abbat of St. *Anthonies* in *Viennois*, called *Theodore de Chamanes*, Vicar General, as well in Causes Spiritual as Temporal, through the Jurisdiction both of the Cardinal, and Bishoprick of *Metz*, *Toulouse* and *Verdune*, being furnished with an Officer and Commission from the See of *Rome*, came to the said Town of *Metz*; and after divers Declarations made to the Provost, and to the other Justices and Counsellors of the City, he so wrought and brought to pass, that immediately the said Subjects of the Cardinal were set at liberty: but *John Castellane* was kept still Prisoner in the Castle of *Nommenie*, and was most cruelly handled from the time of the fourth day of *May*, until the twelfth day of *January*: during all which he persevered constant in the Doctrine of the Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from *Nommenie* to the Town and Castle of *Vike*, always persevering constantly in the profession of the same Doctrine; so that they did proceed unto the Sentence of his Degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular Power, according to the custom and manner. And forsomuch as the form and manner of the Sentence and Process of degrading is notable, and hath been reported unto us word for word, we have thought good here to annex the same, to declare the horrible Blasphemies joyned with gross and brutish fibility, in those high Mysteries which the Enemies of the Truth do use in their Process against the Children of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may evidently perceive the horrible Blindness that these unshamefac'd Catholicks are blinded withal.

Wholdriven to the Castle of Nommenie, the Citizens of Metz took no little displeasure and grievance.

Dr. Castellane constant in his Doctrine.

The Sentence of Degradation.

The Sentence of the Degradation, &c. Its skin Regis Gallias

Concerning the Process inquisitory, formed and given in form of an Accusation against thee John Castellane, *Priest, and Religious Man of the Friers Eremites of the Order of St.* Austin; *understanding likewise thy Confession which thou hast made of thine own good Will, maintaining false and erroneous Doctrine; and marking also besides this the godly Admonitions, and charitable Exhortations which we made unto thee in the Town of* Metz, *which thou like unto the Serpent Aspis, hast refused and given no ear unto: Also considering thine Answers made and reiterate unto Interrogatories, by means of thine Oath, in the which devillishly thou hast hidden and kept back, not only the Truth, but also, following the example of* Cain, *hast denied to confess thy sins and mischievous offence: And finally, bearing the great number of Witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their Presents and Depositions diligently confidered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the Reverend Master* Nicolas Savin, *Doctor of Divinity, and Inquisitor of the Faith, Assistant unto us, hath entred Process against thee, and given full Information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated unto divers Masters and Doctors both of the Civil and Canon Laws here present, which have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that those* John Castellane *hast oftentimes, and in divers places openly and manifestly spread abroad, and taught many erroneous Propositions, full of the Heresie of* Luther, *contrary and against the Catholick Faith, and the Verity of the Gospel, and the holy Apostolick See, and so accursedly looked back, and turned thy face, that thou art found to be a Lyer before Almighty God. It is ordained by the sacred Rules of the Canon-Laws, that those which through the sharp Darts of their venomous Tongue do pervert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the Souls of the Faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp Correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of Christian Concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of Severity, as of Clemency. For these Causes and others rising upon the said Process, by the Apostolick Authority, and also the Authority of our said Reverend Lord the Cardinal, which we do use in this our Sentence definitive, which we sitting in our Judgment-seat declare in these Writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely*

considering, that what Measure we do meet unto others, the same shall be measured to us again: We pronounce and declare sentensially and definitively thee John Castellane, *being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy Deserts, to be excommunicate with the most great Excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of Treason against the Divine Majesty, and a mortal Enemy of the Catholick Faith, and Verity of the Gospel; also to be a manifest Heretick, and a Follower and Partaker of the execrable * cruelty of* Martin Luther, *a stirrer up of old Heresies already condemned: and therefore as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all Priestly Honour and Dignity, of all thy Orders, of thy shaving and religious Habit, also of thy Ecclesiastical Benefices, if thou hast any, and from all Priviledge of the Clergy: So we here presently do depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten Member, from the Communion and Company of all the faithful: And being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded: that done, we leave thee unto the secular Powers, committing the Degradation and actual Execution of this our Sentence unto the Reverend Lord and Bishop here present, with the Authority and Commandment aforesaid.*

Tru'y you say, for your sentence is death definitive, and therefore look you for the same measure again at Gods hand.

* If Luther be to be noted of Cruelty, which teacheth all men, and killeth no man, what then is to be noted in the Pope, which killeth all Gods Children and teacheth none?

This Sentence being thus ended with their Catholick Sermon also, the said Bishop of *Nicopolis* sitting in his *Pontificalibus* in the Judgment-seat, being Suffragan of *Metz*, with the Clergy, Nobles and People about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Mr. *John Castellane*. Thus the said Master *John Castellane* being prepared and made ready to his Degradation by the Officers of the said Bishop, was apparelled in his Priestly Attire, and afterward brought forth of the Chappel by the Priests which were thereunto appointed, with all his Priestly Ornaments upon him, and holding his hands together, the kneeled down before the Bishop. Then the Officers gave him the Chalice in his hands, with Wine and Water, the Patine, and the Host; all which things the said Bishop which degraded him, took from him, saying; We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all Power to offer Sacrifice unto God, and to say Mass, as well for the quick as the dead.

D. Castellane degraded.

Priests anointed Singers.

Moreover, the Bishop scraped the Nails of both his Hands with a piece of Glass, saying, By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy Hands. Then he took away from him the Chesil, saying; By good right we do dispoil thee of this Priestly Ornament, which signifieth Charity: for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all Innocency. Then taking away the Stole, he said: Thou hast villanously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this Stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the Office of Priesthood, and all other things appertaining to Priesthood. The Degradation of the order of Priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of Deacon. Then the Ministers gave him the Book of the Gospels, which the Bishop took away, saying; We take away from thee all power to read the Gospels in the Church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy. After this he spoiled him of the Dalmatike, which is the Vesture that the Deacons use, saying; We deprive thee of this Levitical Order; forsomuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy Ministry and Office. After this the Bishop took away the Stole from behind his back, saying; We justly take away from thee the white Stole which thou hadst received undefiledly, which also thou oughtest to have born in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the People delicate unto the name of Christ, may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the Office of Deaconship. Then they proceeded to the degrading of Subdeaconship, and taking away from him the Book of the Epistles, and his Subdeacon's Vesture, deposed him from reading of the Epistles in the Church of God: and so orderly proceeding unto all the other Orders, degraded him from the Order of Exorcist, from the Lectorship, and last of all, from the Office of Door-keeper, taking from him the Keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the Revestry, nor to ring any more Bells in the Church. That done, the Bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his Surplice, said unto him; By the Authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our Authority we take away from thee all Clarkly Habit, and despoil thee of all Ornament of Religion: Also we do depoile and degrade thee of all Order, Benefit and Priledg of the Clergy, and as one unworthy of that Profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular State. Then the Bishop took the Sheers and began to clip his head, saying in this manner. We cast thee out as an unthankful Child of the Lord's Heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the Crown,

K.Hen.8. The Chesil.

The Stole.

The Gospel-Book.

The Dalmatike.

The Stole behind his back.

The Epistle-Book.

Benet and Collet.

Exorcist.

Lectorship.

Door-keeper.

The Church-door Keys.

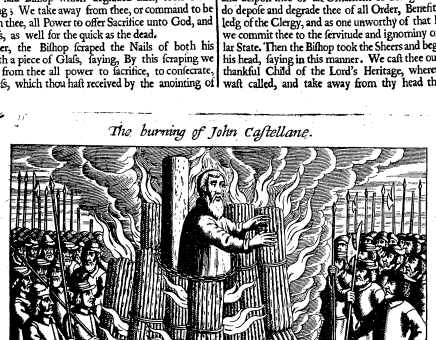
Ringing of Bells.

The Surplice.

The Popes Clergy accounteth the secular State ignominious and servile.

The royal sign of Priesthood.

The burning of John Castellane.



which

K.Hen.8.

which is the Royal sign of Priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The Bishop also added these words: That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work, wherefore we take from thee the Office of singing in the Church of God.

Singing in the Church.

The degrading thus ended, the Procurator Fiscal of the Court and City of *Metz*, required of the Notary an Instrument or Copy of the degrading: then the Ministers of the Bishop turned him out of his clerkly Habit, and put upon him the Apparel of a secular Man. That done, forasmuch as he which is degraded according to the institution of Pope *Innocent* the third, ought to be delivered unto the secular Court, the Bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner; We pronounce that the secular Court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerkly honour and privilege.

This done, the Bishop, after a certain manner, intreated the secular Judg for him, saying, My Lord Judg, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pitty and mercy, and for the respect of our Prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable Man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his Body. These things thus done, the secular Judg of the Town of *Vike*, confirming the forefaid Sentence, condemned the forelaid Mr. *John Castellane* to be burned quick: which death he suffered the twelfth day of *January*, 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledg of the Verity, but also a great number, which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.

Note here those Persecutors, how they will seem outwardly to be Lambs, but inwardly are ravening Wolves.

Joannes Diazius, *a Spaniard, Martyr, killed of his own Brother in* Neoberge *in* Germany, Anno 1546.

The cruel murthering of John Diazius.

OF this *John Diazius*, the full Process and Historie is set forth in Latin, wherein the whole circumstance is debated at large, whereof the brief sum is this; *John Diazius*, a Spaniard born, first being at *Paris* thirteen years, from thence returned to *Geneva*, then to *Basil*, and after to *Strasburg*: from whence he was sent Embassador with *Bucer* and others, to the Council at *Ratisbone*; where he talking with *Peter Malvenda* his Country-man, the Pope's Factor, so declared his Religion unto him, that *Malvenda* wrote to the Frier, which was the Emperor's Confessor, touching the said *John Diazius*: at the opening and reading of which Letters, one *Marquina* another Spaniard was present. Upon this it followed, whether by this Confessor, or by *Marquina*, that *Alphonsius Diazius*, Brother to *John Diazius*, which was one of the Pope's Lawyers in *Rome*, had knowledg given him of his Brother *John*.

The Emperors Confessor.

Alphonsius Diazius came from Rome to kill his Brother.

When the communication of *Ratisbone* was dissolved and broken up, *John Diazius* from *Ratisbone*, went to the City of *Neoberge*, within the Dominion of *Otto Henry* Palatine, about the expedition of *Bucer*'s Book there to be printed. As *John Diazius* was there occupied, it was not long but *Alphonsius* his Brother was come from *Rome* to *Ratisbone*, where *Malvenda* was, bringing with him a pestilent Cut-throat, a notorious Ruffian or Homicide, belonging to the City of *Rome*. *Malvenda* and *Alphonsius*, consulting together about the dispatch of their devilish purpose, first laboured to hunt out by the Friends of *Diazius*, where *Diazius* was; whereof *Alphonsius* and the Homicide having knowledg by certain of his secret Friends, pretending great matters of importance, came to *Neoberge*, where *Diazius* was printing of *Bucer*'s Book: where after long debating of Matters of Religion between the two Brethren, *Alphonsius* seeing the heart of his Brother *John* to be so constantly planted on the sure Rock of God's Truth, that by no wise he could either be removed from his Opinion, or perswaded to ride in his Company (being otherwise counseled by *Bucer* and his Friends) feined himself friendly to take his leave of his Brother and to depart: But shortly after, secretly with his ruffianly murtherer he returned again, and by the way they bought a certain Hatchet of a Carpenter.

This done, *Alphonsius* sendeth his Man, being disguised, with Letters unto his Brother, he himself following after. As *John Diazius* in the morning was risen out of his Bed to read the Letters, the wretched Hangman with his Hatchet, clove his Head unto the Brains, leaving the Hatchet in his Head; and so he with *Alphonsius* took them to their Horses, which stood without the City Gate, with as much speed as they might. They of *Neoberge*, hearing of the horrible Act, sent out certain Horsemen, making great journies after them. Who coming to *Augusta*, and hearing the Murderers to be passed before, were out of hope to overtake them, and so returned. One in the Company, more zealous than the rest, would not return, but pursued them still, and in the City of *Oenipont*, caused them to be stayed and put in Prison. *Otto* Palatine, hearing of their taking, writeth to the Magistrates of *Oenipont* for Judgment. Which Magistrates at first seemed very willing thereunto: But in conclusion, through the practice of Papists, and crafty Lawyers, the Sentence judicial was so delayed, from day to day, then from hour to hour, that the Emperor's Letters came in post-haste, requiring the Matter to be staid, and reserved to his hearing. And thus the terrible murder of *Cain* and his Fellow, was boulstered out by the Papists. The like whereof, from the memory of Men, was never heard of, since the first example of *Cain*, which for Religion slew his own Brother *Abel*. But altho true Judgment in this World be perverted, yet such bloody *Cains*, with their wilful murder, shall not escape the hands of him, who shall judg truly both the Committers, and the Bolsterers also of all mischievous wickedness. *Ex Claud. Senac.*

John Diazius slain by his own Brother.

God will have murther known.

Cain first killeth Abel.

Anno 1546, *Charles* the Emperor held an armed-Council at *Augusta*, after his Victory gotten in *Germany*. Where *Julius Pflug*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *John Ilsbius*, going about to concord together the Gospel of Christ, with the Traditions of the Pope, that is, to make a hodg-potch of them both, drew and framed out a new form of Religion, called *Interim*. Whereupon began a new matter of Persecution in *Germany*. For the Emperor proceeded straitly against them which would not receive his *Interim*, intending thereby to have wrought some great mastery against the Gospellers, but the Lord difappointed his purpole.

Interim.

Among them which withstood this Spanish *Interim*, besides others, were also the Citizens of *Constantia*. For the which three thousand Spaniards, privily by night, came against the Town of *Constance*, where they killed three of the Watchmen of the Town, which watching in the Suburbs, went forth to view the noise which they heard in the Woods. The device of the Spaniards was, in the morning when the Citizens were at the Sermon, suddenly to set upon the City and take it; so, no doubt, intending to have gone further. But, as the Lord would, something began to be suspected in the Night, by the Watchmen on the Suburbs on the other side the Water, whereby the Council and Citizens had intelligence to be in readiness. When the morning came, the Spaniards were ready at the Gate to break into the City. But being driven from thence, and their Captain *Alphonsus* slain, they went to the Bridg which goeth over the *Rhine*. But being beaten also from thence with shot, and great Pieces from the Walls, and a great number of them drowned in the River, the Spaniards breaking down the hinder part of the Bridg, because the Citizens should not pursue them, they recoiled back into the Suburbs, and burned them with the dead Bodies also that were slain, so that the number of the Spaniards that were killed could not be known: Only an hundred of honest Citizens were missing. *Ex Joan. Sleid. Lib. 21.*

The assaults of the Spaniards against the City of Constance.

At the same time many godly Ministers of the Churches in *Germany*, were in great danger, especially such as refused to receive the *Interim*: of whom some were cast into Prison. In which number of Prisoners, was *Martin Frecitius*, Superintendent of *Ulme*, with four other Preachers more: also his Brother *George*, for coming but to his house to comfort him. For the which cause *Musculus* the same time, with other Preachers more, went from *Ausburg*, *Brentius* from *Hala*, *Blaurerus* from *Constance*, *Bucer* from *Strasburg*.

It would find another Volume, to comprehend the Acts and Stories of all them, which in other Countries, at the rising of the Gospel, suffered for the same. But praised be the Lord, every Region almost hath his own History-writer, which sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own Country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the lesse need to overthrain my travel, or to overcharge this Volume therewith. Only it shall suffice me to collect three or four Histories, recorded by *Occolampadius* and the rest, to bring into a brief Table, and so return to occupy my self with our own Domestical Matters here done at home.

The History of a good Pastor, murthered for preaching of the Gospel: Written by John Occolampadius.

A good Priest murthered for evil will.

IN the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly Minister, who had committed something in the commotion there raised by the rustical Clowns of the Country, which, they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He because he had offended his Prince before-time with any fact or crime but with some word something sharply spoken, was therfore condemned to be hang'd.

After Sentence was given, there was a Gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of Men to apprehend the said Priest, and to hang him. Who, coming into his house, saluted him friendly, pretending as tho their coming had been to make good cheer; for he was a good House-keeper, and the Gentlemen of the Country thereabours used oft-times to resort unto his house familiarly. This Priest made ready for them in short space a very sumptuous Banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very chearfully. After Dinner was ended, and that the Priest was yet at the Table thinking no hurt, the Gentleman said to his Servants, take you this Priest our Host and hang him, and that without delay; for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed against his Prince. The Servants were marvellously astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their Master, God forbid that we should commit any such crime, to hang a Man that hath intreated us so gently: for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a Nobleman to render so great an evil for a good turn; but especially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the Servants fought no other occasion, but only to give him way to fly, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

Unpreteasis in a Gentleman.

As the Gentleman and his Servants were thus contending, the Priest said unto them, I beseech you shew no such cruelty upon me, rather lead me away captive unto my Prince, where I may purge my self. I am falsly accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever shewed to you, and all Noblemen at all times resorting to my house. But principally speaking to the Gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual thing which would follow upon an evil Conscience: protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the Doctrine of the Gospel, and that was the principal cau'e why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, for so much as he had oftentimes in the Pulpit reproved sharply and openly the horrible Vices of the Gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious living, and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should shew example of Faith, true Religion, and Soberness, but they had oftentimes resisted him, saying, that it was not his part to reprove them, for so much as they were his Lords, and might put him to death if they would: for all things which they did were allowable, and that no Man ought to gainsay it: also that he went about some things in his Sermons, that would come to an evil end.

Many things may be pretended, but Religion is ever the cause why good Men go to wrack.

This good Man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter seem good; for the Gentleman continued in his wicked enterprize, and pricked forth his Servants still to accomplish their purpose: for it was resolved by the Prince, that he should be put to death, and turning himself unto the Priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort. but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the Prince had given expresse commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose to save his life.

Kindness unkindly rewarded with unkindness.

At last the Servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their Host, and hanged him upon a Beam in his own house, the Gentleman standing by and looking upon. K.Hen.8

This good Man, seeing no remedy, spake none other words but only, Jesus have mercy upon me: Jesus save me. This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would scarcely have committed against his mortal Enemy. Now let every Man judg with himself, which of them have the greateit advantage, either they which commit the cruelty against the good, or the good Men which do suffer the same unjustly. The first fort have a continual gnawing in their Conscience, and the other obtain an immortal Crown.

The like History of the death of a certain Minister, named M. Pet. Spengler, *which was drowned in the year of our Lord* 1525; *collected by* Occolampadius.

A desription of a good Minister of Curat.

IN a certain Village named *Schlat*, in the Country of *Brisgoit*, there was a vigilant Minister, a Man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his Office and Duty, being alsо courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of Men, but especially of the Bishop of *Constance* with whom he was in great Authority, peaceable and quiet with all Men that he had to do withal. He quieted Discords and Contentions with a marvellous prudency, exhorting all Men to mutual charity and love. In all Assemblies wheresoever he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the Gospel began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the Holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, being also further grown in age, he began to consider with himself, in how great darkness and errors the whole Order of Priests had been a long time drowned. O good God, said he, who would have thought it, that so many learned and holy Men have wandred out of the right way, and could have so long time been wrapped in so great Errors, or that the Holy Scripture could have been so deformed with such horrible abuses: for he never well understood before, he said, that the Gospel was the Verity of God, in that order, wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the Cross, Persecution, and Ignominious death; and yet the Priests lived in great prosperity, and no Man durst maintain any quarrel against them without danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the Gospel should be display'd, that Persecution was at hand, that the Enemies of the Truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprize and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the Faithful, that the Bishops, which ought by their vertue and power to defend the Word, were more barbarous and cruel than any Tyrants had been before. He, thus considering the present estate of the World, put all doubt from his heart, and saw prefently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the Truth, seeing so many Bodies of the Faithful were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments, which the innocent have indured these years passed, even by those which call themselves Christians, and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good Pastor considering with himself the Laws and Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* to swerve from the truth of Christ, especially in refraining Marriage: to the end that he would not defile himself with Fornication, he married a Maid of his, such an one as feared God, by whom afterward he had many fair Children.

The Gospel teacheth no rebellion.

The Cross discerneth between true Christians & counterfeit. He that desireth to live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. 2 Tim. 3.

About this time the People of the Country had raised a great Commotion, who in their rage went to Monasteries, and Priests houses, as if they had taken in hand some Pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast under feet, or carried it away with them. One Company of this rustical fort lodged themselves in the house of this good Priest: for they made no difference between the good and the bad. These Roysters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, insomuch as they took away

A Commotion of the Boors.

K.Hen.8. away the very Hose from his Legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently intreated them, shewing that it was Theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madness like Beasts.

As they were departing out of the house, the good Priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to your selves. For what madness is this? what meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between Friend and Foe? Who thus stirreth you up? what counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like Thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, raven, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment. What sedition did ever come to good end? You pretend the Gospel, and have no peace of the Gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses, said he, ye never learned of me, who ever have taught you the true Word of God. This your Gospel, said he, is rather the Gospel of the Devil than of God, which vexeth all the World with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true Gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all Men, to avoid differences and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, which will never suffer these Evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the Gospel, *That which thou wouldest not should be done to thee, do not to other.* You offend also the Nobility, and your lawful Magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up Sedition, to stir up other, and to disturb the state of the Common-wealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your Noblemen do? Shall they not rifle you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich, and then shall one of you betray another. These with such other words he flood preaching unto them, almost naked, but all this would not prevail with those Men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him old Dotard. Amongst all other, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner: O Master Curate, we have been long deceived by your telling of Masses, by fearing us with Purgatory, by your Dirges and Trentals, and so have we been spoiled: wherefore we do nothing now, but require again the Money which you robbed us of. And so mocking and scorning him, they departed.

Cruelty and sedition never cometh to good end.

After that this Sedition of the Peasants was partly appeased, their Armor being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that Conspiracy were taken here and there in the Villages, and executed: this good Pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the Gospel, whereat many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain Souldiers, which bound him hand and foot with a great Rope, before his Wife and Children, and so fet him upon a Horse, and led him away to *Friburg*. What grievous sighs, tears, sorrow, and lamentation was there! It would have moved any heart, (were it as hard as Flint) to a doleful compassion, especially to see the barbarous and despiteful rebukes, taunts, and extreme cruelty shewed by these proud Popish Souldiers against the innocent Priest. Such beastly Tyrants the World is never without. Such godly Ministers we have had but a few.

Cruelty without cause.

The People, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the Men, but only the Women, whom the Souldiers willed to go home again, and that their Men should come forth and keep the Town, but their Men durst not appear. Then from *Friburg* shortly after they conveyed him to *Enstheim*.

After they had long kept this Man in Prison, and that he had endured most terrible Torments, as well by the Privy-members, as in other parts, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, That he had married a Wife secretly in his own House with a few Witnesses. Other Crimes they had none to object against him, neither that he was a seditious and wicked Man, nor that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked Persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his Sermons the order and manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of Execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all Men that came to comfort him. But there were divers Monks and Priests which troubled him very fore with their foolish babling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God, seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying, that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. And I, said he, shall be an acceptable Sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who in this behalf hath given me a good and quiet Conscience. Now therefore let them which thirst for innocent Blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and know that they offend even him unto whom it pertaineth truly to judg the hearts of Men; for it is said, *Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.* And forsomuch as he was a very lean Man, he added this moreover, saying, It is all one, for shortly I must have forsaken this Skin which already scarcely hangeth to my Bones; I know well that I am a mortal and a corruptible Worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my requeit that I might be delivered out of this mortal Body, to be joined with my Saviour Jesus Christ.

Rom. 12.

I have deserved, through my manifold Sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my Cross; and my Saviour Christ hath born the Cross, and hath died upon the Cross; and for my part I will not glory in any other thing, but only in the Cross of Jesus Christ.

This blessed martyr drowned.

There were present by certain naughty Persons which could not endure to hear this godly Exhortation, but made a sign unto the Hangman to cast him down into the River. After he was thrown down, he moved by a certain space in the Water, in such fort that the River wherein he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent Blood was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonied, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every man returned home pensive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding no Man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the Town of *Enstheim*, *An.* 1525.

The water miraculously coloured with blood where he was drowned.

These things I did understand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins. *Ex Occolamp.*

Such vras the wickedneis then of those days, and yet is still, that whosoever vvas perceived to favour the Gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the Pope's Church, he vvas hated and despited of the Rulers, Lavvyers, and all other Papists through the whole Country about, but especially of Priests, Monks, and Friars. And tho the life of the Gospellers were never so found and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the Pope's Friends against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rustical People of the Country rising in armour inordinately against their Rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole Country of *Germany*, and no less to their own destruction, of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length when this Rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the Pope's friends, to work their malice against the Gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be Gospellers and Protestants. And altho the said Gospellers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not, for causes were made, false witnes brought, corrupt Judges subomned to condemn the innocent, and many were put to death, their cause being neither heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom; in the number of whom was this poor Man also, whose Story by *Occolampad.* is thus described.

Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to death, collected by the said John Oecolampadius.

Ex Jo. Oecol.

THere was, saith he, a certain Man of the Country, which in my judgment was a good Man, and a lover of Justice, and a mortal Enemy of all the cruel Exactions of the Gentlemen, which oppressed the poor People. This Man, after the Tumult and Commotion of the Country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented because he had cried an Alarm, when as a great number of Horsemen ranged about the Country to seek out those which had been the Authors of that Sedition. This poor Man was taken by Policy, and so upholden with fair Promises, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into Prison, whereas he was long time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him: but after he had carried a long time in prison, they put him to the Pinbank, laying divers and many grievous Offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the Truss of the Cord the space of six hours, hanging a great Stone fattened at his feet.

The truss of the cord is a certain hanging up by the hands behind, having a weighty stone fastned at their feet.

The Sweat that dropped from his Body for very pain and anguish, was almost Blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the Tormentors Hearts. When as all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor Man lay even as a Stock, not moving any part or member of his Body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the Tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the Man, whom they fought by all means to destroy, in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

Amongst them there was one which brought Vinegar and Rose-water, and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After that they had caused him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep Dungeon, where he could see neither Sun nor Moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain Articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of Torments, to the intent they might even of force extort something of this poor Man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after these Tyrants hired a Hangman, (a Man sure worthy of his Office) which left no kind of Cruelty unpractised. Yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his Cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the Man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous Torments. But these Tyrants came again the fourth time, and subborned two Witnesses against him, this concluding, that he was worthy of death because he had cried Alarm after the Truce was taken, and would have moved a new Sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the Hangman and a Friar into the Prison.

The Innocent Man again tormented.

False Witness.

In the mean time this poor Man thought with himself, that they would have shewed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the Dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison.

He had rather chuse to die in Prison than to come to the Papists hands.

Then they let down a Cord and a Staff, but they could not perswade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather chuse to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel Torments; Notwithstanding, if they would promise not to put him any more to the Truss of the Cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just Judges, on that condition he would come out, altho he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his Life in that Dungeon. There were present certain Councellors which promised to perform his Request; and thereupon he was taken out of the Dungeon. As soon as he saw the Friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, O miserable and wretched Man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived, for my latter hour is at hand: I see well the Dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard. The Friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a woodden Cross out of his Sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. Poor Man (said the Friar) thou hast had good and gentle Judges, at the least thou shalt go to God, therefore confess thy Sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go strait to the Kingdom of Heaven. The poor Man answered, Thou wicked Friar, get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my Sins and Offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his Majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy Absolution, which thou thy self dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldest have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical Life. I know well enough what thou art, thou playest the Ape with me, but thou hast a subtil and a crafty Heart, which hath deceived much simple People. If thou hast any Comfort or Consolation out of the Gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy Portuis. The Friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The Hangman, being wiser than the Friar, bad him read unto the poor Man something of the Passion, wherein the poor Man would take great pleasure. This foolish Friar had no other consolation to comfort him withal, but to hold the Crucifix of Wood before him, saying, Behold thy Saviour which died for thee, look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted. Then said the poor Man, I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thou away from me, thou naughty Person, with thy Marmoset of Wood; My Saviour dwelleth in Heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my Soul to eternal death. The Friar crossed himself, shewing the semblance of a Man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor Man was fallen into desperation. Then was he led forth into the Market-place, where according to the custom, openly before all the People, his Confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the Man had been a seditious Person, and that in the time of Truce he had cried Alarm, even in the night, when all Men were at rest.

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The Christian poor Man refuseth the Friars wooden Cross.

The Crucifix of Wood falsly called a Saviour.

The Innocent Man condemned for ill will.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with Gleves and Halberds hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's Prayer, the Hangman bid him kneel down, but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the People, thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked Judges. Those (said he) which know me, shall be sufficient good Witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury.

Nihil peccavit egnius, sed lupus sitivit.

In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when as all ways both of God and Man are turned topsy turvy. I was adherent to the Tumult and Sedition of the Men of the Country, as many other were which dwell thereabout; but what then? Are not there also many Gentlemen which followed the Peasants Army, and many strong Towns which went also with them? I was not the Author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any Man to move any Broil or Tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our Gentlemen what we should do, when the Bands of the Peasants were assembled in the Fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of my self, I did never understand or know what the Articles were that were published, neither was there ever any Man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the Bands of the Countrymen were risen, neither wherefore every Man moved his Neighbour to put on Armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious Man, and made me to endure so great Torments? He continued a long time in declaring his Innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the Hangman drew his Sword, and

The false promises of the Papists not to be trusted.

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This liberal Martyr beheaded.

and at the commandment of the Judg struck off his head, as he had made an end of his Prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good Man of the Country ended his days, against whom the false Judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those which suffer for his name. *Ex Joan. Oecolampad.*

Wolfgangus Schuch a German in *Lotharing*, Martyr.

The Story and Martyrdom of Wolfgangus Schuch.

WOlfgangus Schuchius, coming to a certain Town in *Lotharing*, (bearing the name of St. *Hyppolitus*, and being recived in the said Town to be their Pastor, laboured by all means how to extirp out of the hearts of the People Idolatry and Superstition. Which, through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to pass according to his desire: insomuch that the observation of Lent, Images, and all Idols, with the abomination also of the Mass, in the same Town was utterly abolished: so reformable God made the Hearts of the People there, and such affection had they to their Minister. It was not long but the rumor thereof came to the hearing of Duke *Anthony*, Prince of *Lorain*, (under whose dominion they were) through the swift report of the Adversaries, falsly belying their *Hippolitans* to the Duke; as tho they, in relinquishing the Doctrine and Faction of the Pope, went about to reject and shake off all Authority and Power of Princes, and all superior Governors. By the means of which smister report they incensed the Prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatned to subvert and uttetly to destroy the Town with Sword and Fire. *Wolfgangus*, having word of this, wrote unto the Duke his Uncle in most humble and obedient wise, in defence both of his Ministry, of his Doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the Gospel.

False and pernicious Tongues.

The Duke of Lorain threateneth the Town of St. Hippolitus.

The Letter of Wolfgangus to the Duke.

In which Epistle first he excused the People to be innocent and blameless, and said that those slanderous reporters were rather worthy to be blamed and also punished for their false rumors and forged slanders raised up against them. And that he opened and explained the cause and state of the Gospel, and of our Salvation, consisting only in the free Grace of God, through Faith in Christ his Son, comparing also the same Doctrine of the Gospel with the confused Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*.

That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to Princes here and Potestates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in Earth; unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times prest and most ready to obey with all service and duty, &c.

But with this Epistle *Wolfgangus* did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adversary part took more effect to win credit with the Duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon *Wolfgangus*, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the Town should come in any danger for his cause, the good Man, I say, of his own accord came to the City of *Nancy*, (which is the head-Town of *Lorain*) there to render a Confession of his Doctrine, and also to deliver the Town of St. *Hippolite* out of peril, deriving all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinently hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a strait and stinking Prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled under custody of the churlish and cruel Keepers. All this notwithstanding, *Wolfgangus*, continuing in that Prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the straitness of the Prison, nor with the hardness of his Keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his Wife and Children, which he had about six or seven. Then was he had to the House of the Gray-Friars, to profess there his Faith, where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood against him.

The constancy of Wolfgangus unmoveable.

Wolfgangus led to the Grey-Friars.

Wolfgangus confuteth his Adversaries.

There was a Friar named *Bonaventure*, Provincial of that Order, of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind Ignorance, and a Man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honesty; who being long Confessor to the Duke, and of great authority in *Lorain*, as he was an Enemy to Vertue and Learning, so was he ever persuading the Duke to banish out of the Court and Country of *Lorain* all learned Men; neither could he abide any Person which seemed to know more than his Elders knew before. The sum of all his Divinity was this, That it was sufficient to Salvation only to know the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*. And thus was the Duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the Duke himself oft-times

A right description of a fierce stirring Cyclops.

The Burning of Wolfgangus.

in

in talk with his familiars would confess. This *Bonaventure* being chief Judg and Moderator where *Wolfgangus* disputed, or was examined, had nothing elſe in his mouth, but *Thou Heretick, Judas, Beelzebub,* &c. *Wolfgangus* beating patiently thoſe private Injuries which pertained to himſelf, proceeded mightily in his diſputation by the Scriptures, confuting or rather confounding his Adverſaries; who being not otherwiſe able to make their party good, yet for very ſhame, becauſe they would not ſeem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the Margin into their Monaſtery, and burned it. At the laſt diſputation Duke *Anthony* himſelf was faid to be there, altering his apparel becauſe he would not be known, who, albeit he underſtood not the ſpeech of *Wolfgangus* ſpeaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and conſtant in his doctrine, departing from the diſputation, gave ſentence that he ſhould be burned, becauſe he denied the Church, and Sacrament of the Maſs. Whereupon it followed ſhortly after that *Wolfgangus* was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the ſentence of his condemnation, began to ſing the 122 Pſalm, *Lætatus ſum in his quæ dicta ſunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus,* &c.

The diſputations of Wolfgangus with the Friars.

The ſentence given upon Wolfgangus by the Duke, not knowing what Wolfgangus did.

As he was led to the place of Execution, paſſing by the Houſe of the Gray-Friars, *Bonaventure* the great *Cyclops* ſitting at the door, cried out to him, *Thou Heretick, do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy Saints*; ſhewing to him the Idols ſtanding at the Friars Gate. To whom *Wolfgangus* anſwered again, Thou Hypocrite, thou painted Wall, the Lord ſhall deſtroy thee, and bring all thy falſe diſſimulation unto light. When they were come to the place of his Martyrdom, firſt his Books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they aſked him, whether he would have his pain miniſhed and ſhortned? to whom he ſaid, No, bidding them to do their will: for (ſaid he) as God hath been with me hitherto, ſo I truſt now he will not leave me when I ſhould have moſt need of him, concluding his words thus, that they ſhould put the ſentence in execution: and ſo beginning to ſing the one and fiftieth Pſalm, he entred into the place heaped up with Faggots and Wood, continuing in his Pſalm, and ſinging till the Smoak and the Flame took from him both voice and life.

Note the quiet and joyful death of this bleſſed Martyr.

The ſingular vertue, conſtancy and learning of this bleſſed Man, as it refreſhed and greatly edified the hearts of many good Men, ſo it aſtoniſhed as much the minds of his Adverſaries, and wrought to their confuſion. For ſhortly after his death, the Commendator of St. *Anthony* of *Vienna*, who ſate as ſpiritual Judg over him, and gave ſentence of his condemnation, fell ſuddenly down and died. Alſo his Fellow, which was Abbot of *Clarilocus*, and Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Mentz* ſuddenly at the coming of the Dutcheſs of *Denmark*, into the City of *Nancy*, ſtrucken with ſudden fear at the crack of Guns, fell down and died, as they which were preſent and ſaw it, have made faithful relation of the ſame. *Anno* 1525. *Ex Ludov. Rabo & Pantal.*

The laſt Judgement of God upon Perſecutors.

John Huglein, Martyr.

John Huglein Martyr. Ex Com. Sleid. lib. 6.

OF *John Huglein*, Prieſt, mention is made in the Commentaries of *John Sleid. in lib. 6.* who the next year following, *Anno* 1526, was burned at *Merſpurg* by the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, for that he did not hold the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Doctrine in all points.

Moreover, beſides other matters in this year occurrent, here is alſo a *Memorandum* to be made to all poſterity, that in this preſent year 1526, unto *John Frederick*, Son and Heir to the Prince and Elector of *Saxony*, was promiſed the Lady *Katherine*, the Emperor's younger Siſter in marriage, and Writings were made of the ſame. But when the alteration of Religion was ſent by God's providence into *Saxony*, they ſwerved from their Covenants; and *Hawnart*, which was then the Emperor's Embaſſador in *Germany*, faid plainly that there was no promiſe to be kept with Hereticks; wherein they ſeemed to follow well the footſteps of the Council of *Conſtance*, as before you have partly heard in the ſtory of *John Hus*, and of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*.

Promiſe of marriage broken with John Frederick Duke of Saxony.

The Pope's Church keeps no promiſe to Hereticks.

George Carpenter of *Emering*, Martyr, burned in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*.

K.Hen.8

George Carpenter, Martyr.

THE 8th day of *February*, in the year of our Salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and ſpectacle in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, which was this: A certain Man named *George Carpenter* of *Emering* was there burnt. When he was ſet out of the Priſon called *Falken-Tower*, and led before the Council, divers Friars and Monks followed him, to inſtruct and teach him, whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the Council, his offences were read, contained in four Articles.

Articles laid againſt George Carpenter.

Firſt, That he did not believe that a Prieſt could forgive a Man's Sins.

Secondly, That he did not believe that a Man could call God out of Heaven.

Thirdly, That he did not believe that God was in the Bread which the Prieſt hangeth over the Altar, but that it was the Bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, That he did not believe that the very Element of the Water it ſelf in Baptiſm doth give grace.

Which four Articles he utterly refuſed to recant. Then came unto him a certain Schoolmaſter of St. *Peter* in the Town of *Munchen* in *Bavaria*, ſaying unto him, My Friend *George*, doſt thou not fear the death and puniſhment which thou muſt ſuffer? If thou wert let go, wouldeſt thou return to thy Wife and Children? Whereunto he anſwered, If I were ſet at liberty, whither ſhould I rather go, than to my Wife and well-beloved Children? Then ſaid the Schoolmaſter, Revoke your former ſentence and opinion, and you ſhall be ſet at liberty. Whereunto *George* anſwered: My Wife and my Children are ſo dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and poſſeſſions of the Duke of *Bavaria*; but for the love of my Lord God I will willingly forſake them. When he was led to the place of execution, the Schoolmaſter ſpake unto him again in the midſt of the Market-place, ſaying, Good *George*, believe in the Sacrament of the Altar; do not affirm it to be only a ſign. Whereunto he anſwered, I believe this Sacrament to be a ſign of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt offered upon the Croſs for us. Then ſaid the Schoolmaſter moreover, What doſt thou mean, that thou doſt ſo little eſteem Baptiſm, knowing that Chriſt ſuffered himſelf to be baptized in *Jordan*? Whereunto he anſwered, and ſhewed what was the true uſe of Baptiſm, and what was the end why Chriſt was baptized in *Jordan*, and how neceſſary it was that Chriſt ſhould die and ſuffer upon the Croſs, wherein only ſtandeth our Salvation. The ſame Chriſt (ſaid he) will I confeſs this day before the whole World; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.

George Carpenter perſuaded to recant.

The love of God preferred before wife, children, and liberty.

The Sacrament a ſign of the Lord's Body.

Baptiſm.

After this came unto him one Maſter *Comrade Schuter*, the Vicar of the Cathedral Church of our Lady in *Munchen*, a Preacher, ſaying: *George*, if thou wilt not believe the Sacrament, yet put all thy truſt in God, and ſay, I truſt my cauſe to be good and true, * but if I ſhould err, truly I would be ſorry and repent. Whereunto *George Carpenter* anſwered, God ſuffer me not to err, I beſeech him. Then ſaid the Schoolmaſter unto him, Do not put the matter in that hazard, but chuſe unto you ſome good Chriſtian Brother, Maſter *Comrade*, or ſome other, unto whom thou may eſt reveal thy Heart; not to confeſs thy ſelf, but to take ſome godly counſel of him. Whereunto he anſwered, Nay not ſo, for it would be too long. Then Maſter *Comrade* began the Lord's Prayer: *Our Father which art in Heaven*; whereunto *Carpenter* anſwered, Truly thou art our Father, and no other, this day I truſt to be with thee. Then Maſter *Comrade* went forward with the Prayer, ſaying, *Hallowed be thy Name. Carpenter* anſwered, O my God, how little is thy Name hallowed in this World? Then ſaid *Comrade*, *Thy Kingdom come. Carpenter* anſwered, Let thy Kingdom come this day unto me, that I alſo may come unto thy Kingdom. Then ſaid *Comrade*, *Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven. Carpenter* anſwered, For this cauſe, O Father, am I now here that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine. Then ſaid *Comrade*, *Give us this day our daily Bread. Carpenter* anſwered, the only living Bread Jeſus Chriſt ſhall be my food. Then ſaid *Comrade*, *And forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. Carpenter* anſwered,

* Mark here theſe fabulous Serpents, which when they cannot remove this good man from his faith, they go about to bring him in doubt thereof.

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With a willing mind do I forgive all Men, both my Friends and Adverſaries. Then ſaid Maſter *Comrade*, *And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil.* Whereunto *Carpenter* anſwered, O my Lord, without doubt thou ſhalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my Hope. Then he began to rehearſe the Belief, ſaying, *I believe in God the Father Almighty. Carpenter* anſwered, O my God, in thee alone do I truſt, in thee only is all my confidence, and not in any other Creature, albeit they have gone about to force me otherwiſe. In this manner he anſwered to every word: which his Anſwers, if they ſhould be deſcribed at length, would be too long. This Prayer ended, the Schoolmaſter faid unto him, Doſt thou believe ſo truly and conſtantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou doſt cheerfully ſeem to confeſs him with thy Mouth? Hereunto he anſwered, It were a very hard matter for me, if that I which am ready here to ſuffer death, ſhould not believe that with my Heart, which I openly profeſs with my Mouth: For I knew before that I muſt ſuffer Perſecution, if I would cleave unto Chriſt; who ſaith, *Where thy Heart is, there is alſo thy Treaſure*; and whatſoever thing a Man doth fix in his Heart to love above God, that he maketh his Idol. Then ſaid Maſter *Comrade* unto him, *George*, doſt thou think it neceſſary after thy death, that any Man ſhould pray for thee, or fay Maſs for thee? He anſwered, So long as the Soul is joyned to the Body, pray God for me, that he will give me Grace and Patience, with all humility, to ſuffer the pains of death with a true Chriſtian Faith: but when the Soul is ſeparate from the Body, then have I no more need of your Prayers. When as the Hangman ſhould bind him to the Ladder, he preached much unto the People. Then he was deſired by certain Chriſtian Brethren, that as ſoon as he was caſt into the fire, he ſhould give ſome Sign or Token what his Faith or Belief was. To whom he anſwered, This ſhall be my Sign and Token; that ſo long as I can open my Mouth, I will not ceaſe to call upon the Name of Jeſus.

The hearty Confeſſion of George Carpenter.

Luke 12.

Whatſoever a Man loveth above God that he makes his Idol.

George Carpenter refuſes to be prayed for after his death.

The conſtant behaviour of G Carpenter at his death.

Behold (good Reader) what an incredible conſtancy was in this godly Man, ſuch as lightly hath not been ſeen in any Man before. His Face and Countenance never changed colour, but chearfully he went upon the fire. In the midſt faith he, of the Town this day will I confeſs my God before the whole World. When he was laid upon the Ladder, and the Hangman put a bag of Gunpowder about his Neck, he faid, let it ſo be, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. And whenas the two Hangmen lifted him up upon the Ladder, ſmiling, he bad a certain Chriſtian farewel, requiring forgiveneſs of him. That done, the Hangman thruſt him into the Fire. He with a loud voice cried out, Jeſus, Jeſus. Then the Hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain ſpace cried, Jeſus, Jeſus, and ſo joyfully yielded up his Spirit.

The death and martyrdom of G. Carpenter.

Leonard Keyſer.

The Hiſtory of Leonard Keyſer.

HEre alſo is not to be paſſed over the marvellous conſtancy of Mr. *Leonard Keyſer* of the Country of *Bavaria*, who was burned for the Goſpel. This *Keyſer* was of the Town of *Rawbe*, four miles from *Paſſaw*, of a famous houſe. This Man, being at his ſtudy in *Wittenberg*, was ſeat for by his Brethren, which certified him, that if ever he would ſee his Father alive, he ſhould come with ſpeed; which thing he did. He was ſcarcely come thither, when as by the commandment of the Biſhop of *Paſſaw*, he was taken by his Mother and his Brethren. The Articles which he was accuſed of, for the which alſo he was moſt cruelly put to death, and ſhed his Blood for the teſtimony of the Truth, were theſe:

Articles againſt Leonard Keyſer.

That Faith only juſtifieth.

That Works are the Fruits of Faith.

That the Maſs is no Sacrifice or Oblation.

Item, For Confeſſion, Satisfaction, the Vow of Chaſtity, Purgatory, difference of Days, for affirming only two Sacraments, and Invocation of Saints.

He alſo maintained three kinds of Confeſſion.

The firſt to be of Faith, which is always neceſſary.

The ſecond of Charity, which ſerveth when any Man hath offended his Neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himſelf again, as a Man may ſee by that which is written in Mat. 18.

The third, which is not to be deſpiſed, is to ask counſel of the ancient Miniſters of the Church.

And notwithſtanding that all this was contrary to the Bull of Pope *Leo*, and the Emperor's Decree made at *Worms*, ſentence was given againſt him, that he ſhould be degraded, and put into the hands of the ſecular Power. The Perſecutors which ſat in Judgment upon him, were the Biſhop of *Paſſaw*; the Suffragans of *Ratiſbon*, and of *Paſſaw*; alſo Dr. *Eckius*, being gaded about with amend Men. His Brethren and Kinſfolks made great interceſſion to have his Judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known. Alſo *John Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, and the Earls of *Schawenburg* and of *Shunartzen*, wrote to the Biſhop for him, but could not prevail. After the Sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harneſſed Men out of the City again, to *Schardingham*, the thirteenth of *Auguſt*. Where *Chriſtopher Frenkinger* the civil Judg receiving him, had Letters ſent him from Duke *William* of *Bavaria*, that forthwith tarrying for no other judgment, he ſhould be burned alive. Whereupon the good and bleſſed Martyr early in the morning, being rounded and ſhaven, and clothed in a ſhort Gown, and a black Cap ſet upon his head, all cut and jagged, ſo was delivered unto the Officer. As he was led out of the Town to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he boldly and hardily ſpake in the *Almain* Tongue, turning his head firſt on the one ſide, and then on the other, ſaying, O Lord Jeſus remain with me, ſuſtain and help me, and give me force and power.

Perſecutors.

Haſty judgment againſt Leon. Keyſer.

Then the Wood was made ready to be ſet on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, O Jeſus, I am thine, have mercy upon me, and ſave me: and therewithal he felt the fire begin ſharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head: and becauſe the fire was not great enough, the Hangman plucked the Body, half burnt, with a long hook from underneath the Wood. Then he made a great hole in the Body, through the which he thruſt a ſtake, and caſt him again into the fire, and ſo made an end of burning. This was the bleſſed end of that good Man, which ſuffered for the teſtimony of the Truth, *Auguſt* 15, in the year of our Lord 1526. *Ex 6. Tomo operum Lutheri.*

The martyrdom of Le Keyſer.

Wendelmuta *Widow and Martyr.*

IN *Holland* alſo the ſame year 1527, was martyred and burned a good and vertuous Widow, named *Wendelmuta*, a Daughter of *Nicholas* of *Manchendam*. This Widow receiving to her heart the brightneſs of God's Grace by the appearing of the Goſpel, was therefore apprehended and committed to cuſtody in the Caſtle of *Werden*, and ſhortly after from thence was brought to the *Hogue* the 15th day of *November*, there to appear at the general Seſſions of that Country. Where was preſent *Hochſtratus*, Lord Preſident of the ſaid Country, who alſo ſate upon her the 17th day of the foreſaid month. Divers Monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant; but ſhe, conſtantly perſiſting in that Truth wherein ſhe was planted, would not be removed. Many alſo of her kindred and other honeſt Women, were ſuffered to perſwade with her. Among whom there was a certain noble Matron, who loved and favoured dearly the ſaid Widow being in Priſon. This Matron coming, and communing with her, in her talk ſaid: My Wendelmuta, why doſt thou not keep ſilence, and think ſecretly in thine heart theſe things which thou believeſt, that thou mayeſt prolong here thy days and life? To whom ſhe anſwered again: Ah (ſaid ſhe) you know not what you ſay. It is written, *With the heart we believe to Righteouſneſs, with the tongue we confeſs to Salvation,* &c. And thus the remaining firm and ſtedfaſt in her Belief and Confeſſion, the 20th day of *November*, was condemned by Sentence given as againſt an Heretick, to be burned to Aſhes, and her goods to be confiſcate: the taking the ſentence of her Condemnation mildly and quietly.

Wendelmuta a Widow, martyred.

Religion would be profeſſed as well with tongue as with heart. Rom. 10.

After ſhe came to the place where the Hangman and a Monk there had brought out a blind Croſs, willing her many times to kiſs and worſhip her God: I worſhip, ſaid ſhe, no wooden God, but only that God which is in Heaven: and ſo with a merry and joyful countenance the went to the Stake, deſiring the Executioner to ſet the Stake to be faſt, that it fall not: then taking the Powder, and laying

Wooden Gods not to be worſhipped.

it

it to her breast, she gave her Neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent Prayer commending her self to the hands of God. When the time came that she should be strangled, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a sleep: which done, the Fire then was put to the Wood, and she being strangled, was burned afterward to Ashes, instead of this Life, to get the immortal Crown in Heaven, *Anno* 1527. *Ex Pantal.*

Petrus Flistedius, *and* Adolphus Clarebachus, *put to death at* Colen.

Petrus Flistedius, and Adolphus Clarebachus Martyrs.

IN the number of these German-Martyrs, are also to be comprehended *Peter Flisteden* and *Adolph Clarebach*, two Men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledg of God's holy Word. Which two, in the year of our Lord 1529, for that they did dissent from the Papists in divers Points, and especially touching the Supper of the Lord, and other the Pope's Traditions and Ceremonies, after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half by the commandment of the Archbishop and Senate, were put to death and burned in *Colen*, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians; all the Fault being put upon certain Divines, which at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked Persons should pacify the Wrath of God, which then plagued *Germany* grievously with a new and strange kind of Disease: for at that season the sweating Sickness did morally rage and reign throughout all *Germany*. *Ex com. Joan. Sleidan. lib. 6.*

The Sloud of Martyrs spilt to stop the sweating Sickness at Colen.

A Preface to the Table following.

IF thou well remember in reading this Book of Stories, (loving Reader) it was before mentioned and declared, how in the year of Grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's Passion, as the Crown, Crosis, Nails, Scourges, and Spear, were seen in *Germany* upon the Garments of Men and Women. Which miraculous ostent, passing the ordinary course of natural Causes, as it was sent of God, no doubt, to foreshew the great and terrible Persecution, which afterward fell in the Country of *Germany*, and other Regions besides, for the testimony of Christ; so if the number and names of all those good Men and Women, which suffered in the same Persecution, with their acts and doings should be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the History which we have in hand; partly also to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the discourse thereof, drawing, as in a compendious Table, the names of the Persecutors, and of the Martyrs which suffered, and the causes wherefore, with as much shortness as I may; referring the full tractation of their lives and doings to those Writers of their own Country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an Order in the same Table, as much as in such a confused heap of matters I may, according to the order and distinction of the Countries in which these blessed Saints of Christ did suffer; I have so divided the order of the Table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in *Germany*, then in *France*, also in *Spain*, with other foreign Countries more: shewing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the rest to the further explication of their own Story-writers, from whence they be collected. The which Table being finished, my purpose is, Christ willing, to return to the full History of our own Matters and Martyrs which suffered here in *England*.

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The Dutch Martyrs. The French Martyrs. The Spanish Martyrs. The English Martyrs.

A Table of the Names and Causes of such Martyrs, which gave their Lives for the testimony of the Gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, *and other Foreign Countries, since* Luther's *time: In which Table is contained, within the first space between the lines, the Persecutors; next the Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

The Martyrs of *Germany*.

Of divers which suffered in *Germany* for the witness of the Gospel; partly some rehearsal is made before, as of *Voes* and *Esch*, of *Sutphen*, *John Castellane*, *Pet. Spengler*, with a certain godly Minister, and another simple Man of the Country mentioned in *Oecolampadius*: Also of them in *Dietbmar* and *Prague*, of M. *George* of *Hala*, *Gasper*, *Tambret*, *Georgius* of *Vienna*, *Wolfgangus Seuch*, *John Huglius*, *George Carpenter*, *Leonard Keyser*, *Wendelmutz*, *P. Flistedius*, *Adolph Clareback*, and other more. The residue follow in order of this Table here to be shewed.

Persecut.	*Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*
Charls the Emperor.	*Of* Nicholas *of* Antwerp.
Nicholas of Antwerp, Martyr.	THE Curat of *Melza* by *Antwerp*, had used to preach to a great number of People without that Town. The Emperor hearing thereof, gave leave to take the uppermost Garment of all them that came to hear, and offered thirty Gilders whoso would take the Priest. Afterward, when the people were gathered, and the Curat not there, this *Nicholas* stepped up in place and preached. Wherefore he, being apprehended by these two Servants of a Butcher, was put in a Sack, and drowned by the Crane at *Antwerp*, 1524.
Two Servants of a Butcher did apprehend at *Antwerp*, An. 1524.	
Joan. Pistorius, *a learned Man of* Holland, *and partly of Kin to* Eras. Roterod.	
Joan Pistorius, Martyr.	The story of *Pistorius* is largely set forth by *Gnatheus*. First, He was a Priest, then he married, after that he preached, coming from *Wittenberg*. He spake against the Mass and Pardons, and against the subtil abuses of Priests. He was committed unto Prison with ten Malefactors, whom he did comfort; and to one being half naked, and in danger of cold, he gave his gown.
Margaret, daughter of *Maximilian*, Princess of *Holland*. M. *Maximus*. M. *Rosemund.*	

Persecut.	*Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*
M. *Anchusanus*. Inquisitors. M. *Jodocus Lorarius*, Vicar of *Mechlin*. 1524.	His Father visiting him in Prison, did not dissuade him, but bad him be constant. At last he was condemned, and degraded, having a Fools Coat put upon him. His fellow-Prisoners at his death sung *Te Deum*. Coming to the Stake, he gave his Neck willingly to the Band, wherewith he was first strangled, and then burned, saying at his death, *O death, where is thy victory?* 1 Cor. 15.
Sebastian Brantsfern, Abbat. In *Suevia*. An. 1525.	Matthias Weibell, *Schoolmaster*,
	For saying somewhat against the Abbat's first Mass, and against the carrying about Reliques, through procurement of the Abbat he was hanged by *Campidonium* in *Suevia*. Mat. Weibel Martyr.
	A certain godly Priest.
Certain noblemen, after the commotion of the Countrimen in *Germany*, An. 1525.	This Priest being commanded to come and give good counsel to fifteen Country-men that should be beheaded, afterward was bid himself to kneel down to have his Head cut off, no cause nor condemnation further being laid against him, but only of meer hatred against the Gospel. *Ex Joan. Gastia.* A Priest, Martyr.

George

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The Martyrdome of George Schertzer.

Persecut.	*Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*
	George Schertzer.
Ge. Schertzer Martyr.	After that this *George* had instructed the People in knowledg of the Gospel in *Rastat*, ten miles distant from *Saltsburg*, he was accused of his Adversaries and put in Prison, where he wrote a confession of his Faith, which *Matthias Illiricus* hath set out with his whole story. He was condemned to be burned alive: but means was made, that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards be cast into the fire. Going towards his death, he said, crying aloud, That you may know, said he, that I die a true Christian, I will give you a manifest sign; and so he did by the power of the Lord: For when his head was taken off from his shoulders, the body, falling upon his belly, so continued the space while one might eat an Egg. After that, softly it turned it self upon the back, and crossed the right foot over the left. At the sight whereof, they which saw it were in a great marvel. The Magistrates, which before had appointed to have burned the body after his beheading, seeing this Miracle, would not burn it, but buried it with other Christian mens bodies; and many by that example were moved to believe the Gospel. Thus God is able to manifest the truth of his Gospel in the midst of persecution, who is to be blessed for ever. *Amen.*
Ex Mat. Flac. Illyric.	
The name of the persecutor appears not in the story.	
A strange miracle of God in manifesting his Gospel.	*An. Rastat, By Saltzeburg.* An. 1528.
	Henry Fleming *at* Dornick, 1525.
A good Priest married in the town house.	*Balthasar*, Official. This *Henry* a Frier, sometimes of *Flanders*, forsook his habit, and married a Wife. Who being offered life of *Balthasar*, if he would confess his Wife to be an Harlot, denied so to do, and so was burnt at *Dornick*.
	A good Priest dwelling not far from Basil, 1539.
A popish Priest, and a wicked Murderer.	There was a certain wicked Priest, a notorious Adulterer, a Dicer, and a vile Drunkard, given to all wickedness and ungraciousness, without all fear, regarding nothing what mischief he did: moreover, a Man fit and ready to serve the affection of the Papists at all turns. It chanced that this Priest was received and lodged in the house of another Priest dwelling not far from *Basil*, which was a good Man, and a sincere favourer of the Gospel.

This drunken Priest, sitting at supper, was so drunk, that he could not tell what he did, or else feined himself so drunk of purpose, the better to accomplish his intended mischief. So it followed, that this Wretch after his first sleep rose out of his Bed, and brake all the glass Windows in his Chamber, threw down the Stone, and rent all his Host's Books that he found. The Host, awaking with the noise thereof, came to him, asking him how he did? whether there were any Thieves or Enemies that he was in fear of? desiring him to shew what he ailed. But as soon as the good Host had opened his Chamber door, the wicked Cut-throat ran at him with his Sword, and slew him. The Host, after the Wound received, fell down and died. Upon this a clamour was made through all the street, and the Neighbours came in, the Murderer was taken and bound: and yet all the Friends and Kinsfolks that the good Priest had, could not make that miserable Caitif, that was the Murderer, to be executed; the superior Powers did by take his part, saying, That he should be sent to his Bishop. The Townsmen did grievously cry out and complain at the bolstering out so manifest Villany: So did the Noblemen, that was the Lord of the Page, saying, That so many good Men and married Priests were drowned and beheaded for such small trifles, without any regard had by the Bishop; but a Murderer might escape unpunished. It was answered to them again, That what the superior Powers would do, they had nothing to do withal: the time was otherwise now, than it was in the commotion of the rustical People. The superior Powers had authority to govern as they would, say they; it was their parts only to obey. And so was he sent bound to the Bishop, and shortly after dismissed, having also a greater Benefice given him for his worthy act; for he so avanted himself, that he had slain a Lutheran Priest. *Ex Tom. 2. Convivalium Sermonum Joan. Gastii, Et ex Pantal.*

Tubingy

Persecut. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Twenty eight Christian Men and Women of Louvane. Paul *a Priest. Two aged Women.*

At *Antonia.*

Two Men at Louvane. 1543.

When certain of the City of *Louvain* were suspected of Lutheranism, the Emperors Procurator came from *Brussels* thither to make Inquisition. After which Inquisition made, certain Bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night, where many were taken in their Beds, pluckt from their Wives and Children, and divided into divers Prisons. Through the terror whereof, many Citizens revolted from the Doctrine of the Gospel, and returned again to Idolatry. But twenty eight there were which remained constant in that Persecution. Unto whom the Doctors of *Louvane*, *Enchusanus* especially the Inquisitor, and *Latomus* (sometimes, with other, came and disputed, thinking no less, but either to confound them, or to convert them. But so strongly the spirit of the Lord wrought with his Saints, that the other went rather confounded away themselves.

Charles, the Emperor's Procurator.

Dr. *Enchusanus*, Inquisitor. *Latomus*.

When no Disputation could serve, that which lacked in cunning, they supplied with Tortures, by enforcing and afflicting them severally every one by himself. Among the rest there was one *Paulus* a Priest, upon the Age of sixty years; whom the Rectors of the University, with their Collegues, accompanied with a great number of Bills and Gleves, brought out of Prison to the Austin Friers, where, after many foul Words of the Rector, he was degraded. But at length for fear of death he began to stagger in some Points of his Confession, and so was had out of *Louvane*, and condemned to perpetual Prison, which was a dark and stinking Dungeon; where he was suffered neither to read nor write, nor any Man to come at him, commanded only to be fed with Bread and Water. After that, other two were there, which because they had revoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, constantly taking their Martyrdom.

Two Martyrs burned at Louvane.

An aged man, Martyr. *Antonia*, Martyr, buried quick.

An aged Woman, Martyr, buried quick.

Then was there an old Man, and two aged Women brought forth: of whom the one was called *Antonia*, born of an ancient stock in that City. These also were condemned, the Man to be beheaded, the two Women to be buried quick, which death they received likewise very cheerfully. Certain of the other Prisoners, which were not condemned to death, were deprived of their Goods, commanded in a white sheet to come to the Church, and there kneeling with a Taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness: and they which refused so to do, and to abjure the Doctrine of *Luther*, were put to the fire. *Ex Fran. Encenate.*

Master Persevat at Louvane, *Anno* 1544.

Mr. Persevat, Martyr.

Not long after this was one Master *Persevat* in the same University of *Louvane*, singularly well learned, who for reprehending certain Popish Superstitions, and something speaking in commendation of the Gospel, was thrown into Prison. Then being accused of Lutheranism, because he flood to the same, and would not condescend to the Pope's erroneous Faction, he was adjudged to perpetual Prison, there to be fed only with Bread and Water: which Punishment he took patiently for Christ's sake. Nevertheless certain Citizens, taking compassion of him, sent him Wine and Beer. But his Keepers being charged under a great Penalty, durst let nothing come unto him. At last what became of him no Man could learn nor understand. Some judge that he was either famished for hunger, or else that he was secretly drowned. *Ex Fran. Encenate.*

The name of the Persecutor appeareth not in the Story.

Justus Jusberg at Brussels, *Anno* 1544.

Justus Jusberg, a Skinner of *Louvane*, being suspected of Lutheranism, was found in his House to have the New Testament, and certain Sermons of *Luther*; for the which he was committed, and the Jayler commanded that he should speak with none. There were the same time in the lower Prison under him, *Egidius*, and *Franciscus Encenas* a *Spaniard*; who secretly, having the Doors left open came to him, and confirmed him in the Cause of Righteousness. Thus is the Providence of the Lord never lacking to his Saints in time of necessity. Shortly after came the Doctors and Masters of *Louvane*, to examine him of certain Articles touching Religion, as of the Pope's Supremacy, Sacrifice of the Mass, Purgatory, and of the Sacrament. Whereunto when he had answered plainly and boldly, after the Scriptures, and would in no wise be removed, he was condemned to the fire: but through Intercession made to the Queen, his burning was pardoned, and he only beheaded. *Ex Fran. Encenate.*

Justus of Louvane, Martyr.

Franciscus Encenas Prisoner.

Desiardus a Potefhare in that Country, and a great persecutor.

Justus perit de terra.

Gilles Tilleman at Brussels, *An.* 1544.

This *Giles* was born in *Brussels* of honest Parents. By his Occupation he was brought up from his youth to be a Cutler. In the which Occupation he was so expert and cunning, that he waxed thereby rich and wealthy. Coming to the years of thirty, he began to receive the light of the Gospel, through the reading of the Holy Scripture, and increased therein exceedingly. And as in zeal he was fervent, so was he of Nature human, mild, and pitiful, passing all other in those parts. Whatsoever he had, that necessity could spare, he gave it away to the Poor, and daily lived by his Science. Some he refreshed with his Meats some with Cloathing; to some he gave his Shoes; some he helped with Household-stuff; to other some he ministred wholesom Exhortation of good Doctrine. One poor Woman there was brought to bed, and had no Bed to lie in, to whom he brought his own bed, himself contented to lie in the straw.

Giles, Martyr.

Good works going with a lively Faith.

The Parson of Brussels.

The said *Egidius* being detected by a Priest or Parson of *Brussels*, was taken at *Louvane* for that Religion which the Pope doth call Heresie. Where his Adversaries extended great care and diligence to reduce him to their Doctrine, and to make him abjure. But as he was a Man well reasoned, and singularly witted, they went away many times with shame. Thus being detained eight Months in Prison, he was sent to *Brussels* to be judged: where he comforted divers which were there in Prison (among whom was also *Franciscus Encenas*) exhorting them to the constancy of the Truth unto the Crown which was prepared for them. At the Table he ministred unto them all, being contented himself with a few scraps which they left. In his Prayers he was so ardent, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that he seemed to forget himself. Being called many times to meat, he neither heard nor saw them that stood by him, till he was lift up by the Arms, and then gently he would speak unto them as one waked out of a sweet sleep.

The humble heart of Giles.

Fervency of Prayer.

Certain of the Gray Friers sometimes were sent unto him by two and two to reduce him; but he would always desire them to depart from him, for he was at a Point; and when the Friers at any time did mis-call him, he

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Persecut. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Blasphemy of the Papists.

he ever held his peace at such private Injuries: insomuch that those Blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb Devil in him. But when they talked of any Religion, there he spared not, but answered them fully by Evidences of the Scripture, in such sort, that divers times they would depart marvelling. At sundry times he might have escaped, the doors being set open, but he would not for bringing his Keeper in peril.

At length, about the Month of *January*, he was brought to another Prison, to be constrained with Torments to confess Purgatory, and to utter moe of his Fellows. But no forcement would serve. Wherefore upon the two and twentieth of *January* he was condemned to the Fire, but privily, contrary to the use of the Country; for openly they durst not condemn him for fear of the People, so well was he beloved. When tidings of the Sentence came unto him, he gave hearty thanks unto God, that the hour was come when he might glorifie the Lord:

As he was brought to the place of Burning, where he saw a great heap of Wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and given to the Poor; a little, said he, would suffice him. Also seeing a poor Man coming by, as he went, that lacked Shoes, he gave his Shoes unto him; better, said he, so to do, than to have his Shoes burnt, and the Poor to perish for cold. Standing at the stake the Hangman was ready to strangle him before; but he would not, saying, That there was no such need that his Pain should be mitigated, for I fear not, said he, the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded. And thus the blessed Martyr, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven in the middle of the flame, died, to the great Lamentation of all that stood by. After that time, when the Friers of that City would go about for their Alms, the People would say, It was not meet for them to receive Alms with bloody Hands. This History you shall find more copiously described in *Fran. Encenas. Ex Franc. Encen.*

The zeal of the People against the bloody Friers.

The Martyrdom of Giles.

The Martyrdome of Giles Tilleman.

Great Persecution in Gaunt, *and other parts of* Flanders.

At Gaunt, *Anno* 1543, 1544.

Persecution in Gaunt and Brussels.

As *Charles* the Emperor did lie in *Gaunt*, the Friers and Doctors there obtained, that the Edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. Which being obtained, great Persecution followed; so that there was no City nor Town in all *Flanders*, wherein some either were not expulsed, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual Prison, or had not their Goods confiscate: neither was there any respect of Age or Sex. At *Gaunt* especially many there were of the head Men, which for Religion sake were burned.

Friers and Priests of *Flanders*.

Ex Franciscan Encenate.

Afterward the Emperor coming to *Brussels*, there was terrible slaughter, and Persecution of God's People, namely in *Brabant*, *Hennegow*, and *Artois*; the Horror and Cruelty whereof is almost incredible: insomuch that at one time as good as two hundred Men and Women together were brought out of the Country about into the City, of whom some were drowned, some buried quick, some privily made away, others sent to perpetual Prison: whereby the Prisons and Towers thereabout were replenished with Prisoners and Captives, and the Hands of the Hangman tired with slaying and killing, to the great sorrow of all them which knew the Gospel, being now compelled either to deny the same, or to confirm it with their blood. The Story hereof is at large set forth by *Franc. Enenas*, a notable learned Man, who also himself was Prisoner the same time at *Brussels*: whose Book written in Latin I my self have seen and read, remaining in the hands of *John Oporine* at *Basil.*

Martinus Hœrnblöck, *Fishmonger at* Gaunt, *Anno* 1545.

Martin Hœrnblock, Martyr.

This *Martin* ever almost of his later Age, was a Man much given to all Wickedness and fleshly Life so long as he continued a follower of the Pope's Superstition and Idolatry. Afterward (as God hath always his calling) through the occasion of a Sermon of his Parish Priest, beginning to taste some workings of Grace and Repentance of his former Life, he went out of *Gaunt* for the space of three

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three Months, ſeeking the Company of godly Chriſtians, ſuch as he heard to uſe the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he being more groundedly inſtructed returned again to the City of *Gaunt*, where all his Neighbours firſt began to marvel at the ſudden change of this Man. The Franciſcans which knew him before ſo benefitial unto them, now ſeeing him ſo altered from their ways and Superſtition, and ſeeing him to viſit the Captives in Priſon, to comfort them in Perſecution, and to confirm them in the Word of God, which went to the fire, conſpired againſt him: whereby he was detected and laid in Bands. After that with ſharp and greivous Torments they would have conſtrained him to utter other of the ſame Religion. To whom thus he anſwered; that if they could prove by the Scripture that his detecting and accuſing of his Brethren, whom they would afflict with the like Torments, were not againſt the ſecond Table of God's Law, then he would not refuſe to prefer the Honour of God before the ſafegard of his Brethren. Then the Friers examined him in the Sacrament, asking him why he was ſo earneſt to have it in both kinds, ſeeing (ſaid they) it is but a naked Sacrament, as you ſay? To whom he anſwered, That the Elements thereof were naked, but the Sacrament was not naked, forſomuch as the ſaid Elements of Bread and Wine being received after the Inſtitution of Chriſt, do now make a Sacrament and a myſtical Repreſentation of the Lord's Body, communicating himſelf with our Souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, becauſe it is the Inſtitution of the Lord, who is he (ſaid *Martin*) that dare alter the ſame? Then was he brought before the Council of *Flanders*. The Cauſes laid againſt him were the Sacrament, Purgatory, and praying for the Dead: and for which he was condemned and burned at *Gaunt* in *Verle place*, all his Goods being confiſcate. As he ſtood at the Stake, a Franciſcan Frier ſaid to him, *Martin*, unleſs thou doſt turn, thou ſhalt go from this fire to everlaſting fire. It is not in you, ſaid *Martin* again, to judg: For this the Friers after were ſo hated, that many Bills and Rhymes were ſet forth in divers places againſt them. *Ex Pantal.*

Francis. Friers of *Gaunt*.

Nicholas Vanpoule.
John de Buck and his Wife.
At Gaunt, *Anno* 1545.

Nicolas Vanpoule. John de Buck and his Wife, Martyrs.

The next day after the burning of *Martin* aforeſaid, which was the ninth of *May* theſe three alſo were burned for the ſame Cauſes likewiſe, for the which the other was condemned and burned the day before; but only that the Woman was buried alive. All which took their Martyrdom joyfully and with much cheerfulneſs.

Urſula, and *Maria*; Virgins of Noble Stock.
At Delden, *Anno*. 1545.

Mary and Urſula, two Virgins, Martyrs.

The Council of Flanders.

Delden is a Town in lower *Germany*, three miles from *Daventry*, where theſe two Virgins of Noble Parentage were burned. Who, after diligent frequenting of Churches and Sermons, being inſtructed in the Word of the Lord, defended, that ſeeing the Benefit of our Salvation cometh only by our Faith in Chriſt, all the other Merchandiſe of the Pope, which he uſeth to ſell to the People for Money, was needleſs. Firſt *Mary*, being the younger, was put to the fire; where ſhe prayed ardently for her Enemies, commending her Soul to God. At whoſe conſtancy the Judges did greatly marvel.

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Then they exhorted *Urſula* to turn, or if ſhe would not, at leaſt that ſhe ſhould require to be beheaded. To whom ſhe ſaid, That ſhe was guilty of no Error, nor defended any thing, but what was conſonant to the Scripture, in which ſhe truſted to perſevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of puniſhment, ſhe ſaid, ſhe feared not the fire, but rather would follow the Example of her dear Siſter that went before. This was marvellous, that the Executioners could in no wiſe conſume their Bodies with fire, but left them whole lying upon the ground white: which certain good Chriſtians privily took up in the night and buried. Thus God many times ſheweth his power in the midſt of Tribulations. *Ex Lud. Rab. Pantal.* &c.

A miraculous work of God in the dead Bodies of theſe two Virgins.

Andreas Thiſſen,
Katharine his Wife.
Nicholas Thiſſen,
Francis Thiſſen, Brethren.
At Mechlin, *Anno* 1545.

The Parſon of St. *Katharines.*

Dr. *Tapper.*

William de Clerk, Ruler of *Mechlin.*

Andrew Thiſſen and his Wife, Nicholas and Francis Thiſſen their ſons, Martyrs.

Andrew Thiſſen, Citizen of *Mechlin*, of his Wife *Katharine* had three Sons and a Daughter, whom he inſtructed diligently in the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and deſpiſed the doings of Popery. Wherefore being hated and perſecuted of the Friers and Prieſts there, he went into *England* and there died. *Francis* and *Nicholas* his two Sons went to *Germany* to ſtudy; and returning again to their Mother, and Siſter, and younger Brother, by diligent inſtruction brought them to the right Knowledge of God's Goſpel: which being not unknown to the Parſon there of St. *Katharine*, he called to them Dr. *Rapardus*, *Tapper*, and other Maſters and Friers, who taking Counſel together with *William de Clerk*, the head Magiſtrate of the Town of *Mechlin*, agreed, That the Mother with her four Children ſhould be ſent to Priſon, ſeparate one from another: where great labour was imployed to reclaim them home unto their Church, that is, from light to darkneſs again. The two younger, to wit, the Daughter with the younger Brother, being yet not ſetled neither in years nor Doctrine, ſomething inclined to them, and were delivered. The Mother which would not conſent, was condemned to perpetual Priſon. The other two, *Francis* and *Nicholas*, ſtanding firmly to their Confeſſion, defended, That the Catholick Church was not the Church of *Rome*; that the Sacrament was to be miniſtred in both Kinds; that Auricular Confeſſion was to no purpoſe; that Invocation of Saints was to be left; that there was no Purgatory. The Friers they called Hypocrites, and contemned their threatnings. The Magiſtrates, after Diſputations, fell to Torments, to know of them who was their Maſter, and what fellows they had. Their Maſter, they ſaid, was Chriſt which bare his Croſs before. Fellows, they ſaid, they had innumerable, diſperſed in all places. At laſt they were brought to the Judges: their Articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Comming to the place of Execution, as they began to exhort the People, Gags or Balls of Wood were thruſt into their Mouthes, which they through vehemency in ſpeaking thruſt out again, deſiring for the Lord's ſake that they might have leave to ſpeak. And ſo ſinging with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, &c. they went, and were faſtned to the ſtake, praying for their Perſecutors, and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his Beard, Ah! ſaid he, what a ſmall pain is this, to be compared to the Glory to come? Thus the patient Martyrs committing their Spirit to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through conſtancy atchieved the Crown of Martyrdom. *Ex Phil. Melancth.*

Marion

K.Hen.8. | Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Marion, Wife of Adrian Taylor.
At Dornick, *Anno* 1545.

Adrian and Marion his Wife, martyrs.

The names of their Accuſers appear not in the Author.

In the ſame Perſecution againſt *Brulius* and his Company in *Dornick*, was apprehended alſo one *Adrian* and *Marion* his Wife. The cauſe of their trouble, as alſo of the others, was the Emperor's Decree made in the Council of *Wormes* againſt the Lutherans mentioned before. *Adrian*, not ſo ſtrong as a Man, for fear gave back from the Truth, and was but only beheaded. The Wife, ſtronger than a Woman, did withſtand their threats, and abide the uttermoſt: and being incloſed in an Iron Grate formed in ſhape of a Paſtie was laid in the Earth and buried quick, after the uſual Puniſhment of that Countrey, for Women. When the Adverſaries firſt told her, that her Husband had relented, ſhe believed them not: and therefore, as ſhe went to her death, paſſing by the Tower where he was, ſhe called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before. *Ex Pant. lib.* 4.

Marion buried quick.

Maſter Peter Bruley, Preacher
at Dornick, *Anno* 1545.

Peter Bruly, martyr.

Maſter *Peter Bruly* was Preacher in the *French* Church at *Stratsburgh*. Who at the earneſt requeſt of faithful Brethren came down to viſit the lower Countries about *Artois* and *Dornick*, in *Flanders*; where he moſt diligently preached the Word of God unto the People in houſes, the doors ſtanding open.

The Magiſtrates of *Dornick*, or *Turney*.

Whereupon when the Magiſtrates of *Dornick* had ſhut the Gates of the *Town*, and had made ſearch for him three days, he was privily let down the Wall in the night by a Basket: and as he was let down to the Ditch ready to take his way, one of them which let him down, leaning over the Wall to bid him farewel, cauſed unawares a ſtone to flip out of the Wall, which falling upon him brake his Leg, by reaſon whereof he was heard of the Watchmen complaining of his Wound, and ſo was taken, giving thanks to God, by whoſe Providence he was there ſtaid to ſerve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in Priſon, he ceaſed not to ſupply the part of a diligent Preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of Grace. Being in Priſon he wrote his own Confeſſion and Examination, and ſent it to the Brethren. He wrote alſo another Epiſtle unto them that were in Perſecution: another alſo to all the faithful: alſo another Letter to his Wife the ſame day that he was burned. He remained in Priſon four Months. His Sentence was given by the Emperor's Commiſſioners at *Bruxells*, That he ſhould be burned to Aſhes, and his Aſhes thrown into the River. Although the Prieſts and Friers made the fire but ſmall, to multiply his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and conſtantly took his Martyrdom, and ſuffered it. The Letters of Duke *Frederick*, and of the Lantgrave came to intreat for him; but he was burned a little before the Letters came. *Ex Lud. Rab. lib.* 6.

God's Secret working in diſpoſing the ways of his Servants.

Francis and Nicolas conſtant in Chriſt.

The martyrdom of Brulius.

Peter Miocius, Bergiban.
At Dornick *An.* 1545.

Peter Molet, martyr.

The Senate of *Dornick.*

The coming of Maſter *Peter Bruly* into the Country of *Flanders*, did exceeding much good among the Brethren, as appear by divers other good Men, and namely by this *Peter Moice*, which was by his Occupation a Silk-weaver. This *Peter* before he was called to the Goſpel, led a wicked life, given to much Ungraciouſneſs, and almoſt to all kinds of Vice. But after the Taſte of the Goſpel began to work in him, ſo clean it alterèd him from that former Man, that he excelled all other in godly Zeal and Vertue. In his firſt Examination he was asked, Whether he was one of the Scholars of

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Dr. *Hadrianus a Gray Frier.*

Cruelty thereof on Chriſts Servants.

Peter Bruley? He ſaid he was, and that he had received much Fruit by his Doctrine. Wilt thou then defend his Doctrine, ſaid they? Yea, ſaid he, for that it is conſonant both to the Old Teſtament and to the New: and for this he was let down into a deep Dungeon under the Caſtle-ditch, full of Toads and filthy Vermine. Shortly after the Senate, with certain Friers, came again to examin him, to ſee whether they could convert him. To whom he anſwered and ſaid, That when he had lived ſuch an ungodly life, they never ſpake a word againſt him: but now, for favouring and favouring the Word of God, they were ſo inſeſt againſt him, that they ſought his Blood. Among whom was one Dr. *Hadarius*, which asked him if he did not ſeem to himſelf more wicked now than ever he was before? But he ſetting the Frier at light, bad him, Avaunt Frier; ſaying, that he had to talk with the Senate, and not with him. The Senate then began to examine him of certain Articles of Religion. To whom as he was about to anſwer boldly and expreſly to every point, they interrupting him, bad him ſay in two Words, either Yea or Nay. Then, ſaid he, if ye will not ſuffer me to anſwer for my ſelf in matters of ſuch Importance, then ſend me to my Priſon again among my Toads and Frogs, which will not interrupt me while I talk with my Lord my God. The boldneſs of whoſe Spirit and Courage, as it made ſome to gnaſh their teeth, ſo ſome it made to wonder, and miniſtred to ſome great Confirmation.

A certain Prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of *Pannonia*.

There was alſo one *Bergiban* the ſame time in Priſon, who had been a forward Man, and a great doer in the Goſpel, before the coming down of *Brulius*: Who being alſo fought for at the taking of *Brulius*, and being then not found at home, either by chance not knowing, or elſe he conveyed himſelf out of the way for fear, conceived thereof ſuch ſorrow in his mind, that afterward neither his Wife, nor Children, nor any Friends elſe could ſtay him, but he would needs offer himſelf to the Judges, ſaying unto the Ruler, being asked why he came, The Magiſtrates came to ſeek me, ſaid he, and now I am come to know what they would. Whereupon the Ruler, being ſorry of his coming, yet notwithſtanding committed him to Priſon, where he remained conſtant a certain while. But after the Commiſſioners had threatned him with cruel Torments, and horror of death, he began by little and little to waver and ſhrink from the Truth. At the fair words of the falſe Friers and Prieſts, to have his puniſhment changed, and to be beheaded, he was fain to grant unto their boldneſs and Requeſts: whereupon the Adverſaries taking their Advantage, came to *Miocius*, and told him of *Bergiban's* Retractation, willing him to do the like. But he ſtoutly perſiſting in the Truth, indured to the Fire, where he, having Powder put to his Breaſt, was ſo put to death and diſpatched. The Friers, hearing the crack of the Powder upon his Breaſt, told the People, that the Devil came out of him and carried away his Soul. *Ex Rab. & alii.*

The martyrdom of a good Prieſt.

A Prieſt of Germany.

Johannes Gaſtius Convivialium Sertto, libro ſecundo, writeth of a certain Prince, but doth not name him, which put out the Eyes of a certain Prieſt in *Germany* for no other cauſe, but for that he ſaid the Maſs to be no Sacrifice, in that ſeeke as many Prieſts do take it. Neither did the cruel Prince immediately put him to death, but firſt kept him in Priſon a long time, afflicting him with divers Torments. Then he was brought forth to be degraded, after a barbarous and tyrannous manner. Firſt, they ſhave the crown of his Head, then rubbed it hard with Salt, that the Blood came running down his ſhoulders. After that they raſed and pared the tops of his fingers with cruel pain, that no ſavour of the holy Oyl might remain. At laſt the patient and godly Martyr, four days after yielded up his Life and Spirit. *Ex Johan. Gaſtio lib.* 2.

Persecut. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

A godly Priest in Hungary.

The Martyrdom of a godly Priest.

In *Hungary* a certain godly Priest preached, that the eating of Flesh is not prohibited in the Scripture: for the which the cruel Bishop, after he had imprisoned him certain Weeks, caused him to be brought out, and his body to be tied over with Hares, Geese, and Hens hanging round about him; and so the beastly Bishop made Dogs to be set upon him, which cruelly rent and tore whatsoever they could catch: And thus the good Minister of Christ, being driven about the City with the barking of Dogs, died, and was martyred. The sight whereof as it was lamentable to the godly, so it seemed ridiculous to the wicked. But within few days after, the impious Bishop by the stroke of God's just hand, fell sick and became horn-mad, and so raving without sense or wit, miserably died. *Ex Tom. 2. Convivalium Sermonum Johann. Gastii.*

A Bishop in Hungary.

Just punishment of God upon a cruel Persecutor.

John Frederick *of* Saxony, *Elector*, *Anno* 1547.

Frederick Duke of Saxony.

Among these godly and constant Saints of Christ, may well be recounted *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*; who when he had recovered again all his Dominions (which Duke *Maurice* had taken from him before, being in *Suevia* with his Army) and at last was taken Prisoner of the Emperor of *Abbis*, the four and twentieth of *April*, *An.* 1547, yet could never be induced to yield to the Emperor in revoking his Faith and Doctrine of the Gospel wherein he stood: For the which he was detained from his Wife and Children, and bereaved of all his Goods, and carried about with the Emperor the space of five years. This admirable constancy of the Duke, was a Wonder to all his Adversaries. At last, in the year of our Lord, 1552, through the Benefit of Almighty God, he was set again at liberty, and returning home to his Wife and Children, continued in his Religion till the hour of his death. *Ex Sleid. lib. 19.*

The Landgrave of Hesse.

Much like was the case also of *Philip Lantgrave* of *Hesse*, who likewise being taken and spoiled of the Emperor, continued the space of five years in the cruel Custody of the *Spaniards*; and albeit he had fined unto the Emperor, and was promised to be set free out of Prison, the Emperor and his Council dallying with their Promise, expounded his Imprisonment not to be perpetual. And though great Labour and Intercession was made for him, yet all would not help. For when the Emperor sent him away, then *Mary* the Emperor's Sister took him by the way, finding Cavillations against him: whereby he was again committed into the hands of the *Spaniards*, till at length, through the disposing of God's Mercy, first the Duke of *Saxony*, and then six days after the *Lantgrave* also, were both freed out of long captivity and sent home. *Ex Com. Sleid. lib. 15, 24.*

Hermannus *Archbishop of* Colen, *An.* 1547.

Hermannus Archbishop of Colen.

With these holy Martyrs above recited, may also be numbred *Hermannus* Archbishop of *Colen*, who, a little before the Emperor had War against the Protestants, had reformed his Church from certain Papistical Superstitions, using therein the Aid and Advice of *Martin Bucer*. Wherefore *Charles* the Emperor sent word to *Colen*, that he should be deposed; which he patiently did suffer. In his room was set *Adolphus* Earl of *Scawenburg*. *Ex Sleid, lib.* 18.

Charles the Emperor.

Master Nicholas Finchman.
Marion, *Wife of* Augustinus, *An.* 1549.

Nicolas Frenchman, Marion wife of Augustinus, Martyrs.

The President or Mayor of Dornick.

Master *Nicholas* and *Barbara* his Wife; also *Augustinus* a Barbar, and *Marion* his Wife, born about *Hennegrow*, after they had been at *Geneva* a space, came into *Germany*, thinking that way to pass over into *England*. By the way coming to *Hennegrow*, *Augustine* desired Master *Nicholas* (because he was learned) to come to *Bergis* to visit and comfort certain Brethren there; which he willingly did. From thence passing by *Dornick* (or *Tornay*) they held on their Journey toward *England*. But in the way *Augustine* and his Wife, being known, were detected to the Lieutenant of *Dornick*, who, in all speedy haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond *Dornick*. *Augustine* (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found The Soldiers then laying hands upon *Nicholas* and the two Women, brought them back again unto *Dornick*. In returning by the way, when Master *Nicholas* at the Table gave thanks (as the manner is of the faithful) the wicked Ruler scorning them, and swearing like a Tyrant, said, Now let us see thou lewd Heretick, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand. To whom *Nicholas* answering again modestly, asked, what had Christ ever offended him, that he with his blasphemous Swearing did so tear him in pieces? desiring him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor Body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they being bound hands and feet, were brought to *Bergis*, and there laid in the Dungeon. Then Duke *Arisotus*, accompanied with a great number of Priests, and Franciscan Friers, and with a Doctor, which was their Warden, came to talk with them. *Nicholas* standing in the midst of them, being asked what he was, and whether he would? answered them perfectly to all their Questions: and moreover so confounded the Friers, that they went away ashamed, saying, That he had a Devil, and crying, To the fire with him, Lutheran.

Blasphemy of a Papist.

The Friers confounded.

As they continued still looking for the day of their Execution, it came to the Rulers minds to ask of *Nicholas* in what house he was lodged when he came to *Bergis*? *Nicholas* said, He had never been there before, and therefore being a stranger he could not tell the name of the house. When *Nicholas* would confess nothing, Duke *Arisotus* came to *Barbara*, *Nicholas* his Wife, to know where they were lodged at *Bergis*, promising many fair words of delivery, if she would tell. She being a weak and timorous Woman, uttered all. By the occasion whereof great Persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly, even upon the same, the Son of the said Duke *Arisotus* was slain, and buried the same day when *Augustinus* was burned. To be short, *Nicholas* shortly after was brought before the Judges, and there condemned to be burned to ashes. At which sentence giving, *Nicholas* blessed the Lord, which had counted him worthy to be a Witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of Execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have a Ball of Wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice; O *Charles*, *Charles*, how long shall thy heart be hardned? And with that one of the Soldiers gave him a blow. Then said *Nicholas* again; Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy to whom the Word of God should be preached. And thus he spake as they were binding him to the stake. The Friers came out with their old Song, crying, That he had a Devil; to whom *Nicholas* spake the Verse of the *Psalm: Depart from me, all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping.* And thus this holy Martyr, patiently taking his death, commended up his Spirit unto God in the midst of the fire. *Ex Lud. Rab. Pant. & alii.*

The Friers confounded.

Barbara revolted.

Augustine again taken.

Example of Gods goodness in strengthning the weak-hearted.

Gods punishment upon Persecutors.

Nicolas condemned.

Marion

K.Hen. 8. | *Persecut.* | *Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

Marion *Wife of* Austen, *above mentioned, at* Bergis *in* Hennegow, *Anno* 1549.

The Martyrdom of Marion.

After the martyrdom of this Mr. *Nicholas*, *Marion* the Wife of *Austen* was called for. With whom they had much talk about the manner and state of *Geneva*, asking her how the Sacraments were administred there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's Supper? To whom she answered, That the Sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's Institution, of the which she was no celebrater, but a partaker. The sentence of her Condemnation was this, That she should be interred quick: When she was let down to the Grave, kneeling upon her knees, she defied the Lord to help her; and before she should be thrown down, she defired her face might be covered with a Napkin or some linnen Cloth; who being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the Hangman stamped upon her with his feet, till her breath was past. *Ibidem.*

Marion buried quick.

Austen *the Husband of* Marion. *At* Bellimont *in* Hennegow, *Anno* 1549.

Ye heard before how *Augustine* escaped before at the taking of *Nicholas* and the two Women. After this he gave himself to sell Spices. and other pedlary Ware from place to place Who at length coming to the Town of *Bellimont* in *Hennegow*, there was know and detected to the Magistrate. Whereof he having some intelligence before, left his Ware and ran away. And seeing moreover the house beset with harnessed Men where he was hosted, he began to be more afraid, and hid himself in a buth: for he was very timerous, and a weak-spirited Man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it hapned that certain standing upon the Town wall, which might well see him go into the Thicket or Bush, gave knowledg thereof to the Souldiers, which followed him to the buth, and took him. Being taken, he was had to *Bergis*, the head Town of *Hennegow*, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his Doctrine, he answered his Adversaries with great boldness.

The Watchmen or Souldiers of *Bellimont*.

Wherein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the Work of the Lord, how this Man being before of nature so timerous, now was so strengthned with God's Grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his Enemies. Among others came to him the Warden of the gray Friers, with a long Oration, perswading him to relent, or else he should be damned in Hell fire perpetually. To whom *Austen* answering again, said, Prove that which you said by the Authority of God's Word, that a Man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing, rather like a Doctor of Lies, than of Truth, &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at *Bellimont*, was brought to the Inn where he should take Horse: where was a certain Gentleman, a Stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, defired him to have pity upon himself; and if he would not favour his Life, yet that he would favour his own Soul. To whom said *Austen*, after he had thanked him for his good will, What care I have, said he, of my Soul, you may see by this, that I had rather give my Body to be burned, than to do that thing that were against my Conscience. When he was come to the Town of *Bellimont*, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great burial of the Duke *Arisotus* his Son, which was slain a little before (as is before touched) by the occasion whereof many Nobles and Gentlemen were there present, which hearing of this *Austin*, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at an Horse

Tail to the place of burning: But the Lord would not suffer that. In fine, being tied to the Stake, and fire set unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and so in the fire patiently departed. *Ex Crisp. & alii.*

The Death & martyrdom of Augustine

The Names of the persecutors be not expressed in the story.

James Hostius Chamberlain of *Gaunt*, and the Friers there.

A certain Woman of Aufspurge, *At* Aufspurg, *Anno* 1550.

At *Aufspurg* a certain Woman there dwelling, seeing a Priest to carry the Host to a sick Person with Taper-light (as the manner is) asked him what he meant so to go with Candle-light at noon day. For this she was apprehended, and in great danger, had it not been for the earnest sute and prayers of the Women of that City, and at the intercession of *Mary* the Emperor's Sister. *Ex Jo. Sleid. lib.* 22.

Ex Joan. Sleid. l. 22.

Two Virgins in the Diocess of Bamberge, *Anno* 1551.

In the Diocess of *Bamberge*, two Maids were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and chearful countenances. They had Garlands of Straw put on their heads. Whereupon the one comforting the other, going to their Martyrdom, Seeing Christ, said she, for us bare a Crown of Thorns, why should we stick to bear a Crown of Straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us again better than Crowns of Gold: some said that they were *Anabaptists*; and it might be (saith *Melancthon*) that they had some fond Opinion admired withal; yet they did hold, saith he, the foundation of the Articles of our Faith, and they died blessedly, in a good Conscience and Knowledg of the Son of God. Few do live without Errors. Flatter not your selves, thinking your selves so clear that you cannot err. *Ex eo Phil. Melanct.*

Two Virgins Martyrs.

The Christian City of Magdeburge, *Anno* 1551.

When *Charles* the Emperor had almost got all his Purpose in *Germany*, in obtruding his Religion of *Interim* into all Places, which was received of the most part of all the chief Princes and Cities; only the City of *Magdeburge*, continuing in the constancy of their Doctrine reformed, refused to admit the same. Wherefore War was raised against them, their City besieged, and great violence used: so that many honest and religious Citizens for the Gospels Cause sustained great perils and danger of death. At last, when they had manifestly and constantly endured such great distress and calamity, the space of a whole year, through the blessed Providence of Almighty God, (who about the same time sent War between the French King and the Emperor) honest reconciliation was made between them and the Emperor, whereby they were received into favour, and suffered to enjoy their former Religion quietly. *Ex Joan. Sleidan. lib.* 23.

Constancy to be noted in the City of Magdeburg.

The names of their persecutors appear not in the story.

Hostius, *otherwise called* George, *At* Gaunt, *Anno* 1555.

This *Hostius*, born at *Gaunt*, was cunning in graving in Armour, and in Steel. He first was in the French Church here in *England*, during the reign of King *Edward*. After the coming of Queen *Mary*, he went to *Norden* in *Friesland*, with his Wife and Children. From thence having business, he came to *Gaunt*, where (after a certain space that he had there continued, instructing divers of his Friends)

Hostius Martyr.

Perfecut. *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

James Heſſelius Chamberlain of *Gaunt*, and the Friers there.

he heard that there was a black Frier, which uſed to preach good Doctrine to the People. Wherefore he, being deſirous to hear, came to his Sermon; where the Frier, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of Tranſubſtantiation. At the hearing whereof his heart was ſo full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the Sermon was finiſhed. As ſoon as the Frier was come down, he burſt out and charged him with falſe Doctrine, perſwading the People, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the Bread was but a Sacrament only of the Lord's Body. The Frier, not willing to hear him, made ſigns unto him to depart. Alſo the throng of the People was ſuch, that it carried him out of the doors. He had not gone far, but *Heſſelius* the Chamberlain overtook him and carried him to Priſon. Then were Doctors and other Friers, as *Piſtorius*, and *Bunderius*, brought to reaſon with him, of the Sacrament, of Invocation of Saints, and Purgatory. He ever ſtood to the trial only of the Scripture: which they refuſed. Then was it agreed that he ſhould declare his mind in writing: which he did. He wrote alſo to his Wife at *Emden*; comforting her, and requiring her to take care for *Samuel* and *Sarah* his Children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to ſpeak to the People. *Heſſelius* the Officer made great haſte to have him diſpatched. Wherefore he, mildly like a Lamb, praying for his Enemies, gave himſelf to be bound, patiently taking what they would do againſt him: whom firſt they ſtrangled, and then conſumed his Body being dead with fire.

And this was the Martyrdom of *Haſſius*. *Ex Lud. Rab. lib. 6.*

Joannes Friſius *Abbat in* Bavaria, *Anno* 1534.

John Friſius Abbat.

Joannes Sleidan. libr. 25. maketh record of one *Johannes Friſius*, Abbat of *Newſtad*, within the Diocels of the Biſhop *Hirpiboleniſis* in *Bavaria*: Who, being ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*, was called to account of his Faith: and ſtrongly perſiſting in his Affections, and defending the ſame by the Scriptures, he was therefore diſplaced and removed from all his Juriſdictions, the five and twentieth of *June*, Anno 1555. *Ex Sleid.*

Bertrand de Blas, *at* Dornick, *An.* 1555.

The Baillif of *Hennegow*, Governor of the Town and Caſtle of *Dornick*.

The ſtory of *Bertrand* is lamentable, his Torments uncredible, the Tyranny ſhewed unto him horrible, the Conſtancy of the Martyr admirable. This *Bertrand*, being a ſilk Weaver, went to *Weſell* for the Cauſe of Religion. Who being deſirous to draw his Wife and Children from *Dornick* to *Weſell*, came thrice from thence to perſwade her to go with him thither. When he in no wiſe could be intreated, he, remaining a few days at home, ſet his houſe in order, and deſired his Wife and Brother to pray that God would eſtabliſh him in his enterprize that he went about. That done, he went upon *Chriſtmaſs-day* to the high Church of *Dornick*, where he took the Cake out of the Prieſts hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at Maſs, and ſtamp'd it under his feet, ſaying, That he did it to ſhew the Glory of that God, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to perſwade them that the Cake or Fragment of Bread was not Jeſus their Saviour.

Peter Devenſtere, Lieutenant of the ſaid Baillif.

Philip de Corde chief Counſeller in criminal Cauſes.

Nicholas Chambrere.

Peter Rebchelter.

At the light hereof the People, being ſtrucken with a marvellous damp, ſtood all amazed. At length ſuch a ſtirring thereupon followed, that *Bertrand* could hardly eſcape with life. It was not long but the noiſe of this was carried to the Baillif of *Hennegow*, and Governor of

Perfecut. *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.* K.Hen.8.

James de Clerck.

Nicholas of Fernague.

M. Hermes of Wingles, one of the Counſel for the ſaid Baillywick.

the Caſtle of *Dornick*, which lay ſick the ſame time of the Gout at *Biſſa*. Who like a mad Man cried out, that ever God would or could be ſo patient, to ſuffer that Contumely, ſo to be troden under the foot by ſuch a Miſer: adding moreover, that he would revenge his Cauſe in ſuch ſort, as it ſhould be an example for ever to all Poſterity; and forthwith the furious Tyrant commanded himſelf to be carried to the Caſtle of *Dornick*, *Bertrand* being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his Fact, or whether he would ſo do, if it were to be done again? Who anſwered, that if it were an hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had an hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the Pinbank, tormented moſt miſerably, to utter his fetters on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the Sentence, more like Tyrants than Chriſtianmen. By the tenour of which Sentence, this was his puniſhment:

Bertrand thrice tormented.

The miſerable and tragical handling of Bertrand.

First, He was drawn from the Caſtle of *Dornick* to the Market-place, having a Ball of Iron put in his mouth. Then he was ſet upon a Stage, where his right hand wherewith he took the Hoſt, was cruſhed and preſſed between two hot Irons, with ſharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and faſhion of his hand was miſhapen. In like manner they brought other-like Irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to ſuffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous conſtancy and firmneſs of mind. That done, they took the ball of Iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who notwithſtanding, with continual crying, ceaſed not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the People were greatly moved: Whereupon the tormentors thruſt the Iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower Stage, he going to the ſame no leſs chearfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an Iron Chain going about his body, and ſo he was let down flat upon the fire: whom the foreſaid Governor, there ſtanding by and looking upon, cauſed to be let up again, and ſo down and up again, till at laſt the whole body was ſpent to aſhes, which he commanded to be caſt into the River: when this was done, the Chappel where this Maſs-god was ſo intreated, was lockt up, and the Board whereupon the Prieſt ſtood was burnt, the marble Stone whereupon the Hoſt did light, was broken in pieces. And finally, forſomuch as the ſaid *Bertrand* had received his Doctrine at *Weſell*, commandment was given, That no Perſon out of that Country ſhould go to *Weſell*, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the Emperor's Placard, *Ex Criſp. Pantal. & Adriano.*

The right hand and foot of Bertrand preſſed off with hot Irons.

The tongue of Bertrand cutoff.

The burning and martyrdom of Bertrand.

Two hundred Miniſters of Bohemia, *Anno* 1555.

Perſecution in Bohemia.

The ſame year two hundred Miniſters and Preachers of the Goſpel were baniſhed out of *Bohemia* for preaching againſt the ſuperſtition of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and extolling the Glory of Chriſt. *Ex Com. Johan. Sleid. lib.* 25.

The Preachers of Locrane.

Perſecution in Locrane.

Locrane is a place between the *Alpes*, yet ſubject to the *Helvetians*. When theſe alſo had received the Goſpel, and the five Pages of the *Helvetians* above-mentioned were not well pleaſed therewith, but would have them puniſhed, and great contention was among the *Helvetians* about the ſame, it was concluded at length, that the Miniſters ſhould be exiled: whom the *Tigurines* did receive. *Ex Pant.*

Francis

K.Hen.8. *Perfecut.* *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, *at* Dornick, *Anno* 1562.

Francis Warlut, Alexander Dayken, Martyrs.

After theſe two good Men, being born in the lower parts of *Germany*, had been converſant in divers reformed Churches in other Countries: at laſt, for Conſcience-ſake they returned home again to do good in their own Country of *Dornick*, and thereabout.

So upon a time, as the people there reſorted to a back-Field or Wood without the City, with a certain Preacher, to hear the Word of God, and to pray, the Adverſaries, having thereof ſome intelligence, ſo purſued them, that they took of them above thirty, of whom theſe two among the reſt were apprehended; and thinking no leſs but that they ſhould be burned, they began to ſing Pſalms. At length being brought forth, firſt one, then the other, they were both beheaded. And where the Judges had intended to quatter their Bodies, and to ſet them up by the high Ways, yet was it ſo provided, God working in the hearts of the People, that they were both committed to Sepulture. *Ex Lud. Rab.*

Gillotus Vivet:
James Faber *his Father-in-Law.*
Michael Faber *Son of* James.
Anna *Wife of* Gillotus, *and Daughter of* James Faber.

The Father with his two Sons and his Daughter martyr'd

Theſe in the Cauſe of the Goſpel ſuffered at *Valence*.

Earl of *Lallaine.*

James Faber, being an old Man, ſaid, That although he could not anſwer or fortify them in reaſoning, yet he would conſtantly abide in the truth of the Goſpel.

Anna his Daughter, being with Child, was reſpited: after ſhe was delivered, ſhe followed her Husband and Father in the like Martyrdom.

Michella Caignoncle, *at* Valence, *Anno* 1550.

Michella Wife of lawen Clerk, Martyr.

Michella, Wife of *James Clerk*, which was before burned, when ſhe was offered to be married, and to be carried out of the Country to ſome reformed Church, refuſed ſo to do, but would abide the adventure of her Vocation, and ſo was condemned with *Gillotus* to be burned. *Ex Criſp.*

Godfridus Hamelle, *at* Dornick, *An.* 1552.

Godfrid a Tailor, Martyr.

This *Godfride* a Tailor was taken and condemned at *Dornick*, or *Tournay*. When they had condemned him by the name of an Heretick; Nay (ſaid he) not an Heretick, but a Servant of Jeſus Chriſt unprofitable. When the Hangman went about to ſtrangle him to diminiſh his puniſhment, he refuſed it, ſaying, That he would abide the Sentence that the Judges had given. *Ex eod.*

Beſides theſe Germans above ſpecified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower Countries of *Germany*, which were ſecretly drowned, or buried, or otherwiſe in Priſon made away; whoſe names although they be not known to us, yet they are regiſtred in the Book of Life. Furthermore, in the Dutch Book of *Adrian*, divers other be numbred in the Catalogue of theſe German Martyrs, which likewiſe ſuffered in divers places of the lower Country: the names of certain be theſe.

Perfecut. *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

John Malo.
Damian Witrocke.
Waldrew Calier.
John Porceau.
Julian, vanden Swerde.
Adrian Lopphen.
Bawdwine.

Divers in the lower Countries martyred.

At *Bergis* or *Bergen* in *Hennegow*, were burnt in the year of our Lord 1555. *John Malo*, *Damian VVitrock*, *VValdrew Calier*, buried quick, *John Porceau*. At *Aſte* alſo ſuffered one *Julian*, *Anno* 1541, and *Adrian Lopphen*, Anno 1555. At *Bruxel*, Anno 1559, one *Bawdwine* beheaded. Another called *Gilleken Tilleman* burnt, *Anno* 1551.

Ecclaſiaſtical hiſt. & Adrian.

Add moreover to the ſame Catalogue of Dutch Martyrs burnt and conſumed, in the lower Countries under the Emperor's Dominion, the Names of theſe following. *VViliam Swole* burnt at *Meblin*, Anno 1529. *Nicholas Van Pole* at *Gaunt* beheaded. *Robert Ogvier*, and *Joan* his Wife, with *Baudicon*, and *Marvin Ogvier* their Children, which ſuffered at *Liſle*, Anno 1556. *M. Nicholas* burnt at *Mons* in *Hennegow*; *Laurence* of *Bruxels*, at *Mons*; *John Faſſeau* at *Mons*; *Cornelius Volcart* at *Brugis*, Anno 1553. *Hubert* the Printer, and *Philebert Joyner* at *Brugis*, Anno 1553. A Woman buried with Thorns under her: *Peter le Rouze* at *Brugis*, Anno 1552. At *Meblin* ſuffered *Francis* and *Nicholas*, two Brethren, *Anno* 1555. At *Antwerp* were burnt *Adrian* a Painter, and *Henry* a Tailor, *Anno* 1555. Alſo *Cornelius Malewine* Lockſmith, and *Herman Janſon* the ſame year. Mr. *John du Camp* Schoolmaſter, *Anno* 1557; with a number of other beſides, which in the ſaid Book are to be ſeen and read.

Anno 1525, we read alſo in the French Hiſtory, of a certain Monk, who, becauſe he forſook his abominable Order, and was married, was burned at *Prague*.

A Preacher poiſoned at Erford.

A Preacher at Erford poiſoned.

The Prieſts of *Erford.*

In the Collections of *Henry Patalion*, we read alſo of a certain godly Preacher to be poiſoned, for preaching the Word of Truth, by the Prieſts of *Erford*. *Ex Elegia cujuſdam viri docti in Plantal.*

And here ceaſing with theſe Perſecutions in *Germany*, we will now, Chriſt willing, proceed further to the French Martyrs, comprehending in a like Table the Names and Cauſes of ſuch as in that Kingdom ſuffered for the Word of God, and Cauſe of Righteouſneſs, as in this brief Summary conſequently hereunder enſueth.

Another

K.Hen.8.

Another Table of them which suffered in France, *for the like witnesse of the Gospel.*

The French Martyrs.

Persecut.	*Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*
	James Pavane *Schoolmaster at* Paris, 1524.
James Pavane Martyr. Dr. *Marshall of Paris.*	THis *James*, first being taken by the Bishop of *Melden*, or *Meux*, was compelled to recant by Dr. *Martial*. Afterward returning again to his Confession, he was burned at *Paris*, in the year 1525. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*
	Dionisius de Rieux, *at* Melda, or Meux, 1528.
Dionisius de Rieux Martyr. This Devil, having a wooden Cross put before his hands by the Friers, with his teeth cast it into the Rivers, which made the Friers mad.	This *Denis* was one of them which was first burned at *Melda*, for saying, That the Mass is a plain denial of the Death and Passion of Christ. He was always wont to have in his mouth, the words of Christ; *He that denieth me before Men, him also will I deny before my Father*; and to muse upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment. *Ex Crisp. & aliis.*
	Johannes de Caduceo, *Batchelor of the Civil Law*, Anno 1533.
J. Caduceus Martyr.	This *John*, first for making a Sermon or Exhortation to his Countrymen of *Limosine* in *France*, upon *Allhollow-day*; and after sitting at a Feast where it was propounded, That every one should bring forth some sentence: for that he brought forth this, *Christ reign in our hearts*; and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words; was thereupon accused, taken and degraded, and after burned. At his Degradation, one of the Black Friers of *Paris* preached, taking for his Theam the words of St. *Paul*, 1 Tim. 4. *The Spirit speaketh, that in the later days, Men shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to lying Spirits, and Doctrine of Error*, &c. And in handling that place, either he could not, or would not proceed further in the Text. *Caduceus* cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The Frier stood dumb, and could not speak a word.
	Then *Caduceus*, taking the Text, did prosecute the same, as followeth: *Teaching false Doctrine in hypocrisie, having their Conscience marked with a hot Iron, forbidding to Marry, and to eat Meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving*, &c. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*
Five Martyrs burned. Promoters of *Paris.*	Bartholomew Myler, *a lame Cripple.* John Burges *Merchant*, *the Receiver of* Nants. Henry Hoille of Conberon. Canella *a School-mistris.* Steven de la Forge *Merchant.* *Anno* 1533.
	These five here specified, for certain Bills cast abroad and set up, sounding against the abomination of the Mass, and other superstitious Abstinencies of the Pope, were condemned and burned in the City of *Paris*. *Henry* of *Conberon* had his tongue bored through, and with an Iron Wire tied fast to one of his Cheeks: who likewise with the other was burned as is aforesaid. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*

Persecut.	*Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*
	Alexander Canus *Priest*, *otherwise called* Laurentius Cruceus, *at* Paris, *An.* 1533. Alex. Canus Martyr.
	For the sincere Doctrine and Confession of Christ's true Religion, he was burned in *Paris*, having but a small fire, and did abide much torment. *Ex Henric. Pant.*
	John Pointer *a Surgeon, at* Paris, *An.* 1533.
The Gray Friers in *Paris.* Dr. *Clerke* a Sorbonist.	This Surgeon being detected and accused by the Friers, and such as he had cured before of the French Pox, was first condemned to be strangled, and then burned: but afterward, because he would not do homage to a certain Idol at the commandment of a Frier that came to confess him, his Sentence was turned to have his Tongue cut off, and so to be burned. *Ex Crisp.* Joh. Pointer Martyr. In France the manner was, that the Martyrs coming by anything as they went to burning, and would not worship the same, had their tongues cut out.
	Peter Gaudet, *Knight sometimes of* Rhodes, *Anno* 1533.
A certain Knight of *Rhodes* Uncle to this *Peter*.	This *Peter*, being at *Geneva* with his Wife, was trained out from thence by his Uncle, and put in Prison for defence of the Gospel: and, after long torments there sustained, was burned. *Vide Crisp.* Pet. Gaudet Martyr.
	Quoquillard, *Anno* 1534.
	At *Bezanson*, in the County of *Burgundy*, this *Quoquillard* was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's Gospel. *Ex Jo. Crisp.* Quoquillard Martyr.
	Nicholas *a Scrivener.* John de Poix. Stephen Burlet. *Anno* 1534. Nicholas a Scrivener, Jo. de Poix, Steph. Burlet Martyrs.
	These three were executed and burned for the like cause of the Gospel, in the City of *Arras*: namely *Nicholas* a Scrivener, *John de Poix*, *Stephen Burlet*, Ex Jo. Crisp.
A Gray Frier in the City of *Rochel.*	Mary Becaudella, *at* Fountains, *An.* 1534.
	This *Mary* being vertuously instructed of her Master where she lived; and being afterward at a Sermon, where a Frier preached, after the Sermon, found fault with his Doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures. Whereat he disdaining, procured her to be burned at *Fountains*. Ibidem. Mary Becaudella martyr
	John Comon, *Anno* 1535.
George Berel, Taylor.	*John Cornon* was a Husbandman of *Maseon*, and unlettered: but one to whom God gave such wisdom, that his Judges were amazed, when he was condemned by their Sentence and burned. *Ex Crispin.* John Cornon Martyr.
	Martin Gonin, *in* Dolphine, *An.* 1536.
	This *Martin* being taken for a Spie in the Borders of *France*, towards the *Alps*, was committed to Prison. In his going out, his Jaylor espied about him Letters of *Parellus*, and Martin Gonin martyr.

Persecut.	*Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*
K.Hen.8. The Procurator of the City of *Grenoble* in *France*. The Inquisitor.	and of *Peter Viret*. Wherefore being examined of the King's Procurator, and of the Inquisitor, touching his Faith, after he had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, he was cast into the River and drowned. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*
Claudius Painter, a Goldsmith, Martyr. The kinsfolks and friends of this *Claudius*. *Marinus* an Officer.	Claudius Painter, *a Goldsmith, at* Paris, 1540.
	Claudius going about to convert his Friends and Kinsfolks in his Doctrine, was by them committed to *Marinus*, a chief Captain, who condemned him to be burned: but the high Parliament of *Paris*, correcting that Sentence, added moreover, That he should have his tongue cut out before, and so be burned. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*
Steph Brune Martyr. *Gasper Angerius* the Bishops Renter.	Stephen Brune *a Husbandman, at* Rutiers, *Anno* 1540.
	Stephen Brune was persecuted of *Angerius*, who after his Confession given of his Faith, was adjudged to be burned. Which punishment he took so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His Adversaries commanded after his death to be cried, That none should make any more mention of him, under pain of Heresie.
Domicellus a Franciscan, and an Inquisitor. The Martyr not burned with the fire.	*Pantalion* addeth moreover, That, at the place of his burning, called *Plainvell*, the Wind rose and blew the fire so from him, as he stood exhorting the People, that he continued there the space of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or scarce touched with any flame: so that, all the Wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new Fagots, and vessels of Oil, and such other matter: and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but stood safe. Then the Hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head. To whom the holy Martyr being yet alive, said, When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with staves like a Dog? With that the Hangman with his Pike thrust him through the belly and the guts, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the wind. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*
Constantine Norman, with three other Martyrs.	Constantius, a Citizen of *Roan*, with three others, *Anno* 1542.
	These four, for defence of the Gospel being condemned to be burned, were put in a Dung-cart. Who, thereat rejoicing, said, That they were reputed here as Excrements of the World, but yet their death was a sweet Odour unto God. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*
Joh. du Beck Martyr.	John du Becke *Priest*, Anno 1543.
	For the Doctrine of the Gospel he was degraded, and constantly abode the torment of fire in the City of *Troyes* in *Champagn*. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*
Aymondus de Lauoy Martyr. The parish Priest of the Town of *St. Faith* in *Angeow*	Aymond de Lauoy, *at* Bourdeaux, 1543.
	This *Aymond* preached the Gospel at Saint *Faiths* in *Angeow*, where he was accused by the Parish Priest there, and by other Priests more, to have taught false Doctrine, to the great decay of their Gains. Whereupon, when the Magistrates of *Bourdeaux* had given commandment, and had sent out their Apparitours to apprehend him, he having intelligence thereof, was willed by his Friends to fly and shift for himself: but he would not, saying, He had rather never have been born, than so to do. It was the Office of a good Shepherd, he said, not to fly in time of peril, but rather
The Office of a good Shepherd to Feed by his Flock.	Also other priests of the same County. *Riverseus* and his servant.
	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
	to abide the danger, lest the Flock be scattered: or else left peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple in their minds, thus to think, that he fed them with Dreams and Fables, contrary to the Word of God. Wherefore beseeching them to move him no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yield up both Body and Soul in the quarrel of that Truth which he had taught; saying, with St. *Paul*, *That he was ready, not only to be* Act. 21. *bound for the testimony of Christ, in the City of Bourdeaux, but also to die.*
	To contract the long story hereof to a brief Narration, the Summer came, and was in the City three days: during which time, *Aymondus* preached three Sermons. The People, in defence of their Preacher, flew upon the Sumner, to deliver him out of his hands. But *Aymond* defired them not to stop his Martyrdom; seeing it was the Will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not, said he, resist. Then the Consuls suffered the Sumner, and so *Aymond* was carried to *Bourdeaux*. Where many Witnesses, the most part being Priests, came in against him, with Mr. *Riverack*, also, and his Servant: which *Riverack*, had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand Crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false Witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their Accusation was only for denying Purgatory.
	About nine months he remained in Prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit there was no Man that could charge him outwardly with any Crime. Then came down Letters, whereupon the Judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater Fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with Torments. One of the head Presidents came to him, and flaking him by the Beard, bad him tell what Fellows he had of his Religion. To whom he answered, saying, That he had no other Fellows, but such as knew and did the Will of God his Father, whether they were Nobles, Merchants, or Husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these Torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: This Body, said he, once must die, but the Spirit shall live: the Kingdom of God abideth for ever. In the time of his tormenting, he swounded. Afterward, coming to himself again, he said, O Lord, Lord, why hast thou forsaken me? To whom the President, Nay, wicked *Lutheran*, said he, thou hast forsaken God. Then said *Amundus*, Alas, good Masters, why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord, I beseech thee forgive them, they know not what they do. See (said the President) this Caitif, how he prayeth for us: nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one Man's Name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with Men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.
	On the next *Saturday* following, sentence of Condemnation was given against him. Then certain Friers were appointed to hear his Confession, whom he refused, chusing to him one of his own Order, the Parish-Priest of St. *Christopher*, bidding the Friers depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. Do you not see, said he, how I am troubled enough with Men, will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my Body, will ye also take from me my Soul? Away from me I pray you. At last, when he could not be suffered to have the Parish Priest, he then took a certain *Carmelite*, bidding the rest to depart; with whom he having long talk, at last did convert him to the Truth. Shortly after that came unto him the Judges, *Cassanges*, and *Longa*, with other Counsellors more; unto whom the said *Aymundus* began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's Supper: But *Longa*, interrupting him, demanded of him thus.
	The Judge.
	First declare unto us your mind, what you think of Purgatory? Purgatory.

The

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

The Martyr.

In Scripture all theſe are one, to purge, to cleanſe, and to waſh. Whereof we read in *Eſay*, in the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and of St. *Peter*; *He hath waſhed vou in his Blood. Ye are redeemed, not with Gold, but with the Blood Chriſt*, &c. And how often do we read, in the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, *that we are cleanſed by the Blood of Chriſt from our ſins*, &c.

Heb. 9. 2 Pet. 1.

The Judg.

Theſe Epiſtles are known to every Child.

The Martyr.

To every Child? Nay, I fear you have ſcarce read them your ſelf.

A Frier.

Mr. *Aymond*, with one word you may ſatisfy them, if you will ſay, That there is a place where the Souls are purged after this life.

The Martyr.

That I leave for you to ſay, if you pleaſe. What, would ye have me damn my own Soul, and to ſay that which I know not?

The Judg.

Doſt not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou ſhalt go to Purgatory? and he that died in venial ſin, that he ſhall paſs ſtraight into Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

Such truſt I have in my God, that the ſame day when I ſhall die, I ſhall enter into Paradiſe.

Another Judg.

Where is Paradiſe?

The Martyr.

There where the Majeſty and Glory of God is.

The Judg.

The Frier taketh praying for the poor which be alive, & thoſe that be dead, to be all one.

The Canons do make mention of Purgatory; and you in your Sermons have uſed always much to pray for the Poor.

The Martyr.

I have preached the Word of God, and not the Canons.

The Judg.

Doſt thou believe in the Church?

The Martyr.

The Church.

I believe as the Church regenerated by the Blood of Chriſt, and founded in his Word, hath appointed.

The Judg.

What Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Church is a Greek word, ſignifying as much as a Congregation or Aſſembly: and ſo I ſay, that whenſoever the Faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Chriſtian Religion, the Holy Ghoſt is verily with them.

The Judg.

By this it ſhould follow, that there be many Churches: and whereas any ruſtical Clowns do aſſemble together, there muſt be a Church.

The Martyr.

It is no abſurd thing to ſay that there be many Churches or Congregations amongſt the Chriſtians: and ſo ſpeaketh St. *Paul*, *To all the Churches which are in* Galatia, &c. And yet all theſe Congregations make but one Church.

Gal. 1.

The Judges.

The Church wherein thou believeſt, is it not the ſame Church which our Creed doth call the *Holy Church?*

The Martyr.

I believe the ſame.

The Judg.

And who ſhould be head of that Church?

The Martyr.

The head of the Church.

Jeſus Chriſt.

The Judg.

And not the Pope.

The Martyr. No.

The Judg.

And what is he then?

The Martyr.

A Miniſter, if he be a good Man, as other Biſhops be: of whom St. *Paul* thus writeth; 1 Cor. 4. *Let a Man ſo eſtrem of us, as Miniſters and Diſpenſers of the Secrets of God*, &c.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.* K.Hen. 8.

The Judg.

What then, doſt thou not believe the Pope?

The Martyr.

The Pope, what he is.

I know not what he is.

The Judg.

Doſt thou not believe that he is the Succeſſor of *Peter*?

The Martyr.

If he be like to *Peter*, and be grounded with *Peter* upon the true Rock of Chriſt Jeſus, ſo I believe his Works and Ordinances to be good.

Then the Judges leaving him with the Friers, departed from him, counting him as a damned Creature. Notwithſtanding, *Aymundus* putting his truſt in God, was full of comfort, ſaying with St. *Paul*, Who ſhall ſeparate me from the Love of God? Shall the Sword, Hunger, or Nakedneſs? No, nothing ſhall pluck me from him. But rather I have pity of you, ſaid he, and ſo they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, ſinging by the way the Pſalms, *In exitu Iſrael de Ægypto*, &c. And as he paſſed by the place where he had before been impriſoned, he called to his Priſon-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had ſpoken for them, and declared their miſeries unto the Preſident. He thanked moreover the Keeper, and deſired him to be good to his poor Priſoners. And ſo taking his leave of them, and deſiring them to pray for him; alſo giving thanks to the Miſtreſs-keeper for her gentleneſs ſhewed to him, he proceeded forward toward his Execution. As he came againſt the Church of St. *Andrew*, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of bleſſed St. *Mary*, and of St. *Juſtice*. I ask mercy, ſaid he, of God, and his Juſtice, but the Virgin, bleſſed St. *Mary*, I never offended, nor did that thing for the which I ſhould ask her mercy. From thence he paſſed forward to the Church of St. *Legia*, preaching ſtill as he went. Then ſpake one of the Souldiers to the Driver or Carter, willing him to drive apace, for here is preaching, ſaid he, enough. To whom ſaid *Aymund*, *He that is of God, beareth the Word of God*, &c. In paſſing by a certain Image of our Lady, great offence was taken againſt him, becauſe he always called upon Chriſt Jeſus only, and made no mention of her. Whereupon he lifted up his Voice to God, praying that he would never ſuffer him to invocate any other, ſaving him alone. Coming to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, he was tumbled out of the Cart upon the ground, teſtifying to the Magiſtrates and to the People ſtanding by, that he died for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and for his Word. More he would have ſpoken, but he could not be ſuffered, by the tumultuous veſing of the Officers, crying, Diſpatch him, diſpatch him, let him not ſpeak. Then he ſpeaking a few words ſoftly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he had converted, was bid to ſtep up to the Stage. Where the People beginning to give a little audience, thus he ſaid; O Lord, make haſte to help me, tarry not, do not deſpiſe the Works of thy Hands: And you, my Brethren, ſhall be Students and Scholars, I exhort you to ſtudy and learn the Goſpel: for the Word of God abideth for ever: labour to know the Will of God, and fear not them that kill the Body, but have no power upon your Souls: And after that, my Fleſh, ſaid he, repugneth marvelloully againſt the Spirit, but ſhortly I ſhall caſt it away. My good Maſters, I beſeech ye pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my Soul. As he was oft repeating the ſame, the Hangman took and haled him upon the ſteps in ſuch ſort, that he ſtrangled him. And thus that bleſſed Saint gave up his life; whoſe Body afterward was with fire conſumed.

Aymund ſpeaketh for his Priſon-fellows.

John B. Filioli, exhortes vos a ſimulachris. 1 John 5.

The words of Aymund to the Students.

The death and martyrdom of Aymundus.

Francis Bribard, *Anno* 1544.

Francis Bribard was ſaid to be the Secretary of the Cardinal of *Ballaie*. Who being alſo for the Goſpel condemned, after his Tongue was cut off, did with like conſtancy ſuſtain the ſharpneſs of burning. *Ibid.*

Fr. Bribard.

William

K.Hen. 8. | *Perſecut.* | *Martyrs, and the cauſe of their Martyrdom.*

William Haſſon *an Apothecary at* Roan, *Anno* 1544.

William Haſſon Apothecary coming from *Blois* to *Roan*, was lodged with a certain Widow in the Suburbs of the City, who asking of her, at what time the Council or Parliament did riſe; ſhe ſaid at ten of the Clock. About which time and hour he went to the Palace, and there ſcattered certain Books concerning Chriſtian Doctrine, and the abuſe of Mens Traditions.

The high Court of Roan.

Whereat the Council was ſo moved, that they commanded all the Gates of the City to be locked, and diligent ſearch to made in all Inns and Hoſtles, to find out the Author. Then the Widow told of the party which was there, and asked of the riſing of the Council, and ſhortly upon the ſame took his horſe and rod away. Then were Poſts ſet out through all quarters, ſo that the ſaid *William* was taken by the way riding to *Dipes*, and brought again to *Roan*. Who being there examined, declared his Faith boldly, and how he came of purpoſe to diſperſe thoſe Books in *Roan*, and went to do the like at *Dipe*.

A Widow keeping a Victualling houſe in the Suburbs of Roan.

Pſal. 114.

The boldneſs of a conſtant Martyr.

The Week enſuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the Sentence given, he was brought in a Cart, accompanied with a Doctor, a Carmelite Frier, before the great Church, who putting a Torch into his hand required him to do homage to the Image of our Lady, which becauſe he refuſed to do, his Tongue was cut out. The Frier then making a Sermon, when he ſpake any thing of the Mercies of God, the ſaid *William* hearkened to him, but when he ſpake of the merits of Saints, and other Dreams, he turned away his head. The Frier looking upon the countenance of *Haſſon* lift up his hand to Heaven, ſaying with great Exclamation, That he was damned, and was poſſeſſed with a Devil. When the Frier had ceaſed his Sermon, this godly *Haſſon* had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a gally was lifted up into the Air, and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the bleſſed Martyr with a ſmiling and chearful countenance looked up to Heaven, never moving nor ſtirring till he let down his head, and gave up his Spirit. All the people there preſent were not a little aſtonied thereat, and were in diverſe opinions, ſome ſaying that he had a Devil; others maintained the contrary, ſaying, if he had a Devil, he ſhould have fallen into deſpair.

Cuſtodite vos a ſimulachris. 1 John 5.

Cruelty of the Adverſaries.

Frier Delands converted.

This Carmelite Frier aboveſaid, was called *Delanda*, which after was converted, and preached the Goſpel. Ex *Gallic. Hiſt Johan. Criſp. lib.* 2.

James Cobard *a Schoolmaſter, and many other taken the ſame time, An.* 1545.

James Cobard, Martyr.

Three Popiſh Prieſts.

The Duke of Lorain.

This *James*, Schoolmaſter in the City of St. *Michael* in the Dukedom of *Barens* in *Lorane*, diſputed with three Prieſts, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and of the Supper did not avail, unleſs they were received with Faith: which was as much to ſay, as that the Maſs did profit neither the quick nor dead. For the which, and alſo for his Confeſſion, which he being in Priſon ſent of his own accord by his Mother unto the Judge, he was burned, and moſt quietly ſuffered. Ex *Joh. Criſp.*

Peter Clerk *Brother to* John Clerk, *burnt before.*

Stephanus Mangini.
James Bouchbek.
John Briſſebar.
Henry Hutinote.
Thomas Honorote.

John Bondovinus.
John Fleſch, *Peter Picquere*, and *John Picquere.*
John Mareſſon.
Philip Little.
Michael Caillon.
Francis Clerk.
A Weaver of Couberon.

At Meaux. An. 1546.

The Doctors of Sorbon, and others.

Theſe fourteen dwelt at *Melda* a City in *France*, ten miles from *Paris*, where *William Bricanatus* being their Biſhop, did much good, brought to them the light of the Goſpel, and reformed the Church. Who being ſtraitly examined for the ſame, relented: but yet theſe with many other remained conſtant; who after the burning of *James Pavane* before-mentioned, and ſeeing Superſtition to grow more and more, began to congregate in *Mangin's* houſe, and to ſet up a Church to themſelves, after the Example of the *French* Church in *Strausburgh*. For their Miniſter they choſe *Peter Clerk*: Firſt, they beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in ſhort time to three or four hundred. Whereupon the matter being known to the Senate of *Paris*, the Chamber was beſet where they were, and they taken. Of whom ſixty two Men and Women were bound and brought to *Paris*, ſinging Pſalms, eſpecially the Pſalm ſeventy and nine. To theſe it was chiefly objected, that they being Lay-men would miniſter the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

Fifteen Martyrs.

Peter Clerk, John Clerk, Brother and Martyrs.

Fourteen Killed Martyrs at Meaux.

A French Church ſet up at Meaux.

Of theſe ſixty two, fourteen chiefly did ſtand faſt, which were condemned, and racked to confeſs moe of their Fellows: but they uttered none: the reſt were ſcourged and baniſhed the Country. Theſe fourteen were ſent to ſundry Monaſteries to be converted: but that would not be. Then they being ſent in a Cart to *Melda*, or *Meaux* to be burned; by the way, three miles from *Paris*, a certain Weaver of *Couberon* by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to endure faſt unto the Lord: who alſo was taken, and bound with them in the Cart. Coming to the place of Execution, which was before *Mangin's* houſe, it was told them, That they which would be confeſſed, ſhould not have their tongues cut out, the other ſhould. Of whom ſeven there were, which to ſave their tongues, confeſſed; other ſeven would not. Of the firſt was *Steven Mangin*, who having his tongue firſt cut, notwithſtanding ſpake ſo that he might be underſtood, ſaying thrice, The Lord's Name be bleſſed. As they were in burning, the people ſung Pſalms. The Prieſts ſeeing that, would alſo ſing their Songs; *O ſalutaris hoſtia*, and *Salve Regina*, while the Sacrifice of theſe holy Martyrs was finiſhed. Their Wives being compelled to ſee their Husbands in torments, were after put in Priſon; from whence they being promiſed to be let go, if they would ſay that their Husbands were damned, refuſed ſo to ſay.

Ex Land Rolls lib. 64

Note how God miſerably plagues Adverſaries with their own Song, to puniſh the Sacrifice of theſe holy Martyrs againſt their Wills.

O ſalutaris hoſtia, Hoſti, O wholeſom Sacrifice, in a Song which the Papiſts uſe in praiſe of the Sacrifice of their Maſſe

Peter Chapot *at* Paris, *An.* 1546.

John Andre Bookſeller, promoter.

Peter Chapot firſt was a Corrector to a Printer in *Paris*. After he had been at *Geneva*, to do good to the Church of Chriſt, like a good Man he came with Books of the holy Scripture into *France*, and diſperſed them abroad into the faithful. Which great Zeal of his cauſed him to be apprehended of *John Andre*, which was the common Promoter to *Liſet* the Preſident, and to the Sorboniſts.

Doctors Sorboniſts, M. Nicolas Clerici, Doctor of Divinity.

This good *Chapot* being taken and brought before the Commiſſaries, rendred promptly an account of his Faith: unto whom he exhibited a Supplication, or Writing, wherein he learnedly informed the Judges to do their Office uprightly. Then were three Doctors of *Sorbone* aſſigned, *Nicholas Clerici*, *John Picard*, and *Nicholas Maillard*, to diſpute with him, who when

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when they could find no advantage, but rather shame at his hands, they were angry with the Judges for leting them dispute with Heretickes.

Dr. John Picard.

This done, the Judges consulting together upon his Condemnation could not agree: so that *Chapot* (as it seemed) might have escaped, had not a wicked person the Reporter of the Proces sought and wrought his Condemnation, which Condemnation was at length concluded thus, That he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The Doctor appointed to be at his Execution was *Maillard*, with whom he was greatly incumbred. For this Frier called upon him still not to speak to the People, but he desired him that he might pray. Then he bad him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his Advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed Virgin, and recited the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and was about to speak of the Mass, but *Maillard* would not let him, making haste to his Execution, and said, unless he would say *Ave Maria*, he should be burnt quick. Then *Chapot* prayed, O Jesus Son of *David*, have mercy upon me. *Maillard* then bad him say, *Jesu Maria*, and so he should be strangled. *Chapot* again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. Say, said *Maillard*, *Jesu Maria*, or else thou shalt be burned quick. As *Chapot* was thus striving with the Frier, suddenly as it hapned, *Jesu Maria* escaped out of his mouth, but he by and by repenting himself, O God, said he, what have I done! pardon me, O Lord, to thee only have I sinned. Then *Maillard* commanded the Cord to be pluckt about his Neck to strangle him: notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, *Maillard* all full of anger, went to the Council-house, called *La Chamber Ardante*, declaring what an Uproar had there almost hapned amongst the People; saying that he would complain upon the Judges, for suffering those Hereticks to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a Decree was made, that all which were to be burned, unless they consented at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which Law diligently afterward was observed. *Ex Johanne Crispino lib. 6.*

Dr. Nicolas Maillard.

To shut never so little to the Adversaries, is a great matter.

The cutting off of Tongues now, and by whom it came into France.

Saintinus Nivet *at* Paris, *Anno* 1546.

After the burning of those fourteen, whose Names be described before, this *Saintinus* (which was a lame Cripple) with his Wife removed out of *Meaux* to *Montheliard*, where when he had continued a while in safe liberty of Religion, and saw himself there to do no good, but to be a burden to the Church, cast in his mind to return home to *Meaux* again, and so did: where at last as he was selling certain small Wares in the Fair, he was there known and apprehended. Whereof when Information was given, he being examined, at the first confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this Inquisition, as they were examining him of certain Points of Religion, and asked him whether he would stand to that he said, or not? He gave this Answer again, worthy to be registred in all Men's hearts, saying, And I ask you again, Lord Judges, dare you be so bold to deny that is so plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture? So little regard had he to save his own Life, that he desired the Judges both at *Meaux*, and at *Paris*, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own Lives and Souls, and to consider how much innocent Blood they spilled daily in fighting against Christ Jesus and his Gospel.

Mr. *Peter Lisset* president of the Council of *Paris.*

At last, being brought to *Paris*, through the means of Master *Peter Lisset*, a great Persecutor, for that they of *Meaux* should take by him no incouragement, there he

was detained, and suffered his Martyrdom; where no kind of Cruelty was lacking, which the innocent Martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be sent unto. *Ex Hen. Pantal. & Hist. Gallic.*

Stephen Polliot *at* Paris, *Anno* 1546.

Stephen Polliot coming out of *Normandy* (where he was born) unto *Meaux*, tarried there not long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a Town called *Fera*, where he was apprehended and brought to *Paris*, and there cast into a foul and dark Prison. In which Prison he was kept in Bands and Fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light. At length being called for before the Senate, and his Sentence given to have his Tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his Sachel of Books hanging about his Neck; O Lord, said he, is the World in blindness and darkness still? for he thought, being in Prison so long, that the World had been altered from its old darkness to better Knowledge. At last the worthy Martyr of Jesus Christ having his Books about his Neck, was put into the fire, where he with much Patience ended this tranitory Life. *Ex Hen. Pantal.*

Stephen Polliot, Martyr.

The names of his persecutors in the story be not expressed.

John English, *Anno* 1547.

He was executed and burned at *Sens* in *Burgundy*, being condemned by the High Court of Parliament *Parie* for confessing the true Word of God. *Ex Crisp. & Adrian.*

John English, martyr.

The high Sentat of *Paris.*

Michael Michelote *a Taylor*, *Anno* 1547.

This Taylor being apprehended for the Gospel sake, was judged first, if he would turn, to be beheaded; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. Who being asked, Whether of these two he would chuse? answered, That he trusted, that he which had given him Grace not to deny the Truth, would also give him patience to endure the fire. He was burned at *Warden* by *Turney*.

Michael Michelote, martyr.

Leonard de Prato, *Anno* 1547.

This *Leonard* going from *Dyion* to *Bar*, a Town in *Burgundy*, with two false Brethren, and talking with them about Religion, was bewrayed of them, and afterward burned.

Leonardus de Prato, Martyr.

Two false Brethren.

John Taffington, *Joan* his Wife.
Simon Marefchal, *Joan* his Wife.
William Michaut.
James Bouleran.
James Bretany.
Anno 1547.

All these seven being of the City of *Langres*, for the Word and Truth of Jesus Christ, were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort. But especially *Joan*, which was *Simon's* Wife, being reserved to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her Husband, and all the other with words of singular Consolation; declaring to her Husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever. *Ex Pant. Crisp. & aliis.*

Seven martyrs.

Michael Marefchall.
John Camus.
Great *John Camus.*
John Serarphin.
Anno 1547.

These also the same year, and about the same time, for the like Confession of Christ's Gospel,

The Senate of *Paris.*

K. Hen. 8

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spel, were condemned by the Senate of *Paris*, and in the same City also with the like Cruelty were burned. *Ex Pantal. Crispin.*

Octovien Blondel *a Merchant of precious Stones at* Paris, *An.* 1548.

This *Octovien* as he was a great Occupier in all Faires and Countries of *France*, and well known both in Court and elsewhere; so was he a singular honest Man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's Word. Who being at his Hosts house at *Lyons*, rebuked the filthy Talk, and superstitious Behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the Host bearing to him a grudge, chanced to have certain Talk with *Gabriel* of *Saconnest Prestenteur*, concerning the Riches, and a sumptuous Coller set with rich Jewels of this *Octovien*.

Octovien Blondel, Martyr.

The Host of Octovien at Lyons.

Gabriel of Saconnex prestenteur.

Thus these two consulting together, did subborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain Sum of Crowns; which because *Octovien* refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for Heresie, thinking thereby to make Attachment of his Goods. But such order was taken by *Blondel*'s Friends, that they were frustrate of their purpose. Then *Blondell* being examined of his Faith, gave a plain and full Confession of that Doctrine, which he had learned: for the which he was committed to Prison, where he did much good to the Prisoners there.

For some that were in debt, he paid their Creditors and loosed them out. To some he gave Meat, to other Raiment. At length, through the importune Persuasions of his Parents and Friends, he gave over and changed his Confession. Notwithstanding the *Prestenteur*, not leaving so, appealed him up to the High Court of *Paris*. There *Octovien* being asked again touching his Faith, which of his two Confessions he would stick to? he being before admonished of his Fall, and of the Offence given thereby to the Faithful, said he would live and die in his first Confession, which he defended to be consonant to the Verity of God's Word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned, and so hastie was made to his Execution, lest his Friends in the Court might come between and save his Life. *Ex Jo. Crisp. lib. 6.*

Henry the second French King.

Fitly layned with good Works.

Hubert Cheriet, *alias* Burre, *a young man a Tailor, at* Dyion, *An.* 1549.

Hubert being a young man of the Age of nineteen years, was burned for the Gospel at *Dyion*; who neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his Parents, could be otherwise perswaded, but constantly to remain in the Truth unto death. *Ibid.*

Hubert Cheriet, Martyr.

Master Florent Venote, *Priest at* Paris, *An.* 1549.

This *Florent* remained in Prison in *Paris* four years and nine hours. During which time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow Prison or Brake so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the Hose or Boot, *ad Nectar Hippocratis*, because it is strait beneath, and wider above, like to the Instrument wherewith Apothecarys are wont to make their *Hypocras*. In this he remained seven weeks, where the Tormentors affirm, that no Thief or Murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of Life, or Madness.

Florent Venot, Martyr.

Peter Lisset president of the Council of Paris, and other Sorbonists.

At last, when there was a great shew in *Paris* at the King's coming into the City, and diverse other Martyrs in sundry places of the City were put to death, he having his Tongue cut off, was brought to see the Execution of them all; and last of all, in the place of *Maubert*, was put in the fire and burned the ninth of *July* at Afternoon. *Ex Johan. Crisp.*

Persecut. *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Ann Audebert *an Apothecaries Wife and Widow at* Orleance, *An.* 1549.

Ann Audebert, Martyr.

She going to *Geneva* was taken and brought to *Paris*, and by the Council there adjudged to be burned at *Orleance*.

When the Rope was put about her, she called it her Wedding-girdle wherewith she should be married to Christ. And as she should be burned upon a Saturday, upon *Michaelmas*-Even: upon a Saturday, said she, I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again. And seeing the Dung-cart brought wherein she should be carried, she rejoiced thereat, shewing such constancy in her Martyrdom as made all the Beholders to marvel. *Ex Joh. Crisp.*

A poor Tailor of Paris, *dwelling in the street of* St. Anthony *at* Paris, *An.* 1549.

A godly Tailor in Paris, Martyr.

Amongst many other godly Martyrs that suffered in *France*, the Story of this poor Tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembred. His Name is not yet fought out in the *French* Stories for lack of diligence in those Writers, more is the pity. The Story is this: Not long after the Coronation of *Henry* the second, the *French* King, at whose coming into *Paris* divers good Martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a spectacle, as is abovesaid: A certain poor Taylor, who then dwelt not far from the King's Palace, in the Street bearing the Name of St. *Anthony*, was apprehended of a certain Officer in the King's house, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his Occupation, and did work for his living: Before he was had to Prison, the Officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no Observation to the Holy-day?

An Officer of the Kings house.

Petrus Castellanus, Bishop of Maconnensis.

To whom he answered, That he was a poor Man, living only upon his labour: and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday; wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of his living. Then the Officer began to ask of him many Questions: whereunto the poor Tailor did so answer, that offoons he was clapt in Prison. After that, the Officer coming into the Court to shew what good Service he had done for the holy Church, declared to certain Estates, how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a Holy-day; shewing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to Prison. When the Rumor hereof was noised in the Kings Chamber, through the motion of them which were about the King, the poor Man was sent for to appear, that the King might have the hearing of him.

The Tailor imprisoned for breaking a part of an Holy-day.

Whereupon the King's Chamber being voided, save only a few of the chiefest Peers remaining about the King, the simple Tailor was brought. The King sitting in his Chair, commanded *Petrus Castellanus* Bishop of *Maçon*, (a Man very fit for such Inquisitions) to question with him. The Tailor being entred, and nothing appalled at the King's Majesty, after his Reverence done unto the Prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might testifie his Truth before such a mighty Prince. Then *Castellanus* entring talk, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of Religion. Whereunto the Tailor without fear, or any halting in his speech, with present Audacity, Wit, and Memory, so answerd for the sincere Doctrine and simple truth of God's Gospel, as was both convenient to the purpose, and also to his Questions aptly and fitly correspondent.

The Tailor brought before the King.

The learned boldness of the Tailor answering for his Religion before the King.

Notwithstanding, the Nobles there present, with cruel Taunts and Rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of Countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but with Boldness of heart, and free liberty of Speech, he

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdome.

defended his Cauſe, or rather the Cauſe of Chriſt the Lord, neither flattering with their Perſons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them all a ſingular Admiration, to behold that ſimple poor Artificer to ſtand ſo firm and bold, anſwering before a King, to thoſe Queſtions propounded againſt him. Whereat when the King ſeemed to muſe with himſelf, as one ſomewhat amazed, and which might ſoon have been induced at that preſent to further Knowledge, the egregious Biſhop and other Courtiers feeing the King in ſuch a muſe, ſaid, he was an obſtinate and ſtubborn perſon, obſtrmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be ſent to the Judges, and to be puniſhed: and therefore left he ſhould trouble the Ears of the ſaid *Henry* the King, he was commanded again to the hands of the Officer, that his Cauſe might be informed: and ſo, within few days after, he was condemned by the high Steward of the King's Houſe, to be burned alive. And leſt any deep conſideration of that excellent Fortitude of that poor Man might further peradventure pierce the King's mind, the Cardinals and Biſhops were ever in the King's Ear, telling him, That theſe Lutherans were nothing elſe, but ſuch as carry vain ſmoke in their Mouths, which being put to the fire, would ſoon vaniſh. Wherefore the King was appointed himſelf to be preſent at his Execution, which was ſharp and cruel, before the Church of *Mary* the Virgin; where it pleaſed God to give ſuch ſtrength and courage to his Servant, in ſuffering his Martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more aſtonith the King, than all the other did before. *Ex Johan. Criſp. Ex Hor. Pantal. lib. 7.*

Perſident Counſellor about the King.

A ſcoffish Compoſition of a fiery Cardinal.

The death and Martyrdom of this Tailor.

Claudius Thierry *at* Orleance, *An.* 1549.

Claud. Thierry, Martyr.

The ſame year, and for the ſame Doctrine of the Goſpel, one *Claudius* alſo was burned at the ſaid Town of *Orleance*, being apprehended by the way coming from *Geneva* to his Country. *Ex Johan. Criſp.*

Leonard Galimard, *at* Paris, *An.* 1549.

Leonard Galimard, Martyr.

This *Leonard* for the Confeſſion likewiſe of Chriſt and his Goſpel, was taken and brought to *Paris*, and there by the Sentence of the Council was judged to be burnt the ſame time that *Florent Venote* above-mentioned, did ſuffer at *Paris*. *Ex Job. Criſp.*

Macarius Moreau, *at* Troyes, *An.* 1549.

Macarius Moreau, Martyr.

He was burned in *Troyes* in *Champain* (a Town in *France*) remaining conſtant to the end in the Goſpel, for the which he was apprehended. *Ex eodem.*

Joannes Godeau, Gabriel Beraudinus, *Anno* 1550.

John Godeau, Gabriel Beraudine, Martyrs.

Theſe two were of the Church of *Geneva*. Afterward for their friendly admoniſhing a certain Prieſt, which in his Sermon had abuſed the Name of God, they were taken at *Chamberiace*. *Godeau* ſtanding to his Confeſſion, was burned. *Gabriel*, though he began a little to ſhrink for fear of the Torments, yet being confirmed by the conſtant death of *Godeau*, recovered again, and ſtanding likewiſe to his Confeſſion, firſt had his Tongue cut out. Who notwithſtanding, through God's might, did ſpeak ſo as he might be underſtood: whereupon the Hangman being accuſed for not cutting off his Tongue, rightly, ſaid that he could not ſtop him of his ſpeech. And ſo theſe two, after they had confirmed many in God's Truth, gave their Life for Chriſt's Goſpel. *Ibid.*

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom. | K.Hen.8

Thomas Sanpaulinus *at* Paris, *Anno* 1551.

Thom. Sanpaulinus, Martyr.

This *Thomas* a young Man of the age of eighteen years, coming from *Geneva* to *Paris*, rebuked there a Man for ſwearing. For the which cauſe he being ſuſpected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the Council of *Paris*, and put in Priſon, where he was racked, and miſerably tormented, to the intent he ſhould either change his opinion, or confeſs others of his Profeſſion. His Torments and Rackings were ſo ſore through the letting on of *Maillard* and other Sorboniſts, that the ſight thereof made *Aubertus* one of the Council, a cruel and vehement Enemy againſt the Goſpel, to turn his back and weep. The young Man, when he had made the Tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at laſt was had to *Maubert* place in *Paris*, to be burned; where he being in the fire, was pluckt up again upon the Gibbet, and aſked whether he would turn? To whom he ſaid, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore deſired them to let him go. Thus this glorious Martyr remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with conſtant Confeſſion of his Truth. *Ibid.*

Joan. Andreas promoter.

Peter Liſt Preſident of the Council of Paris.

Maillardus, Dr. Sorbonius.

Auberrut. Conciliar.

Mauricius Secenate *in* Province, *An.* 1551.

Maurice Secenate, martyr.

He firſt having Interrogations put to him by the Lieutenant of that place, made his Anſwers thereunto, ſo as no great Advantage could be taken thereof. But he being greatly compunct and troubled in his Conſcience for diſſembling with the Truth, and called afterward before the Lord chief Judge, anſwered ſo directly, that he was condemned for the ſame, and burned in *Province*. *Ex eodem.*

Joannes Putte, *or* de Puteo, *ſirnamed* Medicus, *at* Uzez *in* Province, *An.* 1551.

Joan. de Puteo, martyr.

A Citizen of Uzez.

This *Medicus* being a Carpenter and unlettered, had a Controverſie about a certain Pit with a Citizen of the Town of *Uzez*, where he dwelled. He caſt this *Medicus* in the Law, from the Pit, accuſed him of Hereſie, bringing for his Witneſſes thoſe Labourers whom *Medicus* had hired to work in his Vineyard: wherefore he being examined of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was condemned and burned at *Uzez* in *Province*. *Ex eodem.*

Claudius Monerius *at* Lions, *An.* 1551.

Claud. Monerius, martyr.

The Governour of Lions.

The Official of the Archdeacon of Lions.

This Man being well inſtructed in the Knowledge of God's Word, for the which he was alſo driven from *Avernia*, came to *Lions*, and there taught Children. He hearing of the Lord Preſidents coming to the City, went to give warning to a certain familiar Friend of his, and ſo conducted him out of the Town. In returning again to comfort the Man's Wife and Children, he was taken in his houſe: and ſo he confeſſing that which he knew to be true, and ſtanding to that which he confeſſed, after much Afflictions in Priſons and Dungeons, was condemned and burned at *Lions*. He was noted to be ſo gentle and mild of Conditions, and conſtant withal, and alſo learned, that certain of the Judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

The ſaid *Monerius* being in Priſon wrote certain Letters, but one eſpecially very comfortable to all the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of theſe Hiſtories ſhall be inſerted. He wrote alſo the Queſtions and Interrogatories of the Official, with his Anſwers likewiſe to the ſame; which ſummarily we have here contracted, as followeth.

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The Official.

The Sacrament. What believe you of the Sacrament? is the Body of Chriſt in the Bread, or no?

The Martyr.

I worſhip Jeſus Chriſt in Heaven, ſitting at the right hand of God the Father.

The Official.

What ſay you by Purgatory?

The Martyr.

Forſomuch as there is no place of Mercy after this life, therefore no need there is of any Purgation; but neceſſary it is that we be purged before we paſs hence.

The Official.

Supremacy. Of the Pope what think you?

The Martyr.

I ſay, he is a Biſhop as other Biſhops are, if he be a true Follower of St. *Peter*.

The Official.

Vows. What ſay you of Vows?

The Martyr.

No Man can vow to God ſo much, but the Law requireth much more than he can vow.

The Official.

Praying to Saints. Are not Saints to be invocated?

The Martyr.

They cannot pray without Faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God hath appointed his Angels about us, to miniſter in our neceſſities.

The Official.

Is it not good to ſalute the bleſſed Virgin with *Ave Maria?*

The Martyr.

When ſhe was on this Earth ſhe had need of the Angels ſpeeching; for then ſhe had need of Salvation, as well as other: but now ſhe is ſo bleſſed, that no more bleſſing can be wiſhed unto her.

The Official.

Images. Are not Images to be had?

The Martyr.

For that the Nature of Man is ſo prone to Idolatry, ever occupied and fixed in thoſe things which lie before his Eyes, rather than upon thoſe which are not ſeen; Images therefore are not to be ſet before Chriſtians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not ſeen with Eyes, that is, God alone, which is a Spirit, and him we muſt worſhip only in Spirit and Truth.

The Official.

What ſay you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?

The Martyr.

To hours and times of Prayer we ought not to be tied. But whenſoever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any neceſſity driveth us, then ought we to pray.

Then the Official aſked, What he thought of holy Oyl, Salt, with ſuch other like? To whom the Martyr anſwered, That all theſe things were a meer * *Maranatiſmus* that is, favoured of the Law of *Maranorum*, and of the Superſtition of the *Jews*.

* Maranatha is an Hebrew word mentioned, 1 Cor. 16. and ſignifieth Curſe and Malediction to the loſs of all that a Man hath, and thereof cometh Maranatiſmus: vid. Nic. Lyr.

Renate Poyet, *at* Salmure *in* France, *Anno* 1552.

Renat. Poyet, Martyr.

Renate Poyet, the Son of *William Poyet*, which was Chancellor of *France*, for the true and ſincere Profeſſion of the Word of God, conſtantly ſuffered Martyrdome, and was burned in the City of *Salmure*, *Anno* 1552. *Ex Criſp.*

John Joyer, with his Servant, Martyrs.

John Joyer *and his Servant a young Man at* Tholouſe, *An.* 1552.

Theſe two coming from *Geneva* to their Country with certain Books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to *Tholouſe*, where the Maſter was firſt condemned. The Servant being young, was not ſo prompt to anſwer them, but ſent them to his Maſter, ſaying, that he ſhould anſwer them. When

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they were brought to the Stake, the young Man firſt going up, began to weep. The Maſter fearing leſt he would give over, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to ſing. As they were in the fire, the Maſter ſtanding upright to the Stake, ſhifted the fire from him to his Servant, being more careful for him than for himſelf: and when he ſaw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and ſo expired. *Ex Criſp. & aliis.*

Tignatius the Governour or Deputy of Lions.

Boatherius, Official to the Archbiſhop of Lions.

Clepierius Chamberlain.

Three Orders of Friers.

Judg Mellerius.

Dr. Cunibanus a gray Frier.

Judg Villard.

Primatus, Official.

Cotterius, Judg.

Hugonius Gravier, *a Schoolmaſter and Miniſter after of* Cortillon, *in the Country of* New-caſtle.

At Burg, *Anno* 1552.

Hugh Gravier, Martyr.

At *Burg* in *Breſſe*, a days Journey from *Lyons*, this *Gravier* was burned. He coming from *Geneva* to *New-caſtle*, there was elected to be Miniſter. But firſt he going to ſee his Wives Friends at *Maſcon*, there, as he was coming away out of the Town, was taken upon the Bridge, with all his Company: and in the end he willing the Women and the reſt of the Company to lay the fault in him, for bringing them out, was ſentenced to be burned; notwithſtanding the Lords of *Bern* ſent their Heraulds to ſave his Life, and alſo that the Official declared him to be an honeſt Man, and to hold nothing, but agreeing to the Scriptures. Ex *Johan. Criſp. lib.* 3.

Five Students, Martyrs.

Martial *Alba.*
Petrus *Scriba.*
Bernard Seguine.
Charles Faber.
Peter Navilere.

At Lions, *An.* 1553.

Martial Alba. Petrus Scriba.

Bernard Seguine.

Peter Navileres.

Charles Faber.

Theſe five Students, after they had remained in the Univerſity of *Lauſanna* a certain time, conſulted amongſt themſelves being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his Country, to the intent they might inſtruct their Parents and other their Friends in ſuch Knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their Journey from *Lauſanna*, firſt they came to *Geneva*, where they remained a while. From thence they went to *Lions*, where they, ſitting at the Table of one that met them by the way, and deſired them home to his houſe, were apprehended and led to Priſon; where they continued a whole year, that is, from the firſt day of *May* to the ſixteenth of the ſame Month again. As they were learned and well exerciſed in the Scriptures, ſo every one of them exhibited ſeverally a learned Confeſſion of his Faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the Friers, with whom they diſputed; eſpecially *Peter Scribe* or *Scriptor*, and *Seguine*.

They were examined ſunderly of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, of Purgatory, of Confeſſion and Invocation, of Free-will, and of the Supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cauſe by good Scripture, and refuted their Adverſaries in reaſoning, yet right being overcome by might, Sentence was given, and they burned in the ſaid Town of *Lions*. Being ſet upon the Cart, they began to ſing Pſalms. As they paſſed by the Market-place, one of them with a loud voice ſaluted the People with the words of the laſt Chapter to the *Hebrews*; The God of Peace which brought again from death the great Paſtor of the Sheep, in the Blood of the eternal Teſtament, &c. Coming to the place, firſt the two youngeſt, one after another went up upon the heap of Wood to the ſtake, and there were faſtned, and ſo after them the reſt. Martial *Alba* being

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the eldeſt was the laſt; who likwiſe being ſtripped of his Clothes, and brought to the Stake, deſired this Petition of the Governour, which was, That he might go about his Fellows tied at the Stake, and kiſs them. Which being granted, he went and kiſſed every one, ſaying, Farewel my Brother. Likewiſe the other four, following the like Example, had each one, Farewel my Brother. With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The Hangman had tied a Rope about all their Necks, thinking firſt to ſtrangle them; but their Faces being ſmeared with Fat and Brimſtone, the Rope was burnt before they were ſtrangled. So the bleſſed Martyrs, in the midſt of the fire, ſpake one to another to be of good cheer, and ſo departed. *Ex Criſp. Pant. &c.*

Their Examinations briefly touched.

The Frier.

Supremacy. Thou ſaieſt, Friend, in thy Confeſſion, that the Pope is not Supreme head of the Church: I will prove the contrary.

The Pope is Succeſſor of St. *Peter*:
Ergo, he is Supreme Head of the Church.

The Martyr.

I deny firſt your Antecedent.

The Frier.

The Pope ſitteth in the place of St. *Peter*:
Ergo, he is the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*.

The Martyr.

The head of the Church. I will grant neither of both; firſt, becauſe that he, which ſucceedeth in the room of *Peter*, ought to preach and teach as *Peter* did; which thing the Pope doth not. Secondly, altho he did ſo preach as *Peter* did, he might well follow the Example of *Peter*, yet ſhould he not therefore be the Head of the Church, but a member only of the ſame. The Head of Men and Angels, whom God hath appointed, is Chriſt alone, ſaith St. *Paul*.

Epiſt. 1. *The Frier.*

Although Chriſt be the Head of the whole Church Militant and Triumphant, yet his Vicar here in Earth is left to ſupply his room.

The Martyr.

Not ſo, for the power of his Divinity being ſo great, to fill all things, he needeth no Vicar or Deputy to ſupply his abſence.

The Frier.

I will prove, that although Chriſt be King both of Heaven and Earth, yet he hath here in Earth many Vicars under him, to govern his People.

The Martyr.

Regiment civil. It is one thing to rule in the Civil State, another thing to rule ſpiritually. For in civil Regiment we have Kings and Princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the Obſervation of publick Society: In the Spiritual Regiment and Kingdom of the Church it is not ſo.

Regiment Spiritual.

Then another Frier.

Thou ſaieſt St. *Peter* is not the Head of the Church, I will prove he is.

Our Lord ſaid to *Peter*, *Thou ſhalt be called* Cephas: which *Cephas* is as much to ſay in Latin, as Head:
Ergo, *Peter* is Head of the Church.

The Martyr.

John 1. Cephas. Where find you that Interpretation? St. *John* in his firſt Chapter doth expound it otherwiſe: *Thou ſhalt be called* Cephas, that is as much (ſaith he) as *Petrus*, or Stone.

Then the Judg *Vilardus*, calling for a New Teſtament, turned to the place, and found it to be ſo. Whereupon the Frier was utterly dalhed and ſtood mute.

The Frier.

Luke 10. Thou ſaieſt in thy Confeſſion, that a Man hath no Free-will, I will prove it. It is written in the Goſpel, how a Man going from *Jeruſalem* to *Jericho* fell among Thieves, and was ſpoiled, mained, and left half dead, *&c. Thomas* of *Aquine* expoundeth this Parable to mean Free-will, which he ſaith, is mained; yet not ſo, but that ſome power remaineth in Man to work.

The Martyr.

This Interpretation I do refuſe, and deny.

The Frier.

What, thinkeſt thou thy ſelf better learned than St. *Thomas?*

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The Martyr.

I do arrogate no ſuch Learning unto my ſelf. But this I ſay, this Parable is not ſo to be expounded, but is ſet forth for example of the Lord, to commend to us Charity towards our Neighbour, how one ſhould help another.

The Frier.

Thou ſaieſt in thy Confeſſion, that we are juſtified only by Faith, I will prove that we are juſtified by Works.

By our Works we do merit: Juſtification.
Ergo, by Works we are juſtified.

The Martyr.

I deny the Antecedent.

The Frier.

St. *Paul*, *Hebrews* the laſt, ſaith, *Forget not to do good, and to diſtribute unto others: Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus:* That is, *For by ſuch Oblations God is merited.*

We merit God by our Works:
Ergo, we are juſtified by our Works.

The Martyr.

The words of St. *Paul* in that place be otherwiſe, and are thus to be tranſlated: *Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus:* That is, *With ſuch Sacrifices God is delighted, or it well pleaſed.*

The Judge Vilard.

Vilard the Judg turned the Book, and found the place even to be ſo as the Priſoner ſaid: Here the Friers were marvelouſly appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, What he thought of Confeſſion?

The Martyr.

Confeſſion. To whom the Martyr anſwered, That Confeſſion only is to be made to God, and that thoſe places which they alledg for Auricular Confeſſion, out of St. *James* and other, are to be expounded of brotherly Reconciliation between one another, and not of Confeſſion in the Prieſt's Ear. And here again the Friers ſtood, having nothing to ſay againſt it.

A black Frier.

Tranſubſtantiation. Doſt thou not believe the Body of Chriſt to be locally and corporally in the Sacrament? I will prove the ſame: Jeſus Chriſt taking Bread, ſaid, *This is my Body.*
Ergo, it is truly his Body.

The Martyr.

The Verb (*eſt*) is not to be taken here Subſtantively in his own proper ſignification, as ſhewing the Nature of a thing in Subſtance, as in Philoſophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing ſignifying, after the manner and Phraſe of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, ſo as the Sign is called by the Name of the thing ſignified, *&c.* So is Circumciſion called by the Name of the Covenant, and yet is not the Covenant. So the Lamb hath the Name of the Paſſover, yet is not the ſame. In which two Sacraments of the old Law, ye ſee the Verb (*eſt*) to be taken, not as ſhewing the ſubſtance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is ſpoken of: And ſo likewiſe in the Sacrament of the new Law.

The Frier.

Sacraments give no Grace. The Sacraments of the old Law, and of the new do differ greatly; for theſe give Grace, ſo did not the other.

The Martyr.

Neither the Sacraments of the old, nor of the new Law, do give Grace, but ſhew him unto us which giveth Grace indeed. The Miniſter giveth the Sacraments, but Jeſus Chriſt giveth Grace by the operation of the Holy Ghoſt: of whom it is ſaid, *This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghoſt, &c.*

The Frier.

John 2. The Fathers of the Old Teſtament, were they not Partakers of the ſame Grace and Promiſes with us?

The Martyr.

Yes, for St. *Paul* ſaith, that the Fathers of the Old Teſtament did eat the ſame ſpiritual Meat, and did drink of the ſame ſpiritual Drink with us.

The Frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, *John* the ſixth, *Your Fathers did eat Manna in the Deſert, and are dead.*
Ergo, they were not Partakers of the ſame Grace with us in the New Teſtament. *The*

K. Hen. 8. | Perfecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

The Martyr.

The true eating of Manna. Chriſt here ſpeaketh of them, which did not eat that *Manna* with Faith, which was a type and figure of that Bread of Life that came from Heaven: and not of them which did eat the ſame with Faith, as *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Joſhua*, *Caleb*, and ſuch others, who under the ſhadows of the Old Teſtament, did look for Chriſt to come. For ſo it is written of *Abraham*, *That he ſaw the day of Chriſt, and rejoiced*; not ſeeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his Faith.

Juſtification. Here the doltiſh Doctor was at a ſtay, having nothing to ſay, but, Hear Friend, be not ſo hot, nor ſo haſty, tarry a while, tarry a while. At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

The Frier.

The Fathers of the old Teſtament, how they were under the Law, and how they were under Grace. I will prove that they of the Old Teſtament were not partakers of the ſame Grace with us. The Law (ſaith St. *Paul*) *worketh anger*; And they that are under the Law, are under Malediction: *Ergo*, they of the Old Law and Teſtament, were not partakers of the ſame Grace with us.

The Martyr.

St. *Paul* here proveth, That no Man by the Law can be juſtified, but that all Men are under the Anger and Curſe of God thereby, forſomuch as no Man performeth that which in the Law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every Man to run to Chriſt, to be ſaved by Faith, ſeeing no Man can be ſaved by the Law. For whoſoever truſteth to the Law, hoping to find juſtification thereby, and not by Chriſt only, the ſame remaineth ſtill under malediction: not becauſe the Law is curſed, or the times thereof under the Curſe; but becauſe of the weakneſs of our natures, which are not able to perform the Law.

The Frier.

St. *Paul*, Rom. 7. declareth in the Old Teſtament to be nothing but Anger and Threatnings, and in the New Teſtament to be Grace and Mercy, in thoſe words where he ſaith, *Wretched Man that I am, who ſhall deliver me from the body of this death?* The Grace of God by Jeſus Chriſt.

The Martyr.

St. *Paul* in this place neither meaneth nor ſpeaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Teſtament, but of the conflict between the fleſh and the ſpirit; ſo that, whereas the fleſh is ever rebelling againſt the ſpirit, yet the ſpiritual Man notwithſtanding, through the Faith of Chriſt, hath the Victory. Furthermore, the true tranſlation of that place hath not *Gratia Dei*, but *Gratiæ ago Deo, per Jeſum Chriſtum*, &c.

Primacius *the Official.*

The Sacrament. The Official, ſeeing the Frier almoſt here at a point, fet in, and ſaid, Thou lewd Heretick, doſt thou deny the bleſſed Sacrament?

The Martyr.

No Sir, but I embrace and reverence the Sacrament, ſo as it was inſtituted of the Lord, and left by his Apoſtles.

The Official.

Thou denieſt the Body of Chriſt to be in the Sacrament, and thou calleſt the Sacrament Bread.

The Martyr.

The Scripture teacheth us to ſeek the Body of Chriſt in Heaven, and not in Earth; where we read, *Coloſſ. 3. If ye be riſen with Chriſt, ſeek not for the things which are upon the Earth: But for the things which are in Heaven, where Chriſt is ſitting at the right Hand of God, &c.*

And whereas I affirm the Sacrament not to be the Body, but Bread, ſpeaking of Bread remaining in its own Subſtance, herein I do no other but as St. *Paul* doth, who, 1 *Cor.* 11. doth call it Bread likewiſe four or five times together.

The Frier.

Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, that he was the Bread of Life.

The Official.

Thou naughty Heretick, Jeſus Chriſt ſaid that he was a Vine, and a Door, *&c.* Where he is to be expounded to ſpeak figuratively. But the words of the Sacrament are not ſo to be expounded.

The Martyr.

Thoſe Teſtimonies which you alledg, make more for me than for you.

Perfecut. | Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

The Official.

What ſayeſt thou, lewd Heretick, is the Bread of the Lord's Supper, and the Bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?

The Martyr.

In Nature and Subſtance there is no difference, in quality and in uſe there is much difference. For the Bread of the Lord's Table, tho it be of the ſame nature and ſubſtance with the Bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a Sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is ſet before us to ſeal the Promiſe of our Spiritual and Eternal Life. And thus was the effect of their Examinations. *Ex Criſp.*

Petrus Bergerius, *at* Lions, *Anno* 1553.

Petrus Bergerius. The Name of his Perſecutor appeareth not in his ſtory.

About the ſame time, when theſe five Students above ſpecified were apprehended, this *Bergerius* alſo was taken at *Lions*, and with them examined, and made alſo the like Confeſſion with them together, and ſhortly after them ſuffered the ſame Martyrdom. He had been before an Occupier or Merchant of Wines. He had Wife and Children at *Geneva*, to whom he wrote ſweet and comfortable Letters. In the Dungeon with him was a certain Thief and Malefactor, which had lain there the ſpace of 7 or 8 months. This Thief, for pain and torment, cried out of God, and curſed his Parents that begat him, being almoſt eaten up with Lice, miſerably handled, and fed with ſuch Bread as Dogs and Horſes had refuſed to eat. So it pleaſed the goodneſs of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayer of this *Bergerius*, he was brought to repentance of himſelf, and knowledg of God, learning much comfort and patience by the Word of the Goſpel preached to him. Touching his Converſation, he wrote a ſweet Letter to thoſe five Students above mentioned, wherin he praiſeth God for them, and eſpecially for the *Bergerius*, declaring alſo in the ſame Letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the Goſpel, and framed himſelf to patience; according to the ſame, his Lice (which he could pluck out before no leſs than twenty at once betwixt his fingers) now were ſo gone from him, that he had not one. Furthermore, ſo the Alms of good Men was extended towards him, that he was fed with White-bread, and that which was very good: Such is the goodneſs of the Lord toward them that love and ſeek his Truth. The name of this Convert was *John Chambone*. Ex Epiſt. Joan. Chambone: Ex Criſp. Pantal. &c.

The notable converſion of a Thief in Priſon.

Stephanus Peloquinus.
Dyonifius Peloquinus, *at* Ville Franche *a-bout* Lions.
Anno 1553.

Stephen and Dyonifi Peloquine, Brethren, & Martyrs. *Stephen Peloquine*, Brother to this *Dyonifius*, was taken about two or three years before, with *Ann Audebert* above mentioned, and alſo martyred for the teſtimony of the Goſpel at the ſame time, with a ſmall fire. After whom followed *Dyoniſe Peloquine*, in the ſame ſteps of martyrdom, which was his Brother. This *Dyoniſe* had been ſometime a Monk, and changing his Weed, took a Wife, with whom he lived a certain ſpace at *Geneva* in godly Order and modeſty of Life. Coming afterward to *Ville Franche*, ſix miles from *Lions*, from thence he was had to *Lions*, where he remained in Priſon ten months. From thence he was reveied to *Ville Franche*, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The Articles whereupon he was condemned, were, for the Maſs, the Sacrament, Auricular Confeſſion, Purgatory, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Pope's Supremacy. He ſuffered in the year of our Lord 1553. *Septemb.* 11. In his Martyrdom, ſuch patience and fortitude God gave, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceaſed holding up his hands to Heaven, and calling upon the Lord, to the great admiration of them that looked on. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

Persecut. | *Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

Ludovicus Marsicus.
Michael Gerard *his Cosin.*
Stephen Gravot *Carpenter.*
At Lions, *Anno* 1553.

Ludovicus Marsicus, Mich. Gerard, Steph. Gravot, Martyrs.

At *Lions* the same year these three also were apprehended, and sacrificed. *Ludovicus* had been of the Order of the *Dimilanoes*, which served the King in his Wars. Afterward, coming to *Geneva*, he was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers Articles he was examined, as invocation of Saints, and of the Virgin *Mary*, Free-will, Merits, and good Works, Auricular Confession, Fasting, the Lord's Supper. In his second examination, they enquired of him, and also of the other two, touching Vows, the Sacraments the Mass, and the Vicar of Christ. In all which Articles, because his and their Judgment dissented from the Doctrine of the Pope's Church, they were condemned. The Answers of *Marsac* to the Articles, are to be seen at large in the Book of the French Martyrs, set out by *Jo. Crisp.*

The Kings Lieutenant at Lions.

The Official.

The Friers.

The blasphemies of the Papists.

The Lieutenant, among other blasphemies, had these words; Of the four Evangelists, but two were pure, *Matthew* and *John*; the other two, *Mark* and *Luke*, were but gatherers out of the others. The Epistles of St. *Paul*, but that the Doctors of the Church had authorized them, he would otherwise esteem them no better than the Fables of *Æsop.*

Note, what opinion the Papists have of the Law of God, when it stands not with their Law.

Item, The said Lieutenant said to Mr. *Cop*'s Maid, speaking somewhat of the Law, Cursed be the God of that Law.

When the Sentence of Condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad thereof, that they went out praising God, and singing Psalms. Which troubled the Judges sore, to see them so little to esteem their death: insomuch that the Lieutenant caused them to be made to hold their peace, saying, Shall these vile Abjects so vaunt themselves against the whole State of the Realm? Then as *Marsac* was going in a Corner by to pray, one of the Soldiers would not suffer him. To whom he said, That little time which we have will you not give us to pray? With that the Soldier being astonished went his way.

As they should be brought out of Prison to the Stake, the Hangman tied a Rope about the Necks of the other two. *Marsac* seeing himself to be spared because of his Order and Degree, called by the way to the Lieutenant, that he might also have one of the precious Chains about his Neck, in honour of his Lord; the which being granted, so were these three blessed Martyrs committed to the fire, where they with meek patience yielded up their lives to the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his Gospel. *Ex Crisp. Pant.*

M. Dimonteo, martyr.

The Lieutenant of *Lions.*

Primacius Official.

Matthieu Dimonetus, *Merchant, at* Lions.
Anno 1553.

This Merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life, full of much corruption and filthiness. He was also a secret Enemy, and searcher out of good Men, when and where they convented together. Who being called notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledg and favour of his Word, shortly after was taken by the Lieutenant, and *Buatherius* the Official, in his own house at *Lions*, and so after a little examination was sent to Prison. Being examined by the Inquisitor and the Officials, he refused to yield any answer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the Lieutenant.

His Answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal Church of Christ did truly believe, and all the Articles of the Creed. To the Article of the Holy Catholick Church, being bid to add also *Romanum*, that is, the Church of *Rome*, that he refused. Advocates he knew none, but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the Cross and Passion of the Lamb, which purgeth the sins of all the World. True Confession, he said, ought to be made not to the Priest once a year, but every day to God, and to such whom we have offended. The eating of the Flesh and Blood of Christ he took to be spiritual: and the Sacrament of the Flesh and Blood of Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that Sacrament to be Bread and Wine under the name and signification of the Body and Blood of Christ; the Mass not to be instituted of Christ, being a thing contrary to his Word and Will. For the Head of the Church, he knew none but only Christ. Being in Prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his Flesh, but especially with the temptation of his Parents, Brethren, and Kinsfolk, and the sorrow of his Mother: nevertheless, the Lord so afflicted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the People, and was heard with great attention. He suffered *July* 15. 1553. *Ex Crisp.*

Buatherius Official.

Orus Inquisitor.

Will. Neel, martyr.

William Neel, *an Austen Frier, at* Eureux *in* France. *Anno* 1553.

Hen. Pantal. lib. 9. & Crisp. & Adrian, maketh mention also of one *William Neel*, a Frier *Augustine*, who suffered in much like fort the same year, and was burned at *Eureux* in *France*. The occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the Priests there, and of the Dean named *Legoux*. For the which the Dean caused him to be sent to *Eureux* to the Prison of the Bishop. The story of this *Will. Neel*, with his answers to their Articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth Book of *Pantalion*, and others.

Legoux the Dean, *Eureuxsis.*

M. *Simon Vigor*, the Penitentiary of *Eureux.*

Sim. Laloe, martyr.

Simon Laloe, *at* Dyion, *Anno* 1553.

Simon Lalo a Spectaclemaker, coming from *Geneva* into *France* for certain business, was laid hand of by the Bailiff of *Dyion*. Three things were demanded of him. First, Where he dwelt. Secondly, What was his Faith. Thirdly, What Fellows he knew of his Religion. His dwelling, he said, was at *Geneva*. His Religion was such as was then used at *Geneva*. As for his Fellows, he said, he knew none, but only them of the same City of *Geneva*, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other answer but this, with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his Sentence, and pursued the execution of the same, which was *Nov.* 21. 1553.

The Bailiff or Steward of the City *Dyon.*

The Executioner, who was named *James Silvester*, seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly Martyr, was so compunicted with repentance, and fell in such despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all the promises of the Gospel, to recover any comfort in him. At last, through the Mercy of Christ, he was comforted, and converted; and so he with all his Family removed to the Church at *Geneva*. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*

The Executioner converted.

Nich. Nail, martyr.

Nicholas Nayle, *at* Paris.
Anno 1553.

This *Nicholas*, a Shoomaker, coming to *Paris* with certain fardels of Books, was there apprehended; who stoutly persisting in confessing the Truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what Fellows he had besides of his Profession, so cruelly, that his body was diffolved almost one joint from another: but so constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the Stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound-

Torments.

K. Hen. 8. | *Persecut.* | *Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

bound with cords to the hinder part of his head, so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an Hospital, where they willed him to worship the Picture of St. *Mary* standing at the Gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For the which the blind People were so grieved, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burnt which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord, and so the blessed Martyr departed. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*

Peter Serre, martyr.

Peter Serre, *about* Tolouse, *Anno* 1553.

Peter Serre first was a Priest, then changing his Religion, he went to *Geneva*, and learned the Shoomakers Craft, and so lived. Afterward upon a singular love he came to his Brother at *Tolouse*, to the intent to do him good. His Brother had a Wife, which was not well pleased with his Religion and coming. She in secret counsel told another Woman, one of her Neighbours, of this. What doth she, but goeth to the Official, and maketh him privy of all. The Official thinking to forestack no time, taking counsel with his Fellows, laid hands upon this *Peter*, and brought him before the Inquisitor. To whom he made such declaration of his Faith, that he seemed to reduce the Inquisitor to some feeling of Conscience, and began to instruct him in the Principles of true Religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said Chancellor, to be degraded, and committed to the secular Judg. The Judg enquiring of what Occupation he was, he said, that of late he was a Shoomaker. Whereby the Judg, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all other in the whole World besides. The Judg and the People, supposing that he had been some Thief or Cutpurse, enquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the Truth, and said, That he had been a Priest. The Judg thereupon was so moved, that he condemned him; first, enjoining him in his condemnation, to ask the King forgiveness, then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this Sentence, he appealed to the Parliament of *Tolouse*: Not for that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the King forgiveness, whom he had never offended. Also because he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the Sentence of that Parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned for asking forgiveness of the King, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their Religion.

A woman of *Tolouse.*

The Official of the Bishop of *Toloufe.*

The Inquisitor and Chancellor of the Bishop of *Coserau.*

Priests craft, a vile and a filthy Art.

As he went to burning, he passed by the College of St. *Martial*, where he was bid to honour the Picture of the Virgin standing at the gate. Which because he refused, the Judg commanded his tongue to be cut off; and so being put to the fire, he stood quiet, looking up to Heaven all the time of burning, as tho he had felt nothing, bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the Parliament said, that way not to be beit, to bring the *Lutherans* to the fire, for that would do more hurt than good. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*

Constancy notable.

Persecut. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Stephen King, Petrus Denocheus, *at* Chartres. *Anno* 1553.

Steu. King.

Stephen King, after he had been at *Strasburgh* a while, returned again into his Country, dwelling in a Town bearing the name of St. *George*, not far from *Chauffoure*; where he served in the place of a Notary, and had under him a Clerk named *Peter Denoche*, who also had been at *Geneva*, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous Swearers, and other Offenders. These two were not long together but they were suspected both of *Lutheranism*, and so were apprehended by the Governor of the Marches, or Marshal, and so were carried to *Chartres*: where after their constant confession, upon their examination made, they were enclosed in Prison, and there sustained long and tedious indurance. During the which mean time, *Stephen King* made many worthy Songs and Sonets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his Spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when after long persuasions and fair promises of the Bishop, and of other, they could not be revoked from the Doctrine of their Confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation, they appealed to the Court of *Paris*. But the Council there, confirming their former Sentence, returned them again to *Chartres*, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel punishment of fire. *Ex Histor. Gallic. per Jo. Crisp.*

The Governor of *Marches.*

Pet. Denoch martyr.

Chartres:

Antonius Magnus, *or* Magneus, *at* Paris.
Anno 1554.

Antonius Magnus, was sent by the five which were in Prison at *Lions*, above-mentioned, and by other also that were in Captivity at *Paris*, unto *Geneva*, to commend them to their prayers unto God for them. Who, after certain business there dispatched, returned again into *France*, and there within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain Priests at *Burges*, and there delivered by the said Priests unto the Official, after a few days the King's Justices took him from the Official, & sent him to *Paris*: where after great rebukes and torments he suffered in the Prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the Truth, by their capital Sentence he was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and so was burned at *Maulbert-place* in *Paris*. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*

Priests of Burges.

Will. Alencon, martyr.

William Alencon *Book-seller.*
A certain Shereman.
At Montpelliers, *Anno* 1554.

This *Alencon* did much good in the Provinces of *France* by carrying Books. Coming to *Montpelliers*, he was there circumvented by false Brethren, detected, and laid in Prison. In his Faith he was firm and constant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7*th* of *January*, 1554.

False Brethren.

A Shereman martyr.

There was the same time at *Montpelliers* a certain Shereman or Clothworker, who had been long in durance for Religion, but at length for fear and infirmity he revolted. To whom it was injoined by the Judges to make publick recantation, and to be present also at the burning of *Alencon* aforesaid. At the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this Man such boldness, that he desired the Judges, that either he might burn with this *Alencon*, or else be brought again into Prison, saying, That he would make no other recantation, but so. Wherefore within three days after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the Town aforesaid. *Ex Jo. Crisp.*

Paris

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Paris Panier Martyr.

Paris Panier, *a Lawyer, at* Dola, *Anno* 1554.

At *Dola* was beheaded a good and godly Lawyer, named *Paris Panier*, for conſtant ſtanding to the Goſpel of Chriſt; *Anno* 1554. *Ex Pantal.*

Peter du Val martyr.

Peter du Val *Shoomaker, at* Niſmes, *Anno* 1554.

At *Newmam* in *Dolphinate*, *Peter du Val* ſuſtained fore and grievous rackings and torments; wherewith his Body being broken, diſſolved, and maimed, yet he notwithſtanding manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there conſumed, *Anno* 1554. *Ex Jo. Criſp.*

John Filiol, jun. le Ville martyrs.

Jeannes Filieul, *or* Filiolus, *Carpenter.* Julianus le Ville, *Point-maker, at* Sanſerre, *Anno* 1554.

These two bleſſed and conſtant Martyrs, as they were going toward *Geneva*, with one of their Sons and a Daughter, were apprehended by *Giles le Pers*; who in the way overtaking them, and moſt wickedly and judaily pretending great favour to them, and to their Religion, which he (as he ſaid) ſuppoſed them to be of, with theſe and many other fair words circumvented and allured them, to confeſs what was their Faith; whither they went with their Children; and alſo that their Wives were at *Geneva*. When they had declared this, the wretched Traitor gave a ſign to the Hoaſtmen, and ſo were theſe ſimple Saints of Chriſt entrapped and brought to the Caſtle of *Nieſle*. Being in Priſon, they were examined of many things: Whereunto they anſwered ſo plainly, according to their Faith.

Giles le Pers, Lieutenant for the Marſhal of St. *Andrew*, and Inquiſitor for the Province of *Burbon*.

John Burgeronne, another Inquiſitor or Counſellor.

Tranſubſtantiation.

Firſt, Touching the Sacrament, they affirmed the Tranſubſtantiation of the Biſhop of *Rome* to be againſt the Article of the Creed, which ſaith that Chriſt is gone up to Heaven, and there ſitteth at the right Hand of God: and therefore the Bread and Wine muſt needs remain in their Properties, being notwithſtanding a Sacrament, or a holy ſign of the Body and Blood of the Lord. For like as by Bread and Wine the heart of Man is comforted, ſo the Body of Chriſt crucified, and his Blood ſhed ſpiritually, hath the like operation in the Souls of the Believers.

A ſimilitude between the Bread and the Body of Chriſt.

The Maſs.

For the Maſs, they ſaid it was a thing moſt ſuperſtitious, and meer Idolatry. And if we put any part of Salvation therein, they ſaid, it was utterly a robbing the Paſſion of Chriſt the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a Chriſtian mouth. Alſo, that they which ſay that *Peter* either was Pope, or Author of the ſaid Maſs, are far deceived. And as for turning Bread into the Body of Chriſt by the words of Conſecration, it was an error, they ſaid, more of mad-men than any ſad-men: foraſmuch as God is neither ſubject to Men, nor to the tongues or exorciſms of Men. Purgatory they denied to be any, ſave only the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

Honour to God, not to Saints.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the Saints of God of their due honour, ſo neither the Saints themſelves, ſaid they, will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

As touching Confeſſion their opinion was, that the wounds and cafes of Conſcience belong to no Man, but only to God.

After theſe anſwers given and written, they were ſent to the Monaſtery of *Sanpeter*, there to be diſputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the Judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by Inventory, and them to be baniſhed. But *Bergeronius* at laſt cauſed to be determined, that they ſhould be burned, and firſt to hear Maſs. From that Court they appealed to the Court of *Paris*: but the matter

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.* | K. Hen. 8

Note the juſt vengeance of God upon a wicked Perſecutor.

there was nothing amended. Where behold the Judgment of God: In the mean time, while they were at *Paris*, the wretched perſecutor, *Giles le Pers*, was ſuddenly ſtricken mad and died in a Frenzy: which made many Men to wonder, and eſpecially the Martyrs to be more conſtant.

At laſt, the Decree of the Sentence was read againſt them.

1. For ſpeaking againſt the Sacraments which they denied.

2. For ſpeaking againſt Baptiſm; which alſo they denied.

3. For ſpeaking contumely againſt the Saints; which they in like manner denied.

Torments.

After this, the Officer, to cauſe them to recant, threatned them with torments, which they ſuſtained very extream, the ſpace from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he ſent to them a Frier *Dominick*, a Man captious and ſophiſtical, to preſs them in diſputation. But as he could do no hurt unto them, ſo could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the Officer aforeſaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden Croſs, which they took with their teeth, and flung it away: for the which, the Officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Wherein appeared another marvellous Work of the Lord: For nevertheleſs that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they ſhould not ſpeak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to ſpeak at their death, ſaying, We bid Sin, the Fleſh, the World, and the Devil, farewel for ever, with whom we ſhall never have to do hereafter. Divers other words they ſpake beſides, which the People did hear and note. At laſt when the Tormenter came to ſmear them with Brimſtone and Gunpowder: Go to, ſaid *Filiolus*, fall on, fall on the ſtinking and rotten fleſh. Finally, as the flame came burſting up to their faces, they, perſiſting conſtant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finiſhed their martyrdoms. *Ex Jo. Criſp. & Hen. Pant. & aliis.*

Denis Vaſe Prieſt and martyr.

Dyonyſius Vayre, *at* Roan, *Anno* 1554.

In the ſame year ſuffered at *Roan*, *Denis Vayre*, who, firſt leaving his popiſh Prieſthood, went to *Geneva*, where he learned the Art of Bookbinding, and brought many times Books into *France*. After that, in the reign of King *Edward* the 6th, he came to *Gerzey*, and there was Miniſter and preached. After the death of King *Edward*, the time not ſerving him to tarry, thinking to return again to *Geneva*, he came into *Normandy* with his Books, into a Town called *Fucille*: Whereas he going out to hire a Cart, *William Langlois*, with *John Langlois* his Brother, came in and ſtayed his Books, and him alſo which had the cuſtody of them. *Denis*, albeit he might have eſcaped, yet hearing the keeper of his Books to be in trouble, came, and preſenting himſelf, was committed, the other was delivered. Firſt, after two months and a half impriſonment, he was charged to be a Spy, becauſe he came out of *England*. Then from that Priſon he was removed to the Biſhop's Priſon, and then to *Roan*; where Sentence was given, that he ſhould be burned alive, and thrice lifted up, and let down again into the fire. After the Sentence given, they threatned him with many terrible torments, unleſs he would diſcloſe ſuch as he knew of that ſide. To whom he anſwered, That the founder part of all *France*, and of the Senate, was of that Religion: Notwithſtanding, he would utter no Man's Name unto them. And as for their torments, he ſaid, he paſſed not; for if he were killed with racking, then he ſhould not feel the burning of the fire. When they ſaw him ſo little to paſs for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and firſt, they put a Croſs in his hands, which he would not hold. Then becauſe he coming by the Image of the Virgin *Mary*, would not adore the ſame, they cried, Cut out his tongue: and ſo they caſt him into the fire, where he ſhould be thrice taken up, but the flame went ſo high, that the Hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people ſtanding by to help, and ſo did the Officers with their ſtaves lay upon the People, to help their Tormentors, but never a Man would help him. And this was the end and martyrdom of that bleſſed *Denis*. *Ex Henric. Pantal. l.* 10.

There

K. Hen. 8

A Merchant hanged for jeſting againſt the Friars.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

There was a rich Merchant of *Paris*, who ſaid in jeſt to the Friars of St. *Francis*, You wear a rope about your bodies, becauſe St. *Francis* once ſhould have been hanged, and the Pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he ſhould wear a rope. Upon this the Franciſcan Friars of *Paris* cauſed him to be apprehended, and laid in priſon, and ſo judgment paſſed upon him that he ſhould be hanged: but he, to ſave his life, was contented to recant, and ſo did. The Friars hearing of his recantation, commended him, ſaying, if he continued ſo, he ſhould be freed; and ſo calling upon the Officers, cauſed them to make haſte to the Gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, ſaid they, leſt he fall again. And ſo was this Merchant, notwithſtanding his recantation, hanged for jeſting againſt the Friars. *Ex Pantal. lib.* 7.

The judgments of God.

To this Merchant may alſo be adjoined the Brother of *Tamer*, who when he had before profeſſed the truth of the Goſpel, and afterward by the counſel and inſtruction of his Brother was removed from the ſame, fell into deſperation, and ſuch ſorrow of mind, that he hanged himſelf. *Ex Jo. Manlio in dictis Phil. Melanctth.*

Thomas Callergine, Martyr.

Thomas Callergne, a Coverlet-maker, at *Tourney*, *Anno* 1554.

This *Thomas* had copied out certain ſpiritual Songs out of a Book in *Geneva*, which he brought with him to *Tourney*, and lent the ſame to one of his fellows. This Book being eſpied, he was called for of the Juſtice, and examined of the Book, which he ſaid contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture, and that he would ſtand by.

Then he was had to the Caſtle, and after nineteen days was brought to the Town-houſe, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went chearfully, ſinging Pſalms. As he was in the flame, the Warden of the Friars ſtood crying, Turn, *Thomas*, *Thomas*, yet it is time, remember him that came at the laſt hour. To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, And I truſt to be one of that ſort; and ſo calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his ſpirit. *Ex Criſ. lib.* 4.

Nicholas Paul, Martyr

Add alſo to this, one *Nicholas Paul* beheaded at *Gaunt*. Theſe two ſhould have been placed among the Dutch Martyrs in the Table before.

Richard Feurus, Martyr.

Richard Feurus, a Goldſmith at *Lions*, *Anno* 1554.

Feurus a Goldſmith, born at *Roan*, firſt being in *England*, and in *London*, there received the taſte and knowledg of God's Word, as in his own Epiſtle he recordeth. Then he went to *Geneva*, where he remained nine or ten years. From thence returning to *Lions*, there he was apprehended and condemned. Then he appealed to the High-Court of *Paris*, through the motion of his friends. Where in the way as he was led to *Paris*, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and ſo ſet at liberty, which was *Anno* 1551.

Larrunelier, or Under-marſhal, or Examiner of *Dolphenee*.

The Lieutenant.

His Attorney.

His Scribe.

The examination of Richard Feurus.

After that, continuing at *Geneva* about the ſpace of three years, he came upon buſineſs to the Province of *Dolphenie*, and there as he found fault with the Grace ſaid in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his Inn in the night, by the Under-marſhal, or him which had the examination of Malefactors. The next day he was ſent to the Juſtice, from him to the Biſhop; who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the Lieutenant, who ſent his Advocate with a Notary to him in Priſon, to examine him of his Faith. The whole Proceſs of his Examinations, with his Adverſaries and the Friars, in his Story deſcribed, is long, the principal contents come to this effect.

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Inquiſitor.

This Inquiſitor was the Advocate which the Lieutenant ſent with the Notary.

Doſt thou believe the Church of *Rome*?

The Martyr.

No, I do believe the Catholick and Univerſal Church.

Inquiſitor.

What Catholick Church is that?

The Martyr.

The Congregation or Communion of Chriſtians.

Inquiſitor.

What Congregation is that, or of whom doth it conſiſt?

The Martyr.

The Church.

It conſiſteth in the number of God's Elect, whom God hath choſen to be the members of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, of whom he is alſo the head.

Inquiſitor.

Where is the Congregation, or how is it known?

The Martyr.

It is diſperſed through all the univerſal World, in divers Regious, and is known by the ſpiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to ſay, both by the Word of God, and by the right inſtitution of Chriſt's Sacraments.

Inquiſitor.

Do you think the Church that is at *Geneva*, *Lauſanna*, *Bernes*, and ſuch other places, to be a more true Church than the holy Church of *Rome*?

The Martyr.

Yea, verily, for theſe have the Notes of the true Church.

Inquiſitor.

What difference then make you between thoſe Churches and the Church of *Rome*?

The Martyr.

Much; for the Church of *Rome* is governed only with Traditions of Men, but thoſe are ruled only by the Word of God.

Difference between the Church of Rome, and the Church of Chriſt.

Inquiſitor.

Where learned you this Doctrine firſt?

The Martyr.

In *England*, at *London*.

Inquiſitor.

How long have you been at *Geneva*?

The Martyr.

About nine or ten years.

Inquiſitor.

The Virgin Mary no Advocate.

Doſt thou not believe the Virgin *Mary* to be a Mediatrix and Advocate to God for Sinners?

The Martyr.

I believe, as in the Word of God is teſtified, Jeſus Chriſt to be the only Mediator and Advocate for all Sinners; albeit the Virgin *Mary* be a bleſſed Woman, yet the Office of an Advocate belongeth not unto her.

Inquiſitor.

Whether Saints do pray.

The Saints that be in Paradiſe, have they no power to pray for us?

The Martyr.

No, but I judg them to be bleſſed, and to be contented with that grace and glory which they have, that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God?

Inquiſitor.

And what then judg you of them which follow the Religion of the Church of *Rome*? think you them to be Chriſtians?

The Martyr.

The Church of Rome is not the Church of Chriſt.

No, for that Church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather righteth againſt the ſame.

Inquiſitor.

Do you then eſteem all them which ſeparate themſelves from the Church of *Rome* to be Chriſtians?

The Martyr.

Gal. 6.

I have not to anſwer for others, but only for my ſelf. *Every Man* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *ſhall bear his own Burden.*

And thus the Advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had ſaid, and had obtained the ſame, he went to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciſcan Friar, who, firſt entring with him touching the words that he ſpake in his Inn, asked him, why that Grace might

not

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

not be ſaid in Latine? Becauſe, ſaid he, by the Word of God Chriſtians are commanded to pray with heart and with ſpirit, and with that tongue which is moſt underſtood, and ſeventh beſt to the edification of the hearers. Then the Friar bringing forth his *Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c. Laus Deo, Pax vivis, Requies defunctis, &c.* began thus to reaſon.

Praying in a ſtrange tongue.

The Friar.

God underſtandeth all tongues, and the Church of *Rome* hath preſcribed this form of praying, receiving the ſame from the ancient Church and the Fathers, which uſed them to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be obſerved in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as pray in the French?

The Martyr.

My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, ſo that the ſame be underſtood, and may edify the hearers.

The Friar.

When Chriſt entred the City of *Jeruſalem*, the People cried, lauding him with *Hoſanna filio David*, and yet underſtood they not what they ſaid, as *Jerome* writeth.

The Martyr.

It may be that *Jerom* ſo writeth, that they underſtood not the prophetical meaning, or the accompliſhment of theſe words upon Chriſt his coming: but that they underſtood the phraſe of that Speech or Language which they ſpake, ſpeaking in their own Language, *Jerom* doth not deny.

Then the Friar, declaring that he was no fit perſon to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin Tongue, inferred the authorities of Councils and Doctors, and teſtimonies of theſe words upon Chriſt his coming: but that they underſtood the phraſe of that Speech or Language which they ſpake, ſpeaking in their own Language, *Jerom* doth not deny.

Then the Friar, declaring that he was no fit perſon to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin Tongue, inferred the authorities of Councils and Doctors, and teſtimonies of theſe words upon Chriſt his coming;

The burning of Richard Feurus.

Perſecu. Chriſtianus Poſtor poſtquã paſtus.

thereof before all other counſels and judgments of Men; and thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and ſettle my ſelf in this little Chriſtianity, be it never ſo ſmall, than in that populous Papality, be it never ſo great in multitude.

And thus was this godly *Feurus* commanded again by the Deputy to the Biſhop's Priſon, and from thence ſhortly after removed to *Lions*, not by the open and beaten way, but by ſecret and privy Journeys, leſt perhaps he ſhould be taken from them again, as he was before.

Tignatius. D. Fumoſus, Sorbonilla.

After he was come to *Lions*, he was brought before *Tignatius* the Judg, and a Doctor of *Sorbon*, called *Fumoſus*, who queſtioned with him touching ſundry Articles of Religion. But in concluſion, when they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promiſes allure him, nor with threatning terrors ſtir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray them whom he knew not, which took him away before from his Keepers, they proceeded at laſt to the ſentence, condemning him firſt to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteouſneſs ſake, thus finiſhing his Martyrdom, *July* 7. *Anno* 1554. *Ex Criſp. Pant. & aliis.*

Nicholas Cheſne, Martyr.

Nicholas du Cheſne, at *Gry* by *Bezanſon*. *Anno* 1554.

The cauſe and occaſion why this *Nicholas* came in trouble was, for that he going from *Lauſanna*, (where he abode for his conſcience) to fetch his Siſter, and her Husband, and certain other of his friends, as he went from *Bezanſon*, toward the Town of *Gry*, did not homage to a certain Croſs in the way, where a certain Monk, which was an Inquiſitor, overtook him, and thereby ſuſpected him. He was guided by the ſame Monk, craftily diſſembling his Religion, to a Lodging in *Gry*: where the Juſtice of the place coming in incontinent took him. *Nicholas* ſeeing how he was by the Monk his Conductor betrayed; O falſe Traitor, ſaid he, haſt thou betrayed me? Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of Martyrdom, by the way he was promiſed, that if he would kneel down and hear a Maſs, he ſhould be let go as a Paſſenger, But *Nicholas*, armed with perſeverance, ſaid, he would rather die than commit ſuch an act. Who, calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6.*

False dealing in a Paſſ.

An Inquiſitor Monk.

The Seniors or Lords of *Eſtuay* & *Cyuuonnes*, dwelling by the Town of *Machemire.*

John Bertrand, a Foreſter, or keeper of the Foreſt of *Marchenoir.*

John Bertrand, Martyr.

At *Bloys*, *Anno* 1556.

For the Religion and Goſpel of Chriſt this *John* was apprehended by theſe perſecutors here ſpecified, and led bound to *Bloys*, where he was examined by *Denis* the Councellor, of divers points: as, Whether he had ſpoken at any time againſt God, againſt the Church, and the He-Saints, and the She-Saints of Paradiſe? Whereto he ſaid, No. *Item*, Whether at any time he had called the Maſs abominable? Which he granted, for that he finding no Maſs in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. *Paul*, *That if an Angel from Heaven would bring any other Goſpel beſides that which was already received, he ſhould account it accurſed.* After his condemnation they would have him to be confeſſed, and preſented to him a Croſs to kiſs. But he bad the Friars with their Croſs depart; that is not the Croſs (ſaid he) that I muſt carry. Entring into the Cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murther, theft, or blaſphemy, but only for the quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the poſt, he ſung the five and twentieth Pſalm. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding chearful and amiable, his eyes looked up to Heaven. O the happy Journey, (ſaid he, ſeeing the place where he ſhould ſuffer,) and the fair place that is prepared for me! When the fire was kindled about him, O Lord, (cried he) give thy hand to thy ſervant; I recommend my ſoul unto thee; and ſo meekly yielded up his ſpirit. Whoſe patient and joyful conſtancy ſo aſtonied the People, that of long time before nothing did ſeem to them ſo admirable. *Ex Gallic. Hiſt. per Criſp. lib. 6.*

Duns Barbet, Councellor of *Bloys.*

Peter

Peter Rouſſeau, Martyr.

Peter Rouſſeau, coming from *Geneva* and *Lauſanna* to his Country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the Word of God, partly for other certain affairs, becauſe he required his inheritance of his Brother-in-law, was by him betrayed. Then being conſtant in his Confeſſion which he offered up, he was put to the Rack three times, which he ſuffered conſtantly with great torments. Afterward he had his tongue cut off, and a Ball of Iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air, and let down three times: and when he was half-burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, ſaying, Jeſus Chriſt aſſiſt me. And ſo this bleſſed Martyr gave up his life to God. *Ex Joan. Criſp.*

A Brother in law of this *Peter.*

Cruelty.

Arnold Moniere, John de Cazes, Martyrs.

Arnold Moniere.
John de Cazes.

At *Bourdeaux*, *Anno* 1556.

The Accuſers appear not in the ſtory.

After that *Arnold Moniere* was taken and examined of the Juſtice, and ſo was laid in priſon, *John de Cazes* reſorting to the ſame Town of *Bourdeaux*, and hearing of him, and being admoniſhed moreover, that if he went to him he ſhould be appeached of Hereſy, notwithſtanding went to comfort him, and ſo was alſo impriſoned. After many examinations, ſentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their Martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon an hurdle to the place, accompanied with a number of Bills, Glaves, Gunners, and Trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no ſuch cauſe (they being two ſimple poor Men) yet the Magiſtrates commanded (upon what occaſion I know not) all the Gates of the City to be ſhut, and guarded with keepers. When the bleſſed Martyrs were brought and bound to the Poſt, which was before the Palace, they much rejoycing that they were made worthy to ſuffer for Chriſt, made confeſſion of their faith, and many exhortations unto the People. But to ſtop the hearing of theſe Saints, the Trumpeters were commanded to ſound, which during all the time of their ſuffering never ceaſed. The Hangman, preparing himſelf firſt to ſtrangle *Cazes*, chanced to fall down from the top of the Poſt to the Pavement, and brake his head in ſuch ſort, as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithſtanding he recovering himſelf, went to *Moniere*, and him he ſtrangled, who patiently rendred up his life. *Cazes*, who was the ſtronger of them both, being ſet on fire before the Hangman came, ſuffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for as his Legs were almoſt half burnt, yet he endured, crying, My God, my Father, and ſo gave up his life.

Trumpets brought in to ſtop the hearing of Gods Saints.

Anthony de Leſcure, the King's Attorney.

Fear firſt among Gods enemies.

And further, to note the work of God that followed, when theſe two mild and martyred Saints were almoſt conſumed in the fire to aſhes, ſuddenly without matter or cauſe ſuch a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the Juſtices and the People, notwithſtanding that they had the Gates locked to them, and were defenſed with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took them to their legs, in ſuch haſte flying away, that they over-ran one another. The Prior of St. *Anthonies* fell down, ſo that a great number went over him. The Judg *Pontache* on his Mule, with his red Robe, flying as the other did, was overthrown with the Preaſs in the Street called *Puteain*, in ſuch ſort that he was fain to be carried to *Pichon's* Houſe; a Widow, and there cried within, *Hide me, ſave my life, I am dead; I ſee even the like matter as at the laſt commotion. My Friends, hide my Male, that no man ſee her nor know her.* Briefly, ſuch was the fear which came upon them, that every Man ſhut up their Houſes. After the fear was paſt, every Man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the Enemies of God's truth perceive who was he that put them ſo to flight and fear, without any ſemblance of any Adverſary about them. This Story is teſtified, and to be found both in the Volume of the French Martyrs, printed by *Johan Criſpine, lib. 6.* alſo in the Book of Dutch Martyrs, written by *Adrianus.*

The Kings Attorney of *Xaintes Ville.*

Impius fugit & nemo perſequitur.

Philip Cene, James his Fellow, Martyrs.

Philip Cene,
James his Fellow.
At *Dyion*, *Anno* 1557.

This *Philip Cene* was an Apothecary at *Geneva*. He was taken at *Dyion*, and there impriſoned, and in the ſame Town of *Dyion* he with one *James* his companion was burned. As this *Philip* went to his death ſinging Pſalms, the Friar ſtanding by ſtopped his mouth with his hand. The moſt part of the People wept bitterly, ſaying, Be of good courage, Brethren, be not afraid of this death. Which when one of the adverſary part heard, he ſaid to one of the Magiſtrates, Do you not ſee how almoſt the half part of the People is of their ſide, and doth comfort them. *Ex Joan. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Archambant Martyr. M. Nicholas du Ruſſeau, Martyrs.

Archambant Seraphon.
M. Nicholas du Ruſſeau.

At *Dyion*, *Anno* 1557.

Theſe two were in priſon together with *Philip* and *James* above-ſaid, at *Dyion*. *Archambant* going about with a packet of Pedlary-ware to get his living, and coming towards his Wife, heard of certain Priſoners at *Dyion*, to whom he wrote to comfort them with his Letters. The next day after he was ſearched at *Auſſone*, and Letters of certain Scholars of *Paris* found about him. Then he was brought to *Dyion*, where he, with the other called Maſter *Nicholas du Ruſſeau*, conſtantly ſuffered.

The ſame *Archambant* had been alſo condemned three years before at *Tule*, and as he was led to *Bourdeaux* he eſcaped. *Ex ejus Epiſt. ad uxorem, apud Criſp. lib. 6.*

Philbert Hamlin, at *Bourdeaux*, *Anno* 1557.

Philbert Hamlin, Martyr.

Philbert Hamlin firſt was a Prieſt, then he went to *Geneva*, where he exerciſed Printing, and ſent Books abroad. After that he was made Miniſter at the Town of *Allenant* in *Saintonge*, in which and in other places more he did much good in edifying the People. At laſt he was apprehended at *Saintes Ville*, and with him his Hoſt a Prieſt, whom he had inſtructed in the Goſpel; and after confeſſion made of his Faith, he with the ſaid Prieſt was carried to *Bourdeaux* before the Preſidents. As he was in Priſon on a Sunday a Prieſt came in with all his furniture, to ſay Maſs in the Priſon; whom *Philbert* ſeeing to be reveſted, came and pluck'd his garments from his back with ſuch zeal and vehemency, that the Maſs-garments, with the Chalice and Candleſticks, fell down and were broken; ſaying, Is it not enough for you to blaſpheme God in Churches, but you muſt alſo pollute

The zeal of Philberte

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

the Priſon with your Idolatry? The Jaylor hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his ſtaff, and alſo complained of him: whereby he was removed to the common Priſon, and laid in a low Pit, laden with great Irons, ſo that his Legs were ſwoln withal, and there continued eight days. A little before he, perceiving the Prieſt his Hoſt to decline from the Truth, did what he could to confirm him in the ſame: but when he knew he had ſtatly renounced Chriſt and his Word, he ſaid unto him, O unhappy and more than miſerable! is it poſſible for you to be ſo fooliſh, as for ſaving of a few days which you have to live by the courſe of Nature, ſo to ſtart away, and to deny the Truth? Know you therefore, that altho you have by your fooliſhneſs avoided the corporal fire, yet your life ſhall be never the longer; for you ſhall die before me, and God ſhall not give you the grace that it ſhall be for his cauſe, and you ſhall be an example to all Apoſtates. He had no ſooner ended his talk, but the Prieſt going out of priſon, was ſlain by two Gentlemen which had a quarrel to him. Whereof when Maſter *Phibert* had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no ſuch thing before, but ſpake as it pleaſed God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the Providence of God, which by the occaſion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

Phibert prophecieth.

The marvellous judgment of God againſt Apoſtates.

At laſt the foreſaid *Phibert*, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his Martyrdom before the Palace; and as he was exhorting the People, to the intent his words ſhould not be heard, the Trumpets blew without ceaſing. And ſo being faſtened to the poſt, this holy Martyr, praying and exhorting the People, was ſtrangled, and his body with fire conſumed on Palm-Sunday-Eve. *Ex Gallic. Hiſt. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Trumpets blown to ſtop the hearing of Phibert.

Nicolas Sartorius, Martyr.

Nicolas Sartorius, *at* Oſt, *by* Piedmont, *Anno* 1557.

Nicolaus Sartorius, of the age of ſix and twenty years, born in *Piedmont*, came to the parts of *Chamberie* in Lent, where a certain Warden of the Friars in the Town of *Oſt* had preached on Good-Friday upon the paſſion. The report of which Sermon being recited to this *Sartorius*, by one that heard him, *Sartorius* reprehended the error and blaſphemies thereof, which were againſt the holy Scriptures. Shortly after the Party that told him went to a Secretary, named *Ripet*, who covertly came to entrap *Nicolas*, demanding him of the Friar's Sermon: And did not our Preacher, ſaid he, preach well? No, ſaid *Nicolas*, but he lied falſely. *Ripet* entring further with him, demanded; And do you not believe the Body of the Lord to be in the Hoſt? To whom *Nicolas* then anſwered again, That would be againſt our Creed, which ſaith, *That he aſcended up, and ſitteth*, &c. Incontinent *Ripet* went to the Friar and his companions, to cauſe him to be apprehended. The friends of *Nicolas* perceiving the danger, willed him to avoid and ſave himſelf, and alſo accompanied him out of the Town about the ſpace of three leagues. Then was great purſuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the Town of *Saint Remy*, at the foot of the mountain of great St. *Bernard*, where he was examined before *Anthony Eſchaux*, Bayliff of the Town, and other Juſtices, before whom he anſwered with great boldneſs for his Faith. Then they brought him to the Rack, and when the Sergeant refuſed to draw the Gord, the Bayliff himſelf, and the

Ripet, a Secretary.

(Anthony) Eſchaux, Baily.

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The King's Procurator.

Receiver, with a Canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithſtanding that the Lords of *Berne* wrote for him to the Town of *Oſt*, requiring to have their own Subject delivered unto them, they haſtened the execution, and pronounced ſentence that he ſhould be burned. Which ſentence he received with ſuch conſtancy, that neither the King's Receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the Goſpel, which he manfully maintained while any ſpirit remained in his body. *Ex Jo. Criſp. lib. 6.*

George Tardif, with one of *Tours*, a Broderer.
Nicolas, a Shoomaker of *Jenvile*.

At *Tours*, *Anno* 1558.
At *Jenvile*, *Anno* 1558.

The Printer of the Story of the French Martyrs, named *Criſpine*, among other more, maketh alſo memorial of *George Tardif*, a Broderer of *Tours*, and *Nicholas* of *Jenvile*, declaring that all theſe three together were in priſon, and afterward were diſſevered, to ſuffer in ſundry places one from the other; of whom firſt, *George Tardif* was executed at *Sens*.

George Tardif, Martyr.

The Broderer of *Tours*, as he was coming with five or ſix other out of a Wood, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he ſhould be examined, he deſired the Judges that he might pray. Which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the Judges, for the King, and all Eſtates, and for the neceſſity of all Chriſt's Saints, he anſwered for himſelf with ſuch grace and modeſty, that the hearts of many were broken unto the ſhedding of tears, ſeeking (as it ſeemed) nothing elſe but his deliverance. Notwithſtanding he at laſt was ſent unto *Tours*, and there was crowned with martyrdom.

A Broderer of Tours, Martyr.

The Accuſers be not named in the Story.

The third, which was *Nicolas*, being but young of years, and newly come from *Geneva* to his Country, for certain Money, by means of a Lady there dwelling was cauſed to be apprehended. When he was condemned and ſet in the Cart, his Father, coming with a ſtaff, would have beaten him, but the Officers not ſuffering it, would have ſtucken the old Man. The Son crying to the Officers, deſired them to let his Father alone, ſaying, that his Father had power over him, to do with him what he would. And ſo going to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, having a ball of Iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the Town of *Jenvile*, where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, *Anno* 1558. *Ex Typograph. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Nicolas of Jenvile, Martyr.

The Congregation of Paris *perſecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, at* Paris, Anno 1558.

A terrible Perſecution at Paris againſt the Congregation.

Anno 1558, *September* the fourth, a company of the Faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convented at *Paris* in a certain Houſe, having before it the College of *Pleſſis* in the Street of St. *James*, and behind it the College of *Sorbon*, who there aſſembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lord's Supper: But incontinent that was diſcovered by certain Prieſts of *Pleſſis*, who gathering together ſuch as were of that Faction, came to befet the Houſe, and made an outcry, that the Watch might come to take them; ſo that in ſhort time almoſt all the City *Paris* was up in Armour, thinking ſome Conſpiracy to have been

Prieſts of the College of *Pleſſis*. The Doctors of *Sorbon*.

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The fury of this world againſt the poor Chriſtians.

been in the City. Who then following the noiſe, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiouſly ſeeking to have their blood, and therefore ſtopped the Streets and Lanes with Carts, and made fires to ſee that none ſhould eſcape. The Faithful, albeit God had given them leiſure to finiſh their adminiſtration and prayers with ſuch quietneſs as they never had better, ſeeing the ſuddenneſs of the thing, were ſtucken in great fear; who then being exhorted by the governours of the Congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counſel of ſome which knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the Men which had weapons ſhould adventure through the Preaſs: Only the Women and Children remained in the houſe, and a few Men with them, which were leſs bold than the others, to the number of ſix or ſeven Score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, which notwithſtanding that the Lanes and Paſſages were ſtopp'd, and the Fires made, did yet all eſcape ſave only one, who was beaten down with ſtones, and ſo deſtroyed. Certain that remained in the houſe with the Women, afterward leaped into Gardens, where they were ſtayed till the Magiſtrates came. The Women (which were all Gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only ſix or ſeven excepted) ſeeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the People, went up to the windows, crying *Mercy, and ſhewing their innocent intent, required Juſtice ordinary. Thus as they were inclofed about ſix or ſeven hours, at laſt came *Martin* the King's Attorney, with force of Commiſſaries and Sergeants, who with much ado appeaſing the outrage of the people, entred into the houſe; where he viewing the Women and Children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that Congregation, perceived teſtimonies ſufficient of their innocency, inſomuch that in confeſſing thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithſtanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to priſon within the little Caſtle. I omit here the furious uſage of the People by the way, how deſpitefully they plucked and haled the Women, tore their Garments, thruſt off their Hoods from their heads, and diſfigured their faces with duſt and dirt. Neither were they better entreated in the Priſon, than they were in the Streets; for all the Villains and Thieves there were let out of their Holes and ſtinking Caves, and the poor Chriſtians placed in their rooms.

The Cardinal of *Lorain*.

Dr. *Demochares*.

Henry the ſecond, French King.

Cenalis, Biſhop of *Aurantches*.

One of the congregation beaten down in the ſtreets, and martyred.

* Mercy here importeth no offence acknowledged, but to be ſaved from the rage of the people.

Martin, the King's Attorney.

Beſides theſe manifold wrongs and oppreſſions done to theſe poor Innocents, followed then (which was worſt of all) the cruel and ſlanderous reports of the Friars and Prieſts, who in their railing Sermons, and other talk, cried out of the Lutherans, perſuading the people moſt falſly, That they aſſembled together to make a Banquet in the night, and there putting out the candles, they went together *Jack* with *Jill* (as they ſaid) after a filthy and beaſtly manner. Adding moreover (to make the Lie more likely) that certain Nuns alſo and Monks were with them. Alſo that they ſhould conſpire againſt the King, and other like hainous crimes, whatſoever their malice could invent, for defacing of the Goſpel. With ſuch like malicious miſreports and ſlanders Satan went about to extinguiſh the ancient Church of Chriſt in the primitive time, accuſing the innocent Chriſtians then of Inceſt, Conſpiracy, killing of Infants, putting out of Candles, and filthy Whoredoms, &c. Theſe ſiniſter rumors and curſed defamations were no ſooner given out, but they were as ſoon received, and ſpread far, not only to them of the vulgar ſort, but alſo among the States of the Court, and even to the King's ears. The Cardinal of *Lorain* the ſame time bare a great ſway in the Court, who then procured a certain Judg of the Caſtle to come in, declaring to the King, that he found there lying in the floor of the foreſaid Houſe, divers Couches and Pallets, upon which they intended to commit their Whoredom: alſo much other furniture and preparation, appointed for a ſumptuous Banquet. Whereupon with the King was mightily inflamed againſt them, neither was there any one perſon that durſt contrary it.

A falſe and malicious ſlander raiſed upon the congregation.

Maillardier.

Here the Enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the Goſpel, with all the friends thereof, were overthrown for ever. On the other ſide, no leſs perplexity and lamentation was among the Brethren, ſorrowing not ſo much for themſelves, as for the impriſonment of their Fellows. Albeit they loſt not their courage ſo altogether, but as well as they could they exhorted one another, conſidering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them ſo wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, conſulting together in this order, that firſt they ſhould humble themſelves to God in their own private Families: Secondly, to ſtop the running bruits of their holy Aſſemblies, they ſhould write Apologies, one to the King, another to the People. Thirdly, that Letters of Conſolation ſhould be written and ſent to their Brethren in priſon.

The Apology of the Congregation againſt falſe reports.

The firſt Apology was written to the King, and conveyed ſo ſecretly into his Chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the King and all his Nobles. Wherein the Chriſtians learnedly and diſcreetly both cleared themſelves of thoſe reports, and ſhewed the malice of their Enemies, eſpecially of Satan, which ever from the beginning of the Church hath, and ſtill doth go about to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Declaring further by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive time, how the nature of the Church hath ever been to ſuffer vexations, and ſlanderous reports and defamation by the malignant Adverſaries, &c. And laſtly, coming to the King, they craved that their Cauſe might not be condemned before it had an indifferent hearing, &c. Nevertheleſs, this Apology to the King ſerved to little purpoſe; forſomuch as the Adverſaries incontinent denied all that was written to the King, making him to believe, that all were but excuſes pretended, neither was there any perſon that durſt reply again.

The true Church of Chriſt ever from the beginning purged with ſlanderous tongues.

But the other Apology to the People did ineſtimable good, in ſatisfying the rumors, and defending the true cauſe of the Goſpel. Whereupon certain Doctors of *Sorbon* began to write both againſt the Apology and the Perſons, of whom one was called *Demochares*, who taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all Hereticks, cried out for Juſtice, with bills, glaves, fire and ſword.

Dr. Demochares perſecutor.

Another Sorboniſt, more bloody than the firſt, not only exclaimed againſt them for putting out the Candles in their deteſtable Concourſes and Aſſemblies, but alſo accuſed them as Men which maintained that there was no God, and denied the divinity and humanity of Chriſt, the immortality of the Soul, the reſurrection of the Fleſh, and briefly all the Articles of true Religion. And thus he charged them, without any proof, moving both the King and People, without any form of Law, to deſtroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

Lying tongs.

The third that wrote againſt them was *Cenalis*, Biſhop of *Aurantches*, which debated the ſame matter, but with leſs vehemency than the other, defending impudently, that their Aſſemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the Judges becauſe they were no ſharper with them, ſaying, that their ſoftneſs was the cauſe that the number of them ſo much increaſed. Among other points of his Book this one thing he diſputeth marvellous pleaſantly, touching the ſigns and marks of the true Church; firſt preſuppoſing this one thing, which is true, that the true Church hath its ſigns by which it may be known from the falſe Church;

Cenalis Biſhop of Aurantches perſecutor.

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and thereupon (making no mention at all either of Preaching, or Miniſtration of Sacraments) thus he inferreth: That their Church, which was the Catholick Church, had Bells by the which their Aſſemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other Church, which is of the Lutherans, hath Claps of Harquebuſſes and Piſtolets for ſigns, whereby they (as it is commonly bruited) are wont to congregate together. Upon this ſuppoſal, as upon a ſure foundation, he grounding his matter, vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great Conqueſt, and made a long *Antitheſis* or Compariſon, by the which he would prove that Bells were the marks of the true Church. The Bells, ſaid he, do ſound; the Harquebuſſes do crack or thunder. The Bells do give a ſweet tune and melodious; the ſigns of the Lutherans do make a foul noiſe and terrible: The Bells do open Heaven, the other do open Hell. Bells chaſe away Clouds and Thunder; the other engender Clouds and counterfeit Thunder: With many other proprieties more, which he brought out to prove that the Church of *Rome* is the true Church becauſe it hath thoſe Bells. Mark, good Reader, the profound reaſons and arguments which theſe great Doctors had, either to defend their own Church, or to impugn the Apologies of the Chriſtians.

Note well the true marks of the Pope's only Church.

Bells made the mark of the true Church.

The commodity of Bells in the Pope's Church.

Briefly, to finiſh the relidue of this Story: As the faithful Chriſtians were thus occupied in writing their Apologies, and in comforting their Brethren in priſon with their Letters, the Adverſaries again with their Faction were not idle, but ſought all means poſſible to haſten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the Priſon and other open places, to ſatisfy their unchariteble deſire with the death of them whoſe Religion they hated.

Finally, the ſeventeenth day of *September* Commiſſion was directed out by the King, and certain Preſidents and Counſellors appointed to overſee the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted Goſpellers were brought forth to their Judgment and Martyrdom, as anon (Chriſt willing) you ſhall hear.

Henricus Pantal. lib. 11. partly touching this Perſecution of the Pariſians, referreth the time thereof to the year of our Saviour 1557, which the French Chronicles do aſſign to the year 1558. and addeth moreover, That the *Germans* being the ſame time in a certain Colloquy at *Wormes*, diverſe learned Men reformed thither from *Geneva* and other quarters, deſiring of the Princes and Proteſtants there, that they by their Embaſſadors ſent to the French King, would become Suiters unto him for the innocent Priſoners, which for the cauſe aboveſaid were detained in bands at *Paris*. By the means of whoſe Interceſſion, ſaith he, and eſpecially for that the French King was then in War (as God provided) with *Philip* King of *Spain*, a great part of the Captives were reſcued and delivered; albeit certain of the ſaid number were executed before the coming of the German Embaſſadors, the Names and Martyrdom of whom hereunder do enſue. *Ex Criſp. & Pant. lib. 11.*

God's help in time of need.

Nicholas Clinet, at *Paris*.
Anno 1558.

Nicholas Clinet, Senator of the Church and Martyr.

Of this godly Company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the firſt was *Nicholas Clinet*, of the age of ſixty years, who firſt being a Schoolmaſter to Youth at *Saintonge* (where he was born) was there arreſted, and had his Image burned. From thence he came to *Paris*, where for his godly converſation he was made one of the Elders or Governors of the Church. For his age he was ſuſpected of the Judges to be a Miniſter, and therefore was ſet to diſpute againſt the cheifeſt of the Sorboniſts, and namely *Maillard*, whom he did ſo confute both by the Scriptures, and alſo their own Sorbonical Divinity, (wherein he had been well exerciſed and expert) in the preſence of the Lieutenant Civil, that the ſaid Lieutenant confeſſed that he never heard a Man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Priеſts of the College of *Plesir*.

Dr. Maillard confuted.

Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.

Taurin Gravelle, a Lawyer at *Paris*.
Anno 1558.

Taurin Gravelle, Martyr.

Taurin Gravelle firſt was a Student of the Law at *Toloufe*; after that he was made an Advocate in the Court of *Paris*: Laſtly, for his godlineſs he was ordained an Elder to the ſaid Congregation with *Clinet* above-mentioned. This [illegible]ing in his hands the keeping of a certain [illegible] one Maſter *Barthomier* his Kinſman and ſcholar, the Congregation deſtitute of room received them into the ſaid Houſe. And when he perceived the Houſe to be compaſſed with enemies, albeit he might have eſcaped with the reſt, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would anſwer for the fact, in receiving the ſaid Aſſembly into the Houſe. The conſtancy of this Man was invincible, in ſuſtaining his conflicts with the Sorboniſts. With Dr. *Maillard* eſpecially he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know ſo well even from his youth upward, that whenſoever the ſaid Doctor would open his mouth to ſpeak againſt the Saints for their nightly Aſſemblies, he again did reproach him with ſuch filthy acts of Buggery and infamous Sodomitry, that neither they which heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being ſo notorious that almoſt all the Children in the Streets did know it: and yet that Sorbonical Doctor ſtarved not to impeach good Men of Whoredom for their godly Aſſemblies in the night, whoſe Life was ſo far from all chaſtity, as were their holy Aſſemblies clear from all impurity. In fine, theſe two godly Elders in cruel pains of the fire finiſhed their martyrdom.

Dr. *Maillard*, Sorbonniſt.

Note the hypocriſy of theſe Sorbonical Doctors.

Bartholomew Hector, at *Turin*, 1556.

Bartholomew Hector Martyr, whoſe Story ſhould have come in ſooner, next before Philip Cene.

First, this *Hector* was a traveller about the Country, and a ſeller of books, having his Wife and Children at *Geneva*. As he came into the Vale of *Angrogna* in *Piedmont*, to get his living with ſelling of books, he was taken by a certain Gentleman, and there arreſted and ſent to *Tourin*, then examined, at laſt condemned. Being condemned, he was threatned, that if he ſpake any thing to the People, his tongue ſhould be cut off; nevertheleſs he ceaſed nothing to ſpeak. After his prayers made, wherein he prayed for the Judges, that God would forgive them, and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the ſtake, if he would convert; which he refuſed. Then he prepared himſelf to his death, which he took patiently. Whereat many of the People wept, ſaying, Why doth this Man die, which ſpeaketh of nothing but of God? *Ex Hiſt. Gall. per Criſp. lib. 6.*

A Gentleman called *Perrier*.

M. *Bartholomew Eme*, Preſident.

M. *Auguſtine de Eleſt*, Counſellor.

Philip de Luns, Gentlewoman, at *Paris*.
Anno 1558.

The Lieutenant Civil.

Dr. *Maillard*, Sorbonift.

Maſſnier, Lieutenant.

Bril Neighbours.

Bernard Lord-Keeper of the Seal, and Cardinal of *Sens*.

The Marquis of *Trane*.

Philip de Luns, Gentlewoman and Martyr.

Next unto *Clinet* and *Gravelle* above-ſaid, was brought out Mrs. *Philip*, Gentlewoman, of the age of twenty three years. She came firſt from the parts of *Gaſcoigne* with her Husband (who was Lord of *Graveron*) unto *Paris*, there to join her ſelf to the Church of God, where her Husband alſo had been a Senior or Elder, who in the month of *May* before was taken with an Ague, and deceaſed, leaving this *Philip* a Widow, which nevertheleſs ceaſed not to ſerve the Lord in his Church, and alſo in the houſe was taken with the ſaid company. Many conflicts ſhe had with the Judges and the Sorboniſts, namely, *Maillard*; but ſhe always ſent him away with the ſame reproach as the other did before, and bad him, Avaunt Sodomite, ſaying, ſhe would not anſwer one word to ſuch a Villain. To the Judges her anſwer was this, That ſhe had learned the Faith which ſhe confeſſed in the Word of God, and in the ſame would live and die.

And

K. Hen. 8 The Sacrament. | Perſecut. | Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.

And being demanded whether the Body of Chriſt was in the Sacrament: How is that poſſible, ſaid ſhe, to be the Body of Chriſt, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all Heavens, whenas we ſee the Mice and Rats, Apes and Munkeys play with it, and tear it in pieces? Her Petition to them was, that ſeeing they had taken her Siſter from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Teſtament to comfort himſelf. Her wicked Neighbours, altho they could touch her converſation with no part of diſhoneſty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much ſinging of Pſalms in her houſe, and twice or thrice an infinite number of Perſons were ſeen to come out of her houſe. Alſo when her Husband was in dying, no Prieſt was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their Infant to be baptized; for it was baptized in the Church of the Lord. Among other her Neighbours that came againſt her, two there were dwelling at St. *Germain* in the Suburbs; between whom incontinent roſe a ſtrife, wherein one of them ſticked the other with a Knife. The death of this Gentlewoman was the more hatned of the Lord-keeper of the Seal, *Bertrand*, Cardinal of *Sens*, and his Son-in-Law the Marqueſſe of *Trane*, to have the confiſcation of her Goods.

The Lieutenant.

The juſt hand of God againſt falſe and bloody Witneſſes.

Doctor Maillard.

Theſe three holy Martyrs above-recited, were condemned *Septemb.* 27. by the Proceſs of the Commiſſioners, and the Lieutenant Civil: and then being put in a Chappel together, certain Doctors were ſent to them, but their valiant conſtancy remained unmoveable. After that they were had out of their Priſon, and ſent every one in a Dung-cart to the place of Puniſhment. *Clinet* ever cried by the way, proteſting, that he ſaid or maintained nothing but the Verity of God. And being asked of a Doctor, Whether he would believe St. *Auſtin*, touching certain matters? he ſaid, Yea; and that he had ſaid nothing but which he would prove by this Authority.

The martyrdom of Clinet, Gravel, and Philip de Luns.

Counſellors.

The Gentlewoman, being a Prieſt come to confeſs her, ſaid, That ſhe had confeſſed unto God, and had received of him remiſſion: other abſolution ſhe found none in Scripture. And when certain Counſellors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden Croſs, according to the cuſtom of them that go to their death; alledging how Chriſt commanded every one to bear his Croſs: ſhe anſwered, My Lords, ſaid ſhe, you make me in very deed to bear my Croſs, condemning me unjuſtly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Who willeth us to bear our Croſs, but no ſuch Croſs as you ſpeak of.

A wholeſom Leſſon for all Students.

The Friers.

The Croſs.

Gravelle looked with a ſmiling countenance, and ſhewed a chearful colour, declaring how little he paſſed for his condemnation: and being asked of his Friends to what death he was condemned; I ſee well (ſaid he) that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And coming from the Chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unleſs he would return, he ſaid, that was not ſo contained in the Arreſt, and therefore he was unwilling to grant unto it: but afterward perceiving the ſame ſo to be agreed by the Court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent ſpake plainly theſe words; I pray you pray to God for me.

Their tongues cut out.

The Gentlewoman alſo, being required to give her tongue, did likewiſe, with theſe words: Seeing I do not ſtick to give my Body, ſhall I ſtick to give my Tongue? No, no. And ſo theſe three, having their Tongues cut out, were brought to *Malbert-place*. The conſtancy of *Gravelle* was admirable, caſting up his ſighs and groans to Heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. *Clinet* was ſomewhat more ſad than the other, by reaſon of the feebleneſs of Nature and his Age. But the Gentlewoman yet ſurmounted all the reſt in conſtancy, which neither changed countenance, nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

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After the death of her Husband, ſhe uſed to go in mourning Weed, after the manner of the Country. But the ſame day, going to her burning, ſhe put on her French hood, and decked her ſelf in her beſt Array, as going to a new marriage, the ſame day to be joined to her Spouſe Jeſus Chriſt. And thus the three, with ſingular conſtancy, were burned; *Gravelle* and *Clinet* were burned alive. *Philip* the Gentlewoman was ſtrangled, after ſhe had a little taſted the flame with her feet and viſage; and ſo the ended her martyrdom. *Ex Joan. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Precious in the ſight of God, is the death of his Saints.

Nich. Cene, Peter Gabart, Martyrs.

Nicholas Cene, Peter Gabart, *at Paris*,
Anno 1558.

Of the ſame Company was alſo *Nicholas Cene* a Phyſician, Brother to *Philip Cene* above mentioned, and martyred at *Dyion*, and *Peter Gabart*: which two, about five or ſix days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, *Octob.* 2.

Nicholas Cene was but new come to *Paris* the ſame day, when he was advertiſed of the Aſſembly which then was congregate in the ſtreet of St. *James*, and (as he delired nothing more than to hear the Word of God) came thither even as he was, booted, and was alſo with them apprehended, ſuſtaining the cauſe of God's holy Goſpel unto death.

The other was *Peter Gabart*, a Solicitor of Proceſſes, about the Age of thirty years, whoſe conſtancy did much comfort the Priſoners. He was put among a great number of Scholars in the little Caſtle. Who when he heard to paſs the time in talking of Philoſophy; No, no, ſaid he, let us forget theſe worldly matters, and learn how to ſuſtain the heavenly Cauſe of our God, which lie here in defence of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour: And ſo he began to inſtruct them how to anſwer to every point of Chriſtian Doctrine ſo well, as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but only ſtudied Divinity; and yet was he but very ſimply learned. Then was he ſent from them apart to another Priſon, full of filthy ſtinch and vermin; where notwithſtanding he ceaſed not to ſing Pſalms that the other might well hear him. He had a Nephew in a Priſon by, being but a Child, of whom he asked what he had ſaid to the Judges? He ſaid, that he was conſtrained to do reverence to a Crucifix painted. O thou naughty Boy, ſaid he, have not I taught thee the Commandments of God? Knoweſt thou not how it is written; *Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image*, &c. And ſo began to expound to him the Commandments; whereunto he gave good attention.

Images forbidden.

In their Examinations, many Queſtions were propounded by the Doctors and Friers, touching matters both of Religion, and alſo to know of them what Gentlemen and Gentlewomen were there preſent at the miniſtration of the Sacrament. Whereunto they anſwered in ſuch ſort, as was both ſufficient for defence of their own cauſe, and alſo to ſave their other Brethren from blame, ſaying, that they would live and die in that they had ſaid and maintained.

When the time of their Execution was come, they perceived that the Judges had intended, that if they would relent, they ſhould be ſtrangled, if not, they ſhould burn alive, and their Tongues be cut from them. Which torments they being content to ſuffer for our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, offered their Tongues willingly to the Hangman to be cut. *Gabart* began a little to ſigh, for that he might no more praiſe the Lord with his Tongue. Whom then *Cene* did comfort. Then were they drawn out of Priſon in the Dung-cart to the Suburbs of St. *Germane*. Whom the People in rage and madneſs, followed with cruel injuries and blaſphemies, as tho they would have done the execution themſelves upon them, maugre the Hangman. The cruelty of their death, was ſuch as hath not lightly been

Their tongues cut out.

Cruelty.

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been seen: for they were holden long in the Air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before that the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed Saints ceased not in all these Torments to turn up their eyes to Heaven, and to shew forth infinite testimonies of their Faith and constancy.

In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles the same time also were burnt.

See here, how the whole power of the World was conspirate together against the poor Saints of God, according to the prophesy of the second Psalm. Assiterunt Reges terræ & principes convenerunt in unum, adversus dominum, &c.

Upon the light of this cruelty, the Friends of the other Prisoners which remained behind, fearing the tyranny of these Judges, presented certain causes of refusal against the said Judges, requiring other Commissioners to be placed. But the King, being hereof advertised by his Sollicitor, sent out his Letters Patents, commanding the said Causes of refusal to be frustrate, and willed the former Judges to proceed, all other Lets and Obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding; and that the Presidents should have power to chuse to them other Counsellors, according to their own arbitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent: amongst whom also the said Solicitor was received, instead of the King's Procurator, to pursue the Process. By the which Letters Patents it was decreed, that these stubborn Sacramentaries (as they were called) should be judged accordingly, save only that they should not proceed to the execution, before the King were advertised. These Letters aforesaid, stirred up the fire of this Persecution not a little, for that the Judges at this refusal took great Indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding to it pleased God, that a young man, a German, called *Albert Hartung*, born in the Country of *Brandeburg*, and Godson to *Albert* Marquess of *Brandeburgh*, by the King's Commandment was delivered, through the importunate suit of the said Marques. *Ex Jo. Crisp. lib. 6.*

Albert Hartung delivered.

Frederick Danvile.
Francis Rebezes.
At Paris, *Anno* 1558.

Frederick Danvile, Francis Rebezies, Martyrs.

Mention was made above of certain young Scholars and Students which were in the little Castle with *Peter Gabert*. Of which number of Scholars were these two, *Frederick Danvile*, and *Francis Rebezies*, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the Doctors of *Sorbon*, their own Letters left in writing do make record: the effect whereof briefly to touch is this; and first, touching *Frederick Danvil*.

Two Presidents.

Twenty five Counsellors.

The Lieutenant Civil.

Doctors.

Friers.

Mat. 10. Sorbonists

Benedictus Jacobin.

Demochares. Maillard.

Acts 1.

The Lieutenant Criminal, who before was half suspected, but now thinking to prove himself a right Catholick, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture; *Whosoever denieth me before Men, him will I deny before my Father*, &c. That done, he asked him what he thought of the Sacrament. To whom *Frederick* answered, That if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the Priest's Hands after the Sacramental words (as they call them) then should he believe a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which saith, *That he sitteth on the right hand of the Father*. Also to the Testimony of the Angels, which spake both of the ascending of Christ, and of his coming down again, *Acts* 1. After this he questioned with him touching invocation of Saints, Purgatory, &c. Whereunto he answered so, that he rather did astonish the Enemies, than satisfy them.

Furthermore, the 12th of *September* the said *Frederick* again was brought before *Benedictus Jacobin*, and his Companion, a Sorbonist, called *Noster Magister*; who thus began to argue with him.

The Doctor.

Which think you to be the true Church, the Church of the *Protestants*, or the Church of *Paris*?

The Martyr.

I recognize that to be the true Church where the Gospel is truly preached, and the Sacraments rightly ministred, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

The Doctor.

And is the Church (think you) of *Geneva* such a one as you speak of?

The Martyr.

I so judg it to be.

The Doctor.

And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?

The Martyr.

Yea, if you shall prove it by the Scripture?

The Doctor.

Or will you believe St. *Austin* and other holy Doctors innumerable?

The Martyr.

Yea, so they different not from the Scripture and the Word of God.

The Doctor.

By the Authority of St. *Augustine*, the Church is there where is the Succession of Bishops. Whereunto I frame this Argument: The Church.

There is the Church, where is the perpetual succession of Bishops.

In the Church of *Paris* is such Succession of Bishops:

Ergo the Church of *Paris* is the true Church.

The Martyr.

To your *Major* I answer, That if St. *Austin* mean the succession of such as are true Bishops indeed, which truly preach the Gospel, and rightly administer the Sacraments: such Bishops I suppose to be at *Geneva*, where the Gospel is truly preached, and the Sacraments duly ministred, and not in the Church of *Paris*. But otherwise, if St. *Austin* mean the succession of false Bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's Word, so is the same in no wise to be granted.

The Doctor.

Calvin is there by his own thrusting in only, and by the chusing of the People.

The Martyr.

And that foundeth more for him to be of God's Divine Election, for so much as by him the Gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no Man shall bring me.

After this disceptation, the ninth of the same month came against him another Doctor with two Sorbonists; who, bringing forth a scroll out of his Bosom, pretended that a certain Scholar coming from *Geneva*, made his confession, wherein was contained, that, in receiving of the Bread and Wine, the Body and Blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the same Confession.

The Martyr.

Really.

Whatsoever I have said unto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word [*really*] I know right well that they of *Geneva* do not take it for any carnal presence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination.

The Doctor.

I marvel much that you so refuse the Word *really*, and use only *spiritually*, seeing that *Calvin* himself doth use the same word *really*.

The Martyr.

Calvin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do.

The Doctor.

What say you by Confession Auricular? Confession Auricular.

The Martyr.

The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, That I take it for a Plantation, not planted by God in his Word.

The

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Melancthon in his Common Places speaking of the parish Confession which consisteth in the enumeration of sins, saith, that it is a figure of conscience, and against the Gospel, and otherwise maketh there no mention of Evangelium ferre ullo modo.

The Doctor.

The *Almanes*, in their Confession which they sent to our King to be approved, have these words: *Confessionem auricularem non improbamus: est enim Evangelium secretum*: That is, We do not reject Auricular Confession; for it is a Gospel secret and privy. And also *Melancthon* in his Book of Common Places, doth call it *Evangelium secretum*.

Another time the said *Frederick* was called again before the Lords, the twentieth of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain Questions, where he was born, and whether he had heard in his Country at *Oleron*, that Mr. *Gerard* the Bishop there did sing Mass. Yea, said he, And why do not you also, said they, receive the same. He answered, Because he did it to retain and keep his Bishoprick. The Matter, for lack of Paper, could proceed herein no further.

The Examination of Francis Rebezies.

The examination of Rebezies.

REbezies had three sundry Examinations: The first with the Lieutenant Civil: the second with the Presidents and the Counsellors: the third with the Friers. First, The Lieutenant enquiring of his Name, Country, and Parents, asked whether he was at the Communion, whether he received with them the Bread and Wine, and whether he was a Servitour to Mr. *Nicholas Cene*, Senior of the Congregation? Whereunto he said, Yea. Also whether he was a distributer of the Tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied. Then he was brought into the Council Chamber, before two Presidents, and 25 Counsellors: who, after other Questions about his Country and Parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered, Yea. What he had to do there? To hear the Word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No Man. How he durst, or would enter, knowing no Person there? Truth it was, said he, that he knew there two or three. Who were they? Mr. *Gravell*, *Clinet*, and *John Sanfor*, taining that name of himself. Whether he knew the Preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the Act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to refort unto their beautified Temples, to hear Mass, or whether he did not take the Mass to be an holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service fet up of the Devil. Whether he did not acknowledg Purgatory? Yea, that Purgatory, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the World. The death of Christ is the principal, said they, but thou must also believe another. Alas, said he, can we never content our selves with the simplicity of the Gospel, but Man always will be putting to something of his own brain: in so many places of the Scripture we see the Blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as *John* 1. *Apocalyps* 5. *Heb.* 9. *Isa.* 43. Where the Lord himself saith; *This is he, who for his own sake putteth away our Iniquities*, &c. As St. *Paul* also saith, *That God was in Christ, reconciling the World unto himself*, &c. And contrary, when they objected the words of the Parable, *Mat.* 5. *Thou shalt not come out, till thou hast paid the last farthing*. To this he answered, That the words of that Parable had no such relation, but to matters civil: and this word [*until*] meaneth there, as much as never. After that, he was charged there by one, for reading the Books of *Calvin*, *Bucer*, and *Bullinger*. The President asked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his Parents into such dishonour? He answered, that he knew well, *That all which would live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution*. And that to him either to live or to die, were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his Parents, Christ, said he, doth prevent him self, *Thus whosoever loveth Father or Mother more than him, is not worthy to be his*, &c. *Jesus Maria!* said the President, What youth is this now-adays, which cast themselves so headlong into the fire! and so was he commanded away.

The second examination

Mass.

Purgatory.

John 1. Apoc. 5. Heb. 9. Isa. 43. 2 Cor. 5.

Mat. 5.

2 Tim. 3.

Mat. 10.

Thirdly, He was brought before *Benet*, Master of the Doctors of *Sorbon*, and another called *Jacobine*, the

The third examination

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fourteenth of *October*; whereas he, chancing to speak of the Lord, the Doctor began thus to object as followeth.

The Doctor.

The distinction between the Lord, and our Lord.

See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the Pronoun, *our*. So may the Devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.

The Martyr.

The Devils call the Lord in such fort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the Adulteress before him, and called him Master: yet neither attended they to his Doctrine, nor intended to be his Disciples: whose cause I trust is nothing like to ours, which know, and confess (as we speak) him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do.

The Doctor.

The Church.

I know well you hold the Church to be, where the Word is truly preached, and the Sacraments sincerely ministred, according as they are left of Christ and his Apostles.

The Martyr.

That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.

The Doctor.

Do you not believe, that whosoever is without that Church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?

The Martyr.

Whosoever doth separate himself from that Church, to make either Sect, Part, or Division, cannot obtain as you say.

The Doctor.

Churches.

Now let us consider two Churches, the one wherein the Word is rightly preached, and the Sacraments administred accordingly as they be left unto us: the other, wherein the Word and Sacraments be ufed contrarily. Which of these two ought we to believe?

The Martyr.

The first.

The Doctor.

Well said. Next is now to speak of the Gifts given to the said Church: as the power of the Keys, Confession for remission of sins, after we be confessed to a Priest. Also we must believe the seven Sacraments in the same Church truly administred, as they be here in the Churches of *Paris*, where the Sacrament of the Altar is ministred, and the Gospel truly preached.

The Martyr.

Power of the Keys. Confession.

Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receive in the Church more than two Sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole communalty of Christians. And as concerning the power of the Keys, and your Confession, I believe that for remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but only to God, as we read 1 *Joh.* 1. *If we confess our sins, God is faithfull and just to pardon our Offences, and he will purge us from all our Iniquities*, &c. Also in the Prophet *David*, Psal. 19. & 32. *I have opened my sin unto thee*, &c.

The Doctor.

Should I not believe that Christ, in the time of his Apostles, gave to them power to remit sins?

The Martyr.

The power that Christ gave to his Apostles, if it be well considered, is nothing disagreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to say (which here I confess) that the Lord gave to his Apostles to preach the Word, and so to remit sins by the same Word.

The Doctor.

Do you then deny Auricular Confession?

The Martyr.

Yea verily I do.

The Doctor.

Ought we pray to Saints?

The Martyr.

I believe no.

The Doctor.

Tell me that I shall ask; Jesus Christ being here upon the Earth, was he not then as well sufficient to hear the whole World, and to be intercessor for all, as he is now?

The Martyr. Yes.

The

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The Doctor.

Intercession of Saints.

But we find, that when he was here on Earth, his Apofiles made intercession for the People; and why may they not do the same as well now also?

The Martyr.

So long as they were in the World, they exercised their Ministry, and prayed one for another, as needing humane succours together: but now they being in Paradise, all their Prayer that they make, is this, That they with that they which he yet on Earth may attain to their felicity: but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we must have recourse only to his Son.

The Doctor.

If one Man have such charge to pray for another, may not he then be called an Intercessor?

The Martyr.

I grant.

The Doctor.

Well then, you say there is but one Intercessor. Whereupon I infer, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him an Intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so ought we verily to believe.

The Martyr.

You understand not, Sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then shall we never be able to stand in his sight. For if he shall look upon us, he can see nothing but sin. And if the Heavens be not pure in his Eyes, what shall be thought then of Man, so abominable and unprofitable, *which drinketh Iniquity like water*, as *Job* doth say?

Then the other Frier, seeing his Fellow to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth.

The Doctor.

Note this blasphemous Doctrine, which maketh Saints equal Intercessors with Christ.

Nay (my Friend) as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand, and now to speak of our selves, this we know, that God is not displeased with them which have recourse unto his Saints.

The Martyr.

Sir, we must not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth. *For this is the truth that we have in him, that if we demand any thing after his Will, he will hear us.* 1 John 5.

The Doctor.

As no Man cometh to the presence of an earthly King or Prince, without means made by some about him; so, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above, &c.

The Martyr.

To this earthly Example, I will answer with another Heavenly Example of the prodigal Son, who fought no other means to obtain his Father's Grace, but came to the Father himself.

Worshipping of Saints.

Then they came to speak of Adoration, which the said Rebezies *disproved by the Scripture*, Acts 10. 13, 14. Apoc. 19. 22. Heb. 10. 14. 12. *Where is to be noted, that where the Martyr alledged the* 12*th to the* Hebrews; *the Doctor answered, that it was in the* 11*th Chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the* 11*th, nor in the* 12*th, but in the* 14*th Chapter of the Acts. So well seen were these Doctors in their Divinity.*

The Doctor.

The presence of Christ in the Host.

Touching the Mass, what say you? believe you not that when the Priest hath consecrated the Host, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample sort, as he was hanging upon the Cross?

The Martyr.

Mass.

No verily; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth *Heb.* 10. 1 *Cor.* 15. *Col.* 3. and therefore (to make short with you) I hold your Mass for none other, but for a false and counterfeited Service, set up by Satan, and retained by his Ministers, by the which you do annihilate the precious Blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own Body; and you know right-well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated.

The Doctor.

You deceive your selves in the word reiteration, for we do not reiterate it so as you think: as by Example I will shew you. You see me now in this religious Garment; but if I should put upon me a Souldiers Weed, then should I be disguised, and yet for all that I should remain the same still within my Doublet, that I was before in my Friers Weed. So is it with the Sacrifice: We confess and grant, that *Naturaliter*, that is, naturally, he was once offered in Sacrifice; and also in fitting, *Naturaliter*, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; but *Supernaturaliter, & subscriptivè*, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration. *Supernaturaliter* we sacrifice him; but that Sacrifice is only disguised, to understand that he is contained under that curtain and whiteness which you see.

Naturaliter.

Supernaturaliter, or subscriptivè.

The Martyr.

The disguised Sacrifice of the Papists.

Sir, this I say, that such a disguised Sacrifice, is a diabolical Sacrifice; and this you may take for a resolution.

The Doctor.

And how is your Belief touching the holy Supper?

The Martyr.

The body of Christ spiritually received in the Sacrament, spiritually, Corporally.

That if it be ministred unto me by the Minister, in such usage, as it hath been left of Christ and his Apostles, preaching also the Word purely withal, I believe that, in receiving the material Bread and Wine, I receive with lively Faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ spiritually.

The Doctor.

Say corporally.

The Martyr.

No Sir, for his words be Spirit and Life; and let this content you.

The Doctor.

What say you, Is it lawful for a Priest to marry?

The Martyr.

Matrimony of Ministers.

I believe it to be lawful for him, in such fort as the Apostle saith, *Whosoever hath not the gift of Continence, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn.* And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of Bishops and Elders, 1 *Tim.* 3. and *Tit.* 1.

And thus these Doctors, affirming that he denied Priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, God have mercy on you. So be it, said he.

After this, about *Octob.* 22. the said *Rebezies* and *Frederick Danvile.* were brought up to a Chamber in the Castle to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the Congregation. In the which Chamber they found three Counsellors, who thus began with them: Lift up thy hand. Thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose Image here thou seest, shewing him a great Marmouset there painted in a paper, &c. Whereunto *Rebezies* answered, Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart. Why dost not thou swear to us, said the Counsellors, as we say unto thee: Because, said he, it is a great blasphemy against the Lord. Then the Counsellors read their Depositions, and first beginning with *Rebezies*, said; Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what Companions thou knowest to be of this Assembly? *Rebezies* named, as he did before, *Gravel, Glinet* (which were already burnt) and *John Sanfot.* To whom they said, that the Court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the Torture or Rack, and so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a Cross put in his hand, being bid to commend himself to God & the Virgin *Mary*; but he neither would receive the Cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin *Mary*, saying, That God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the Lion's mouth; and so, being drawn and stretched in the Air, began to cry, Come Lord and shew thy strength, that Man do not prevail, &c. But they cried, Tell truth *Francis*, and thou shalt be let down. Nevertheless he continued still in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the Counsellors said, Wilt thou say nothing else? I have nothing else, said he, to say. And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire side. Who, being loosed, said to them; Do you handle thus the poor Servants of God? And the like was done to *Frederick Danvile* also, his Companion, of whom they could have no other answer (who at the same time was also very sick) but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his Servants, as ever he did any else, as by their own Letters and Confession it doth appear. *Ex literis Franc. Rebez. in Crisp. l. 6.*

The enterys racked.

The confessy of their Martyrs.

These

K.Hen.8.

Persecut. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

These constant and true Martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the Torture into their fellow Prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. *Frederick* did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, Why he so did? he said it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the Evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. Notwithstanding, said he, be strong, Brethren, and be not afraid, assuring your selves of the aid of God, which hath succoured us, and also will comfort you. *Rebezies* with the Rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his Neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his Brethren to lay him upon his Bed, there he wrote his Confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoyced together, and comforted themselves with Meditation of the Life to come, and contempt of this World, singing Psalms together till it was day. *Rebezies* cried twice or thrice together, Away from me *Satan. Frederick*, being in Bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether *Satan* would stop him of his Course? *Rebezies* said, that *Satan* set before him his Parents; but by the Grace of God, said he, he shall do nothing against me.

Brotherly compassion.

The confort of Gods Saint.

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the Counsellors, and required to shew what Fellows they had moe of the said Assembly. Which when they would not declare, the Sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a Dung-cart to *Maubert* place, and there, having a Ball in their Mouths, be tied each one to his Post, and afterward be strangled, and so be turned into Ashes.

Afterward came the Friers and Doctors, *Democares*, *Maillard*, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a Cross to kiss, which they refused: then *Democares* by force made *Rebezies* to kiss it whether he would or no, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the Sacrament. What, said *Frederick*, will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of his Father? *Dimocares* said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any Miracles as the Apostles, and other holy Martyrs did. *Frederick* asked them, if they required any Miracle? No, said they, and so stood mute, save only that *Democares* prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. *Maillard* also added, that he would gage his Soul to be damned, but it was true. *Frederick*, answered, That he knew it was contrary.

Dr. Mayl. laid gageth his Soul.

At last, being brought to the place of Execution, a Cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a Priest standing by, had them believe in the Virgin *Mary*. Let God, saith they, reign alone. The People standing by, Ah milchievous Lutheran! said they: Nay, a true Christian I am, said he. When they were tied to their Stakes, after their Prayers made, when they were bid to be dispatched, one of them comforting the other, said, Be strong, my Brother, be strong: Satan away from us. As they were thus exhorting, one standing by, said, These Lutherans do call upon Satan. One *John Morel* (which afterward died a Martyr) then standing by at liberty, answered; I pray you let us hear (said he) what they say, and we shall hear them invocate the Name of God. Whereupon the People lifted better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their Mouths being stopped could utter; Assist us, O Lord. And so they, rendring up their Spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant Martyrdom. *Ex Crispino lib. 6.*

Villegaignon a French Captain.

John Morel was afterward burned.

The death Martyrdom of Rebezies and Danvile.

After the Martyrdom of these two above-said, the intention of the Judges was to dispatch the rest one after another in like sort, and had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain Gentlewoman, then Prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of Exceptions or Refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the Enemies was staied to the Month of *July* following. In the which mean time, as this Persecution was spread into other Countries, first the faithful Cantons of the *Switzers* perceiving these good Men to be afflicted for the same Doctrine which they preached in their Churches, sent their Ambassadors to the King to make supplication for them.

The Switzers make supplication to the French King for the Martyrs.

The same time also came Letters from the County Palatine Elector, tending to the same End, to solicit the King for them. The King standing the same time in great need of the *Germans* for his Wars, was contented at least that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them were sent to Abbies, where they were kept at the charge of the Priors, to be constrained to be present at the Service of Idolatry, especially the young Scholars; of whom some shunnk back other, being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the Official to make their Confession, and to receive Absolution ordinary. Divers made their Confession ambiguous and doubtful, &c. *Ex Johan. Crisp. lib 6. Ex Pantal. lib. 11.*

Conntee Palatine making intercession to the French King for the Christian Prisoners.

Rena Seau. John Almarick, *as* Paris, *Anno* 1558.

Rene Seau, John Almarick died in Prison.

These two young Men were also of the Company above specified, and were in Prison, where they sustained such Cruelty, being almost reached to death, that *Almerick* could not go when he was called to the Court to be judged. And being upon the Rack, he rebuked their Cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, which came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no dolour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in Prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure Confession of Christ's Church. *Ibidem.*

John Bordel, Matt. Vermeil, Peter Bourdon, Martyrs.

John Bordel.
Matth. Vermeil.
Peter Bourdon.
Andrew de Foi.
At the Country of Bresil, *An.* 1558.

He fost thrift for then enough, because they should never return, pretending that he lacked Victuals, but the cause was Religion.

Mention is made in the *French* Story of one *Villegaignon*, Lieutenant for the *French* King, who made a Voyage into the Land of *Bresil* with certain *French* Ships, and took an Island near to the same adjoyning, and made therein a Fortress. After they had been there a while, *Villegaignon* (for lack of Victuals, as he pretended) sent certain of them away in a Ship to the River of *Plate*, toward the Pole Antarctick, a thousand miles off: In the which Ship were these four here mentioned: who forsaking their Ship by occasion of Tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the Land of *Bresil*, and afterward to their own Countrymen. *Villegaignon* being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his Letter. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false Suspicion and vain Dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had been sent as privy Spies by the *Brasilians*, because they came from them, and had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under some colour of Treason: but the Cause was Religion: for albeit sometime he had been a Professor of the Gospel, yet afterward growing to some dignity, he fell to be an Apostata, and cruel Persecutor of his Fellows. But when no Proof or Conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he knowing them to be earnest Protestants, drew out certain Articles of Religion for them to answer, and so intrapping them upon their Confession, he laid them in Irons and in Prison, and secretly, with one Executioner and his Page, he took one after another, beginning with *John Bordel*, and first brought him to the top of a Rock, and there being half strangled, without any judgment threw him into the Sea, and after the like manner, ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murthered and drowned; to wit, *John Bordel, Matthew*

Ver-

Perſecut. | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Vermeil, and *Peter Bourdon*. The fourth, which was *Andrew de Fou*, he cauſed by manifold Allurements, ſomewhat to incline to his ſayings, and ſo he eſcaped the danger, not without great offence taken of a great part of the *Frenchmen* in that Country. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. & ex Comment. Gallic. de ſtatu Relig. & Reipub.*

Geffery Varagle, *at* Thurin *in* Piedmont, *Anno* 1558.

Geffery Varagle, Martyr.

In the ſame year, 1558, ſuffered alſo *Geffery Varagle*, Preacher in the Vally of *Angroigne*, at the Town of *Thurin* in *Piedmont*, who firſt was a Monk, and ſaid Maſs the ſpace of ſeven and twenty years. Afterward returning from *Buske* toward *Angroigne* to preach, as he had uſed before to do, ſent by the Miniſters of *Geneva*, and other faithful Brethren, was apprehended in the Town of *Burges*, and brought before the King's Lieutenant; where he was queſtioned with touching divers Articles of Religion: as of Juſtification, Works of Supererogation, Free-will, Predeſtination, Confeſſion, Satisfaction, Indulgences, Images, Purgatory, the Pope, *&c.* Whereunto he anſwered again in Writing, with ſuch Learning and Reaſon, alledging againſt the Pope's own Diſtinctions, namely, *Diſt. 19 cap. Dominus. Diſtinct. 21. cap. In nono. Diſtinct. 21. cap. omnes, & cap. Sacro ſanCto:* that as the Story reporteth, the Court of *Thurin* marvelling at his Learning, condemned more for reproach of ſhame, than upon true opinion grounded on Judgment. When he was brought to the place of Execution, the People which ſtood by and heard him ſpeak, declared openly, that they ſaw no cauſe why he ſhould die. A certain old Companion of his, a Prieſt, calling him by his name, Maſter *Geffery*, deſired him to convert from his opinions. To whom he patiently anſwered again, deſiring him, that he would convert from his Condition. And thus after he had made his Prayer unto God, and had forgiven his Executioner, and all his Enemies, he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burned. In the foreſaid Story relation is made moreover, concerning the ſaid *Geffery*, that at the time of his burning a Dove was ſeen (as was credibly reported of many) flying and flattering divers times about the fire; teſtifying (as was thought) the Innocency of this holy Martyr of the Lord. But the Story addeth, that upon ſuch things we muſt not ſtay, and ſo concludeth he the Martyrdom of this bleſſed Man. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag.* 897.

The King's Lieutenant.

The report of a Dove flying about the fire.

Bennet Romain, *a Mercer or Habedaſher at* Draguignan *in* Province, *An.* 1558.

Bennet Romain, Martyr.

The lamentable Story of *Benet Romain* is deſcribed at large among other *French* Martyrs, by *John Criſpine*, Printer: the brief recital whereof here followeth. This *Benet* having Wife and Children at *Geneva*, to get his living uſed to go about the Country with certain Mercery Ware, having cunning alſo amongſt other things, how to dreſs Corals. As he was coming toward *Marſile*, and paſſed by the Town *Dragugnan*, he hapned upon one of the like faculty, named *Lanteaume Blanc*.

Lanteaume Blanc. Delaurie, Counſellor and Son-in-law to Miniers, Lord of Opede, the cruel Perſecutor. Anthony Reveſt, the Lieutenant. Barboſi Judge Ordinary of Draguignon.

Of Miniers the great Perſecutor, read in the Story of Merindol.

Who being deſirous to have of his Corals, and could not agree for the price, alſo knowing that he was one of *Geneva*, went to a Counſellor of the Court of *Aix*, being then at *Draguignan*, whoſe name was *Delaurie*, Son-in-law to *Miniers*, Lord of *Opede*, the great Perſecutor againſt *Merindol*, &c.

This *Lauris* conſulting together with the foreſaid *Blanc*, and pretending to buy certain of his Coral which he ſaw to be very fair, and knowing alſo that he had to the worth of three hundred Crowns, incontinent after his departing from him, he ſent to the Officer of the Town to attach the ſaid *Benet*, as one being the greateſt Lutheran in the World. Thus when he was arreſted for the Kings Priſoner, *Blanc* and his Fellows, which fought nothing, but only the prey, were ready to ſeize on his Goods, and likewiſe of the other two Men whom he hired to bear his Merchandiſe. Then were theſe three poor Men ſeparated aſunder, and *Romain* examined before the Conſuls, and the King's Advocate, and other Counſellors: Where he kept his Eaſter: Whether he received at the ſame Eaſter? Whether he was confeſſed before, and faſted the Lent? alſo he was bid to ſay his *Pater Noſter*, the *Creed*, and *Ave Maria*, which two firſt he did, but denied to ſay *Ave Maria*. Then was he aſked for worſhipping of Saints, Women Saints and Men Saints, and when he heard Maſs? He ſaid he would worſhip none but God alone. Maſs he heard none theſe four years, nor ever would: Whereupon he was committed to a ſtinking houſe of Eaſement, with Iron Chains upon his Legs. *Lauris* thus having his Will upon the poor Man, ſent for the Lieutenant, named *Anthony Reveſt*, told him what he had done, and willed him to ſee the Priſoner. The Lieutenant being angry that he did ſo uſurp upon his Office, denied to go with him to the Priſoner, excuſing the filthy ſavour of the place. Notwithſtanding the ſame day, the Lieutenant with another went to the Priſon, and cauſed the ſaid *Romain* to come before him, of whom he enquired many things, of his dwelling, of his Name and Age, his Wife and Children, of his Faculty, and cauſe of his coming, alſo of his Religion, and all ſuch Points thereto belonging. Unto whom he anſwered again ſimply and truly in all reſpects, as lay in his Conſcience, and thereunto being required (becauſe he could not write) he put to his Mark. After this Confeſſion being thrice made, and his Anſwers taken, certain faithful Brethren of that place found means to come to him, and counſelled him, that ſeeing he had ſufficiently already made Confeſſion of his Faith, he would ſeek means to eſcape out from his Enemies, which fought nothing but his death, and ſhewed unto him what he ſhould ſay unto the Lieutenant: but he refuſed ſo to do, being willing there to render account of his Faith, and contented to die for the ſame.

Joachim Partavier, the King's Advocate.

Caval and Cavalieri, Conſuls.

The Official.

Gaſper Siguler Officer in Draguignan.

A Frier obſervant.

Interrogatories miniſtred to Romain.

Romain ſealeth the Confeſſion of his Faith.

Romain refuſeth to eſcape.

The fame of his Conſtancy being known in the Town, Judge *Barboſi*, a Man blind and ignorant, and no leſs deformed, came to ſee him, and aſked, What, do they believe, ſaid he, in any God in *Geneva*? *Romain* looking upon him, What art thou, ſaid he, that ſo wretchedly doſt blaſpheme? I am, ſaid he, the ordinary Judge of this place. And who hath put thee, ſaid *Romain*, ſuch a groſs and deformed perſon, in ſuch an Office? Thinkeſt thou that we be Infidels, and no Chriſtians? And if the Devils themſelves do confeſs a God, ſuppoſe you that they of *Geneva* do deny their God? No, no, We believe in God, we invocate his Name, and repoſe all our truſt in him, *&c.* *Barboſi* took ſuch Grief with this, departing from *Romain*, that he ceaſed not to purſue him to death.

Barboſi, Perſecutor.

A groſs quotation of a groſs Judge.

The Lieutenant then being much urged, and much called upon, and alſo threatned by this *Barboſi* and others, prepared to proceed in Judgment againſt him, taking to him ſuch Judges and Advocates as the Order there required. There was the ſame time an obſervant Frier, which had there preached all the Lent. He being very eager and diligent to have the poor Chriſtian burned, and ſeeing the Judges intentive about the buſineſs, to ſet the matter forward, ſaid, That he would go and ſay Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, to illuminate their Intents to have the ſaid *Romain* condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured *Caval* and *Cavalieri*, the Conſuls, to threaten the Lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the High Court of Parliament, if he would not after that ſort condemn him to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Chri-

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Chriſtians of the ſaid Town, fearing leſt by this racking, danger might happen to the Brethren, ſent to *Romain* again ſeveral Inſtructions and means how he might be aided, ſuch as ſhould not be againſt God. But when the Lieutenant came, the poor Man forgot his Inſtructions: ſo ſimple he was, and ignorant of the ſubtilities of this World.

Fitll buſied ſeculi prudentiores in ſua generatione quam filii lucis.

When the time came that the Judges were ſet, and the Proceſs ſhould be read, *Barboſi* with others, whom the Frier had procured, had agreed before, that he ſhould be fired alive, and put to the Rack, to diſcloſe his Fellows, and alſo gagged that he might not ſpeak and infect the reſidue. On the other part, one there was of the Advocates (albeit a Man wholly ſuperſtitious,) who, ſeeing the rage of the other, gave contrary advice, ſaying, That he ſhould be ſent home again, for that he was a Towndweller of *Geneva*, neither had taught there any kind of Doctrine, nor brought any Books, neither had they any Informations againſt him: and that which he had ſpoken, was a thing conſtrained by his Oath, forced by the Juſtice. And as touching his Opinion, it was no other, but as other young Men did follow, which were either of the one part, or of the other: and therefore that there remained no more, but only the Lieutenant to give his Verdict, *&c.* Thus much being ſpoken, and alſo becauſe the Lieutenant was before ſuſpected, and the time at dinner drew near, they aroſe for that time, deferring the matter to another ſeaſon. The Frier obſervant in this mean while was not idle, inciting ſtill the Conſuls and the People, who at the ringing of a Bell being aſſembled together, with the Official and the Prieſts in a great rout, came crying to the Lieutenant to burn the Heretick, or elſe they would fire him, and all his Family: and in ſemblable wiſe did the ſame to the other Judges and Advocates: the Official moreover added, that if it were not better ſeen into than ſo, the Lutherans would take ſuch courage, and ſo ſhut up their Church doors, that no Man ſhould enter in. Theſe, becauſe the Lieutenant would not take to him other Judges after their minds, in all poſt-haſte the People contributed together, that at their own Charge the matter ſhould be purſued at the Parliament of *Aix*, and ſo compelled the Lieuterant to bring the Proceſs unto Judgment, every Man crying, To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned.

Good Counſel of an Advocate.

The Frier ſtill ſhowreth the Coals of Perſecution.

The Lieutenant being not able any otherwiſe to appeaſe the People, promiſed to bring the matter to the High Court of *Aix*, and ſo he did. They fearing the Inſtruction of the Cauſe, commanded the Lieutenant and the other Judges to deal no further therein, but to ſend up the Proceſs and Priſoner unto them. This went greatly againſt the minds of them of *Draguignan*, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon *Barboſi* was ſent out to the Parliament of *Aix*, where he ſo practiſed and laboured the matter, that the Cauſe was ſent down again to the Lieutenant, and he enjoyned to take unto him ſuch ancient Advocates, as their old Order required, and to certifie them again within eight days. And ſo *Romain*, by the which Sentence *Romain* then appealed, ſaying, That he was no Heretick. Whereupon he was carried unto *Aix*, ſinging the Commandments as he paſſed by the Town of *Draguignan*. Which when the King's Advocate did ſee, looking out of his Window, he ſaid unto him, That he was one of them that concluded his death, but deſired God to forgive him. *Romain* anſwered again, God will judge us all in the laſt day of Judgment. After he was come to *Aix*, he was brought before the Counſellors before whom he remained no leſs conſtant and firm, than afore. Then was a ſumſith Frier ſent, who being three hours with him, could not remove him, came out to the Lords, and ſaid that he was damned: by reaſon whereof, the Sentence given before of his Condemnation was confirmed, and he ſent back again from whence he came.

The Cauſe of Romain removed to the Parliament of Aix.

The Sentence and Condemnation of Romain.

Romain brought to Aix.

The Kings Advocate repenteth.

A free Anſwerer of a poor Priſoner.

At this return again from *Aix*, the Conſuls of *Draguignan* ſent abroad by Pariſhes to the Curates, that they ſhould ſignifie to their Pariſhioners the day of his death, to the end that they ſhould come: alſo cauſed to be cried through the Town by the ſound of a Trumpet, that all good Chriſtians ſhould bring Wood to the great Marketplace to burn the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday, the ſixteenth of *May*, the poor Servant of God firſt was brought to the Rack or Torture; where, at his firſt entry, were brought before him the Cords, Irons, and Weights to terrifie him. Then, ſaid they, he muſt utter his Complices, and renounce his Religion, or elſe he ſhould be burned alive. He anſwered with a conſtant heart, That he had no other Complices nor Companions, neither would he hold any other Faith, but that which Jeſus Chriſt did preach by his Apoſtles. Then was he demanded of his Fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the Faith of *Rome*, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the Town, or in the Province to be of his Faith? He ſaid, No. *Item*, what he had to do in that Town? He ſaid, to ſell his Coral. *Item*, who gave him counſel to appeal? God, he ſaid, by his Spirit.

Romain drawn moſt pitifully upon the Rack.

Upon this he was put upon the Gin or Rack, where he being torn moſt outragiouſly, ceaſed not ſtill to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jeſus Chriſt his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin *Mary*, but he would not. Whereupon his Torture was renewed afreſh, in ſuch cruel ſort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For the which they ſent him to the Barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid leſt he had been paſt, and haſtned to bring him to the fire. So after they had affayed him by Priefts and Friers as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the Hangman to bear him, all broken and diſmembred as he was, unto the heap of Wood, where they tied him to a Chain of Iron which was let down upon the Fagots. *Romain* ſeeing himſelf to be alone lying upon the Wood, began to pray to God: whereat the Friers being moved, ran to him again to cauſe him to ſay *Ave Maria*. Which when he would not do, they were ſo furious, that they pluckt and tore his Beard. In all theſe Anguiſhes the meek Saint of God had recourſe ſtill to God in his Prayers, beſeeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead: but ſo ſoon as they deſcended down from the Wood, he began to pray to God again, in ſuch ſort, as one would would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great Frier, ſuppoſing to do more with him than the reſt, came up to the Wood unto him to admonith him. *Romain* thought at firſt, that he had been a faithful Chriſtian by his gentle ſpeech, but afterward when he urged him to pray to the Virgin *Mary*, he deſired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As ſoon as he was departed, *Romain* lifted up his Head and his Eyes on high, praying God to aſſiſt him in his great Tentation. Then a certain Father, a Warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cryed out and ſaid, He blaſphemeth, he blaſphemeth, he ſpeaketh againſt the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*. Whereat *Barboſi* cried, Stop his Mouth, let him be gagged. The People cried, To the fire, let him be burned. Then the Hangman ſet fire to the Straw and little Sticks that were about, which incontinent were ſet on fire. *Romain* ſtill remained hanging in the Air till he died; and was burned all with his neither parts well near, when he was ſeen to lift up his Head to Heaven, moving his Lips, without any cry: and ſo this bleſſed Saint rendred his Spirit to God.

Romain broken with the Rack, and not able to go, was born to the fire.

Cruelty of Friers.

A ſlandering Frier.

Crucifige, Crucifige cum.

The cruel death and Martyrdom of bleſſed Romain.

Of this Aſſembly there were divers Judgments and ſindry Bruits. Some ſaid, that if good Men had been about him, it had gone better with him, and that thoſe Prieſts and Monks which were about him, were Whoremaſters and infamous. Others ſaid, that he had wrong, and that an hundred of that Company there were, which more deſerved death than he, eſpecially among them which condemned him. Other went away marvelling, and diſputing of his Death and Doctrine. And thus was the Courſe finiſhed to this valiant and thrice bleſſed Martyr and Servant of the Lord Jeſus the Son of God. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag.* 902.

Romain turned again from Aix to Draguignan.

Maſs is common Inſtrument for all things, and alſo to blow the fire.

Francis Civaux *at* Dyion, *Anno* 1558.

Francis Civaux, Martyr.

This *Francis Civaux* was Secretary to the *French* Ambaſſador here in *England* in Queen *Mary*'s time, who afterward being deſirous to hear the Word of God, went to *Geneva*. Alſo he

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he was placed to be Secretary to the Senate or-Council of *Geneva*; where he continued about the ſpace of a year. Having then certain Buſineſs he come to *Dyion*.

The Co-vent of the Jacobin Friers at Dyion.

There was the ſame time a Prieſt that Preached at *Dyion* ſuch Doctrine, whereat the ſaid *Francis* being worthily offended, came friendly unto the Prieſt, and reaſoned with him touching his Doctrine, ſhewing by the Scriptures, how and where he had erred. The Prieſt excuſed himſelf, that he was not ſo well inſtructed to diſpute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned Man, whom he knew there in the Town, and deſired the ſaid *Francis* to go with him to Breakfaſt, where he would be glad to hear them two in Conference together. Whereunto when *Francis* had conſented, the Prieſt incontinent went to the Jacobin Friers, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the Breakfaſt-time *Francis* there unawares ſhould be apprehended.

A Prieſt of *Dyion*.

A privy Judas.

When the next day came, the Prieſt brought *Francis*, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin Frier, who pretending much fair Friendſhip unto him, as one glad and deſirous of his company, beſought him to take a Breakfaſt with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this alſo *Francis* was content, and to prepare himſelf the better to that Conflict, fate up almoſt all the night writing with his Fellow. The next morrow, as *Francis* with his Fellow were preparing themſelves toward the Breakfaſt, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the Juſtice of the Town, to admoniſh him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was ſtanding at the Juſtices door, The Companion of *Francis* ſeeing the Frier there ſtand, began to miſtruſt with himſelf, and told *Francis*, willing him to beware of the Frier. Moreover, the ſame night *Francis* had in his Dream, That the ſaid Frier ſhould commit him to the Juſtice. But he, either not caring for his Dreams, or elſe not much paſſing for the danger, commited himſelf to the Hands of God, and went. As they were together diſparting in the Covent of the Jacobins, *Francis*, thus betrayed of the Prieſt, was apprehended by the Officers, carried to Priſon, and within ſeven days after, being Saturday before the Nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of Execution, where firſt he was ſtrangled, and then burned. *Ex ſcripto teſtimonio Genevenſis.*

Francis admoniſhed by his Dream.

And as touching the Fellow and Companion of this *Francis* above-mentioned, he was alſo apprehended with him, and put in Priſon; but becauſe he was but a young Novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

Peter Arondeau, *at* Paris, *An.* 1559.

Peter Arondeau, Martyr. Prieſts of Rochel.

The Town of *Rochel*, as it is a place of great commodity becauſe of the Sea, ſo was it not inferiour to other good Towns in *France*, for nourihing and ſupporting the holy Aſſemblies of the Lord. Unto the which Town about the year of our Lord, 1559, reſorted one *Peter Arondeau*, a Man of baſe Condition, with a little Packet of Mercery Ware there to ſell. Who there being known to adjoyn himſelf to the Church and Congregation of the faithful, was demanded of certain Miniſters of Antichriſt, Whether he would go to hear Maſs or no? He ſaid, that he had been there too oft to his great grief: and that ſince the time that the Lord had taken the Veil from his Eyes, he knew the Maſs to be abominable, forged in the Shop of the Enemy of all Mankind. They to whom he thus anſwered were Prieſts; amongſt whom was one named *Monroy*, who, taking the other there preſent for Witneſſes, brought him ſtraight to the Lieutenant. The Depoſition being taken, and Information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his Body ſhould be attached. And although by one of his Friends he was admoniſhed to ſave himſelf, and to avoid the Danger, yet he ceaſed not to put himſelf into his Enemies hands; and ſo was led Priſoner. As he was in Priſon many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only them which came to comfort him, but alſo the other which were there Priſoners with him. The Prieſts left no diligence unſought to ſtir up the Lieutenant, which was of himſelf too much inflamed in ſuch matters.

The Maſs.

Monroy a Prieſt.

Arondeau, after many Interrogations, and threatning words, and alſo fair Promiſes of his Pardon, ſtill continued one Man. Then the Lieutenant ſeeing his Conſtancy, condemned him to death. *Arondeau* praiſing God for his Grace given, did not a little rejoyce that he might ſuffer in that Quarrel, and in token of rejoycing did ſing a Pſalm, being fully reſolved to accept the ſaid Condemnation, without any Appeal. But his Friends not pleaſed with his Reſolution, came to him, and ſo perſwaded with him, not to give his Life ſo good cheap over to his Enemies hands, that he was turned from that, and made his Appeal. The Appeal being entred, the Lieutenant ſeeking to gratifie the Adverſaries of the Goſpel, and eſpecially the Cardinal of *Lorain*, ſecretly by the backſide of the Town, and out of the High-way conveyed the poor Priſoner unto *Paris*; who being brought unto *Paris* by privy Journeys, as is ſaid, was put into Priſon, committed to the Cuſtody of two Preſidents, to wit, *Magiſtri*, and St. *Andre*. By the means of whom the Sentence of the Lieutenant was confirmed, and alſo put in Execution the fifteenth day of *November*, in the year above ſaid: on the which day the ſaid *Arondeau* was burned quick at the place called St. *John* in Greve at Paris. The conſtancy heroical which God gave him, and wherein he endured victorious unto death, was a Mirror or Glaſs of Patience unto *M. Anne du Bourge*, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and to divers others then Priſoners; and was to them a Preparation toward the like death, which ſhortly after they ſuffered.

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Peter Arondeau condemned.

Peter Arondeau appealeth.

The Lieutenant of Rochel.

The Cardinal of Lorain.

Magiſtri. St. André.

Not long after the happy end of this bleſſed Martyr, the forenamed *Monroy*, which was the principal Accuſer and party againſt him, was ſtricken with a Diſeaſe called * *Apoplexia*, and thereupon ſuddenly died.

* Apoplexia is a ſickneſs ingendred in the Brain by abundance of groſs humours, which deprive them that have it of Speech, Feeling and Moving: moſt commonly it afflicteth Gluttons, Drunkards and Sorcerers, Gods juſt vengeance upon the Lieutenant a Perſecutor.

By this, and many other ſuch like Examples, the mighty Judgment of God moſt evidently may appear; who, albeit commonly he doth uſe to begin his Judgment with his own Houſhold in this World, yet neither do his Adverſaries themſelves always eſcape the terrible hand of his Juſtice.

Note.

Alſo the Lieutenant which was Condemner tarried not long after the Prieſt, but he was arreſted perſonally to appear before the Kings's Council, through the procurement of a certain Gentleman of *Polonie*, called *Anthony de Legliſe*, againſt whom the ſaid Lieutenant had given falſe and wrong Judgment before. By reaſon whereof the foreſaid Gentleman ſo inſtantly did purſue him before the Lords of the Council, that all the Extortions and Pollings of the Lieutenant were there openly diſcovered, and ſo he condemned to pay to the Gentleman a thouſand *French* Crowns of the Sun, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Alſo he was depoſed of his Office, and there declared unworthy to exerciſe any Royal Office hereafter for ever, with Infamy and Shame perpetual. *Ex Criſp. lib. 6. pag. 907.*

Thomas Mourard *at* Valenciennes. *Anno* 1559.

Thomas Mourard, Martyr.

In the Town of *Valenciennes*, not far from *France*, the ſame year, which was 1559, in the Month of *Octobre*, ſuffered *Thomas Mourard*: who firſt being converted from a diſordered life to the Knowledg of the Goſpel, is to

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to us a Spectacle of God's great gracious Mercy towards his elected Chriſtians. This *Mourard* was attached for certain Words ſpoken to a Prieſt, ſaying thus, That his God of the Hoſt was nothing but an abomination, which abuſed the People of God. Theſe words were taken firſt as ſpoken in his Drunkenneſs. But the next day after, when the ſame words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no? He ſaid, Yea: For it is an abuſe, ſaid he, to ſeek Jeſus Chriſt any other where than in Heaven, ſitting at the Glory and right hand of God his Father: And in this he was ready to live and die. His Proceſs being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But as he was carried from the Town-houſe to the place of Puniſhment, it was never ſeen a Man with ſuch conſtancy to be ſo affured in heart, and ſo to rejoice at that great Honour which God hath called him unto. The Hangman haſted as much as was poſſible, to bind him, and diſpatch him. The Martyr in the midſt of the flaming fire, lifting up his Eyes unto Heaven, cryed to the Lord, that he would have mercy on his Soul, and ſo in great integrity of Faith and Perſeverance, he gave up his life to God. *Ex Jo. Criſp. lib. 6.*

Againſt the bodily preſence of Chriſt in the Hoſt.

Conſtancy of a good Conſcience.

A Prieſt of Valenciennes.

This Dutch Story ſhould have gone before with the Dutch Martyrs; but ſeeing *Valenciennes* is not far diſtant from *France*, it is not much out of order to adjoyn the ſame with the *French* Martyrs: who altogether at length ſhall be joyned in the Kingdom of Chriſt: which day the Lord ſend ſhortly. *Amen.*

Thus have we (through the aſſiſtance of the Lord) deduced the Table of the *French*, and alſo of the Dutch Martyrs unto the time and reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that is, to the year 1560. Since the which time divers alſo have ſuffered both in *France*, and in the lower Country of *Germany*; whoſe Story ſhall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of Q. *Elizabeth*. In the mean ſeaſon it ſhall ſuffice for this preſent to inſert their Names only, which here do follow.

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The *Reſidue of the* French *Martyrs.*

Martyrs.

A *Nedu Burge*, Councellor of *Paris*. *Andrew Coffier*, *John Iſabeau*, *John Indet*, Martyrs of *Paris*; *Geffery Guerien*, *Jo. Morel*, *Jo. Barbaville*, *Pet. Chevet*, *Marin Marie*, *Margaret Rich*, *Adrian Dauſſi*, *Giles le Court*, *Philip Parmentier*, *Marin Roſſeau*, *Peter Milot*, *John Berſoy*; beſides the tumult of *Amboiſe*, the Perſecution of *Vaſſi*; *Auſtin Marlorat*, Maſter *Mutonis*.

The *reſidue of the* Dutch *Martyrs.*

Martyrs.

James de Lo, of the Iſle of *Flanders*, *John de Buiſſons* at *Antwerp*, *Peter Petit*, *John Denys*, *Guymon Gnilmein*, *Simeon Herme* of the Iſle of *Flanders*, *John de Lannoy* at *Tourney*, *Andrew Michel*, a blind Man at *Tourney*, *Francis Varlut* at *Tournay*, *Alexander Dayken* of *Bramecaſtle*, *William Corne* in *Henault*, *Anthony Caron* of *Cambray*, *Renaudine de Francenile*. Certain ſuffered at *Tournay*, *Michel Robilert* of *Arat*, *Nicaiſe de le Tomb* at *Tournay*, *Roger du Mont*.

Touching the ſtory of Merindol. Vide infra.

To the Catalogue of *French* Martyrs above-rehearſed, the Story of *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, with the lamentable handling of them, were alſo to be annexed. But becauſe the Tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a ſhort Diſcourſe, therefore we have deferred the ſame to a more convenient room, after the Table here following next of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Martyrs, where better opportunity ſhall be given to proſecute more at full that tragical Perſecution, the Lord ſo permitting.

A Table of ſuch Martyrs as for the Cauſe of Religion ſuffered in Spain.

The *Spaniſh* Martyrs.

Franciſcus ſan Romanus, *at* Burges *in* Spain.

Francis San Roman, Martyr.

Spaniſh Marchants in Antwerp.

The Converſion of San Roman.

The Friers of Antwerp.

A *Nno* 1540 this *Francis* was ſent by certain *Spaniſh* Merchants of *Antwerp*, to *Breme*, to take up Money due to be paid of certain Mercants there. Where he being at a Sermon, hearing Maſter *Jacobus*, Prior ſometimes of the Auſtin Friers of *Antwerp*, preach, was ſo touched and drawn (through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit having no perfect underſtanding of the Dutch Tongue, that not only he underſtood all that was there ſaid, but alſo coming to the Preacher, and accompanying him home (all his other worldly Buſineſs ſet apart) there recited the whole Contents of his Sermon every word (as they ſaid, which heard the ſaid Miniſter of *Breme* preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little paſſe, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, ſearching and conferring with learned Men, that in ſhort ſpace he was grown to great towardneſs and ripe Knowledge in the Word of Life. The Miniſter marvelling at the ſudden mutation of the Man, and alſo ſeeing the vehemency of his Zeal joyned withal, began to exhort him how to temper himſelf with Circumſpection and Diſcretion, ſtill more and more inſtructed him in the Word and Knowledge of the Goſpel, which he ſo greedily did receive, as one that could never be ſatisfied: and ſo remained he with the Miniſter three days together, committing his worldly Buſineſs, and Meſſage that he was ſent for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another deſire, he ceaſed to ſeek for temporal trifles, ſeeking rather for ſuch French or Dutch Books which he could get to read; and again, read the ſame ſo diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by Maſter *Jacobus*, and alſo by Maſter *Macchabeus* (which was there the ſame time) he was able in ſhort time to judg in the chief Articles of our Religion. Inſomuch that he took upon him to write Letters unto his Country-men the Merchants of *Antwerp*: in the which Letters firſt he gave thanks to God for the Knowledg of his holy Word which he had received. Secondly, he bewailed the great Cruelty and groſs Blindneſs of his Countrymen; deſiring God to open their Eyes and Ears, to ſee and underſtand the Word of their Salvation. Thirdly, he promiſed ſhortly to come to them at *Antwerp*, to confer with them touching the Grace of God, which he had received. Fourthly, declareth to them his purpoſe in going alſo to *Spain*, intending there likewiſe to impart to his Parents and other Friends at *Bruges*, the wholeſom Doctrine which the Lord had beſtowed upon him.

Francis writeth to the Mercants of Antwerp.

Beſide this, he addreſſed other Letters alſo to *Charles* the Emperor, opening to him the Calamities and miſerable Eſtate of Chriſt's Church; deſiring him to tender the quietneſs thereof; eſpecially that he would reform the miſerable Corruption of the Church of *Spain*, &c. Over and beſides all this, he wrote there a Catechiſm, and divers other Treatiſes in the *Spaniſh* Tongue. And all this he did in one Month's ſpace.

Francis writeth to the Emperor.

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In the mean time the *Spaniſh* Merchants of *Antwerp* underſtand ing by his Letters, both his Change of Religion, and alſo his purpoſe of coming to *Antwerp*, ſent him Letters again, pretending outwardly a fair Countenance of much Good-will, but ſecretly practiſing his Deſtruction. For at the day appointed of his coming, certain Friers were ſet ready to receive him, which took him coming down from his Horſe, rifled his Books, had him into a Merchant's Houſe near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again diſputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their Faith, they bound him hand and foot, caying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran, and burnt his Books before his face, threatning to burn himſelf alſo. At this Diſputation within the houſe divers *Spaniards* were preſent, which made the Friers more bold. Being demanded to ſhew of what Faith and Religion he was; My Faith (ſaid he) is to confeſs and preach Chriſt Jeſus only, and him crucified, which is the true Faith of the Univerſal Church of Chriſt through the whole World; but this Faith and Doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of Life, and by your Impiety have brought the moſt part of the World into blindneſs moſt miſerable. And to explain his Faith to them more expreſſly, he recited all the Articles of the Creed.

Francis betrayed by Spaniſh Merchants.

The Faith and Confeſſion of San Roman.

Which done, then Friers asked, Whether he believed the Bithop of *Rome* to be Chriſt's Vicar, and Head of the Church, having all the Treaſures of the Church in his own power, being able to bind and looſe? alſo to make new Articles, and abolith the old at his own Will and Arbitriment? Hereunto *Francis* anſwered again, That he believed none of all this, but contrary did affirm, that the Pope was Antichriſt, born of the Devil, being the Enemy of Jeſus Chriſt, transferring to himſelf God's Honour. and which moreover, being incited by the Devil, turned all things upſide down, and corrupted the ſincerity of Chriſt's Religion, partly by his falſe pretenſes beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty deſtroying the poor flock of Chriſt, *&c.* With the like boldneſs he uttered his mind likewiſe againſt the Maſs and Purgatory. The Friers could ſuffer him meanly well to ſpeak, till he came to the Pope, and began to ſpeak againſt his Dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundred againſt him words full of Cruelty and Terror. As they were burning of his Books, and began alſo to caſt a new Teſtament into the fire, *Francis* ſeeing that, began to thunder out againſt them again. The *Spaniards* then ſuppoſing him not to be in his right Senſes, conveyed him into a Tower ſix miles diſtant from *Antwerp*, where he was detained in a deep Cave or Dungeon, with much miſery, the ſpace of eight months. In which time of his Impriſonment many grave and diſcreet perſons came to viſit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and ſpeak more modeſtly. *Francis* anſwered again, That he maintained no Opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he ſeemed to be ſomewhat vehement with the Friers, that was not to be aſcribed to him ſo much as to their own Importunity; hereafter he would frame himſelf more temperately. Whereupon the *Spaniards* thinking him better come to himſelf, diſcharged him out of Priſon, which was about the time when the Emperor was in his Council of *Ratiſbone*. *An.* 1541.

The Pope Antichriſt.

The Popes Crown and the Friers bellies are not to be touched.

Francis brought into Priſon.

San Roman delivered out of Priſon.

San Romane being thus freed out of Priſon, came to *Antwerp*, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to *Louan* unto a certain Friend of his, named *Franciſcus Dryander* (who alſo afterward died a Martyr) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of Religion: who gave him counſel not to alter the ſtate of his Vocation, being called to be a Merchant, which ſtate he might exerciſe with a good Conſcience, and do much good. And as touching Religion his Counſel was, That he ſhould ſay or do nothing for favour of Men, whereby the Glory of God ſhould be diminiſhed; but ſo, that he required not withſtanding in the ſame,a found and right judgment conformed to the rule of God's Word, leſt it might chance to him, as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconſiderate zeal, leave their Vocations, and while they think to do good, and no-ſuſer is cleſs to danger. It is God, ſaid he, that hath the care of his Church, and will ſtir up faithful Miniſters for the ſame; neither doth he care for ſuch, which raſhly intrude themſelves into that Function without any calling.

Francis Dryanders.

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This Advertiſement of *Dryander*, *Francis* did willingly accept, promiſing hereafter to moderate himſelf more conſiderately: But this Promiſe was ſhortly broken, as you ſhall hear. For, paſſing from *Dryander* he went to *Ratiſbone*, and there having time and opportunity convenient to ſpeak to the Emperor, he ſtepped boldly unto him, beſeeching him to deliver his Country and Subjects of *Spain* from falſe Religion, and to reſtore again the ſincerity of Chriſt's Doctrine, declaring and proteſting, that the Princes and Proteſtants of *Germany* were in the truer part, and that the Religion of *Spain* being drowned in ignorance and blindneſs, was greatly diſſonant from the true and perfect Word of God, with many other words pertaining to the ſame effect. The Emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, ſignifying that he would conſider upon the matter, and do do therein, as he truſted ſhould be for the beſt. This quiet anſwer of the Emperor miniſhed to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the City many Examples to the contrary, yet all that diſcouraged not him, but he went the ſecond, and alſo the third time, unto the Emperor, who quietly again ſo anſwered him as before. And yet this our *Francis* not ſatiſhed in his mind, ſought with greater ardency the fourth time to ſpeak to the Emperor, but he was repulſed by certain of the *Spaniards* about the Emperor, who incontinent, without all further hearing or adviſing the Cauſe, would have thrown him headlong into the River of *Danubius*, had not the Emperor ſtaid them, and willed him to be judged by the Laws of the Empire. By which Commandment of the Emperor he was reſerved and detained with other Malefactors in bands, till the Emperor took his Voyage into *Africk*. Then *Francis*, with other Captives following the Court, after that the Emperor was come into *Spain*, was there delivered to the Inquiſitors; by whom he was laid in a dark Priſon under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to Examination, where he ſuffered great Injuries and Contumelies, but ever remained in his Conſcience firm and unmovable. The Articles whereupon he ſtood, and for which he was condemned, were theſe:

The lodging of San Roman to the Emperor.

The Emperors gentle Anſwer.

That Life and Salvation in the fight of God, cometh to no Man in his own Strength, Works, or Merits, but only by the free Mercy of God, in the Blood and Sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the Sacrifice of the Maſs, which the Papiſts do recount available, ex opere operato, for the Remiſſion of ſin, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible Blaſphemy.

That Auricular Confeſſion with numbring up of ſins, that Satisfaction, Purgatory Pardons, Invocation of Saints, worſhipping of Images, be meer Blaſphemy againſt the living God.

The Articles of San Roman.

Item, *That the Blood of Chriſt is prophaned and injured in the ſame aforeſaid.*

After the Inquiſitors perceived, that by no means he could be reclaimed from his Aſſertions, they proceeded at laſt to the Sentence, condemning him to be burned for an Heretick. Many other Malefactors were brought alſo with him to the place of Execution, but all they were pardoned and diſmiſſed; he only for the Goſpel, being odious to the whole World, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of ſuffering, they put upon him a Miter of Paper, painted full of Devils, after the Spaniſh guiſe.

Barabbas delivered, and Chriſt taken.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the City-gate to be burned, there ſtood a wooden Croſs by the way, whereunto *Francis* was required to do homage; which he refuſed, anſwering, That the manner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip Wood, and he was, ſaid he, a Chriſtian. Hereupon aroſe great Clamour among the vulgar People, for that he denied to worſhip the wooden Croſs. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudeneſs of that People, that they did impute this to the Divine Vertue, as given to the Croſs from Heaven, for that it would not ſuffer it ſelf to be worſhipped of an Heretick: and immediately, for the opinion of that great Miracle, the Multitude with their Swords did hew it in pieces, every Man thinking himſelf happy that might carry away ſome Chip or Fragment of the ſaid Croſs.

The manner of Chriſtians is not to worſhip Wood.

A great Spaniſh Miracle.

When

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When he was come to the place where he ſhould ſuffer, the Friers were buſie about him to have him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of Wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire, to lift up his head toward Heaven; which when the Inquiſitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his Doctrine, they cauſed him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing leſs in him, the Adverſaries being fruſtrate of their Expectation, willed him to be thrown in again, and ſo was he immediately diſpatched.

Francis condemned to die death.

The death and Martyrdom of Fran San Roman.

After that the Martyrdom of this bleſſed Man was thus conſummate, the Inquiſitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in Hell, and that none ſhould pray for him; yea, and that all were Hereticks whoſoever doubted of his Damnation. Nevertheleſs certain of the Emperors Souldiers gathered of his Aſhes. Alſo the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador procured a portion his Bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a Martyr. Yet this could not ſo ſecretly done, but it came to the Ears of the Inquiſitors, and of the Emperor. Wherefore the Soldiers going in great danger of life, were committed to Priſon. Neither did the Ambaſſadour himſelf eſcape clear from the danger of the Pope's Scourge; for he was upon the ſame ſequeſtred from the Court, and commanded to be abſent for a ſpace. And thus much concerning the notable Martyrdom of this bleſſed *San Roman*. *Ex Franc. Encena. Hiſpano, teſte oculato.*

The Inquiſition of Spain take Chriſts Office to Judg the quick and the dead.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador baniſhed the Spaniſh Court.

Rochus, *at* San Lucar *in* Spain, *Anno* 1545.

Rochus was born in *Brabant*, his Father dwelling in *Antwerp*. By his Science he was a Carver or Graver of Images; who, as ſoon as he began firſt to taſte the Goſpel, he fell from making ſuch Images as uſe to ſerve for Idolatry in Temples, and occupied himſelf in making Seals, ſave only that he kept ſtanding on his Seal an Image of the Virgin *Mary* artificially graven, for a Sign of his Occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain Inquiſitor paſſing by in the ſtreet, and beholding the carved Image, asked of *Rochus* what was the price thereof? which when *Rochus* had ſet (not willing belike to ſell it) the Inquiſitor bad him ſcarce half the Money. The other anſwered again, That he could not live of that Bargain. But ſtill the Inquiſitor urged him to take his offer. To whom *Rochus* again, It ſhall be yours (ſaid he) if you will give me that which my Labour and Charges ſtand me in, but of that price I cannot afford it: yet had I rather break it in pieces. Yea, ſaith the Inquiſitor, break it? let me ſee thee; *Rochus* with that took up a Chiſel, and daſhed it upon the Face of the Image, wherewith the Noſe, or ſome other part of the Face was blemiſhed. The Inquiſitor ſeeing that, cried out as he were mad, and commanded *Rochus* forthwith to Priſon. To whom *Rochus* cried again, that he might do in his own Works what he lifted. And if the Workmanſhip of the Image were not after his fancy, what was that to them? But all this could not help *Rochus*, but within three days after Sentence was given upon him, that he ſhould be burned, and ſo was he committed to the Executioners. As *Rochus* was entring the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there ſtood by, if any Man of *Flanders* were there? It was anſwered, yea; and alſo that there were two Ships already fraught, and appointed to ſail to *Flanders*. Then, ſaid he, I would deſire ſome of them to ſignifie to my Father dwelling in *Antwerp*, that I was burned here in this City, and for this Cauſe which you all have heard. And thus after his Prayers made to God, this good Man being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this bleſſed end. *An.* 1545.

Rochus, Martyr.

An Inquiſitor in Spain.

A Carver burned for breaking his own Image.

The death and Martyrdom of Rochus.

And leſt this ſo rare and ſtrange Example of Cruelty ſhould ſeem to lack credit, in the fifth Book of the Hiſtory of *Pantalon* there is recorded, That a certain Spaniard coming to *Antwerp*, made diligent Inquiſition there amongſt the Image-makers, to find out the Parents of this *Rochus*, and ſignified to them what had hapned to their Son, as hath been by his ſaid Parents and Friends declared: inſomuch that it is alſo teſtified, that his Father at the hearing of the ſaid Meſſage, for ſorrow thereof died ſhortly after. *Ex Pantal. lib.* 5.

Furthermore, beſides theſe above-recited, and alſo before their time, I bear and underſtand by faithful Relation, that divers other have been in the faid Country of *Spain*, whoſe Hearts God had marvelouſly illuminate and ſtirred up, both before, and alſo ſince the coming in of the Inquiſition, to ſtand in defence of his Goſpel, and which were alſo perſecuted for the ſame, and are ſaid to have died in Priſon: Albeit their Names as yet are unknown, for the Stories of that Country be not yet come to light, but, I truſt, ſhortly ſhall, as partly ſome Intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the Inquiſition of *Spain*, ſpeaking ſomething of the ceremonial Pomp, and alſo of the barbarous Abuſe and Cruelty of the ſame.

Divers good men and Martyrs of Spain died in Priſon.

The execrable Inquiſition of Spain.

THE cruel and barbarous Inquiſition of *Spain* firſt began by King *Ferdinandus* and *Eliz.abeth* his Wife, and was inſtituted againſt the *Jews*, which after their Baptiſm maintained again their own Ceremonies. But now it is practiſed againſt them that be never ſo little ſuſpected to favour the Verity of the Lord. The *Spaniards*, and eſpecially the great Divines there, do hold, That this holy and ſacred Inquiſition cannot err, and that the holy Fathers the Inquiſitors cannot be deceived.

The form and manner of the Inquiſition of Spain.

The Spaniſh Inquiſition cannot err.

Three ſorts of Men moſt principally be in danger of theſe Inquiſitors. They that be greatly rich, for the ſpoil of their Goods. They that be learned, becauſe they will not have their Miſdealings and ſecret Abuſes to be eſpied and detected. They that begin to increaſe in Honour and Dignity, leſt they being in Authority, ſhould work them ſome ſhame or diſhonour.

Three ſorts of men chiefly in danger of the Inquiſition.

The Abuſe of this Inquiſition is moſt execrable. If any Word ſhall paſs out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, tho no Word be ſpoken, yet if they bear any grudg or evil Will againſt the Party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in an horrible Priſon, and then find out Crimes againſt him at leiſure, and in the mean time no Man living is ſo hardy once to open his Mouth for him. If the Father ſpeak one word for his Child, he is alſo taken and caſt into Priſon as a Favourer of Hereticks. Neither is it permitted to any perſon to go in to the Priſoner; but there he is alone in ſuch a place where he cannot ſee ſo much as the ground where he is; and is not ſuffered either to read or write, but there indureth in darkneſs palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miſerable, wreſtling with the Aſſaults of death.

Example of the ſame well appears eth in Rochus above-mentioned.

By this it may be eſteemed, what trouble and ſorrow, what perplexe ſighs and cogitations they ſuſtain; which are not throughly inſtructed in holy Doctrine. Add moreover to theſe Diſtreſſes and Horrors of the Priſon, the Injuries, Threats, Whippings, and Scourgings, Irons, Tortures, and Racks which they indure. Sometimes alſo they are brought out, and ſhewed in ſome higher place to the People, as a Spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detained there ſome many years, and murthered by long Torments, and whole days together inteated ed much more cruelly (out of all compariſon) than if they were in the Hangman's Hands to be ſlain at once. During all this time, what is done in the proceſs, no perſon knoweth, but only the holy Fathers and the Tormentors, which are ſworn to execute the Torments. All is done in ſecret, and (as great Myſteries) paſs not the hands of theſe holy ones. And after all theſe Torments ſo many years indured in the Priſon, if any Man ſhall be ſaved, it muſt be by gueſſing. For all the Proceedings of the Court of that execrable Inquiſition are open to no Man, but all is done in hugger-mugger, and in cloſe corners, by Ambages, by Covert ways, and ſecret Counſels: The Accuſer is ſecret, the Crime ſecret, the Witneſs ſecret, whatſoever is done is ſecret, neither is the poor Priſoner ever advertiſed of any thing. If he

The miſerable Life in handling of Gods people in Spain.

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can guess who accused him whereof, and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his Life: but this is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be set at liberty before he hath endured long time infinite Torments, and this is called their Penitence, and so is he let go; and yet not so, but that he is enjoyned, before he pass the Inquisitor's hands, that he shall wear a Garment of yellow Colours for a note of publick infamy to him and his whole race: and if he cannot guess right, shewing to the Inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof, and wherefore, (as is before touched) incontinent the horrible Sentence of Condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obstinate Heretick. And so yet the Sentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath indured Imprisonment in some heinous Prison.

And thus have ye heard the form of the Spanish Inquisition. By the Vigour and Rigour of this Inquisition, many good true Servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these later years, since the Royal and peaceable Reign of this our Queen *Elizabeth*. The Names and Stories of whom partly we will here recite, according as we have faithful Records of such as have come to our hands by writing. The other which be not yet come to our knowledg, we will defer, till further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, shall serve hereafter.

Divers Martyrs in Spain since the time of Q. Elizabeth.

Anno 1556 *Maii* 21, in the Town of *Valledolid*, where commonly the Council of the Inquisition is wont to be keept, the Inquisitors had brought together many Prisoners, both of high and low estate, to the number of thirty; also the Coffin of a certain Noble Woman, with her Picture lying upon it, which had been dead long before, there to receive Judgment and Sentence. To the hearing of which Sentence, they had ordained in the said Town three mighty Theaters or Stages: Upon the first was placed Dame *Jane*, Sister to K. *Philip*, and chief Regent of his Realms; also Prince *Charles*, King *Philip*'s Son, with other Princes and States of *Spain*. Upon the other Scaffold mounted the Archbishop of *Sevil*, Prince of the Synagogue of the Inquisitors, with the Council of the Inquisition; also other Bishops of the Land, and the King's Council with them.

Thirty Christian Professors brought before the Council of the Inquisition.

Three Stages.

After that the Princes and other spiritual Judges and Counsellors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of Archers and Halberdiers, and harnessed Souldiers, with four Heraulds also of Arms giving their attendence to the same, and the Earl of *Buendia* bearing the naked Sword, all the Market-place where the Stages were, being invironed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the World there standing, and gazing out of Windows and Houses to hear and see the Sentences and Judgments of this Inquisition: Then after all were brought forth, as a Spectacle and Triumph, the poor Servants and Witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number (as is aboresaid) of thirty, clothed with their *Sanbenito*, (as the Spaniards do call it) which is a manner of Vesture of yellow Cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red Crosses, and having burning Cierges in their hands: also before them was born a Crucifix covered with black linen Cloth, in token of Mourning. Moreover, they which were to receive the Sentence of death, had Miters of Paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call *Corocas*. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were esteemed culpable; so that first of all stood up Doctor *Cacalla*, an Austen Frier, a Man notable and singular in knowledg of Divinity, Preacher sometime to *Charles* the fifth Emperor, both in higher and lower *Germany*.

The ceremonies Pomp of the Spanish Inquisition.

The Spanish Mantle of St. Benet of the yellow colour with red Crosses, both before and behind, called Sanbenito.

These things thus disposed, then followed a Sermon made by a Dominick Frier, which indured about an hour. After the Sermon finished, the Procurator General, with the Archbishop went to the Stage where the Princes and Nobles stood, to minister a Solemn Oath unto them upon the Crucifix painted in the Tass-Book; the Tenor of which Oath was this: Your Majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy Inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same; but also you shall imploy the uttermost of your help and endeavour hereafter

This Dominick was M. Melchior Cano.

The Oath given to the Princes by the Inquisition of Spain.

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to see all them to be executed, which shall swerve from the Church of *Rome*, and adjoyn themselves to the Sect of the Lutheran Hereticks, without all respect of any Person or Persons of what Estate, Degree, Quality, or Condition soever they be.

And thus much for the first Article of the Oath; the second was this as followeth:

Item, Your Majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your Subjects to submit themselves to the Church of *Rome*, and to have in reverence all the Laws and Commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against all them whosoever shall hold of the Heresie of the Lutherans, or take any part with them.

In this sort and manner, when all the Princes and States every one in their degree had received their Oath, then the Archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his Benediction, saying, God bless your Highnesses, and give you long life. This solemn Pageant thus finished, at last the poor Captives and Prisoners were called out, the Procurator fiscal, or the Pope's great Collector, first beginning with Dr. *Cacalla*, and so proceeding to the other in order, as hereafter in the Table which followeth, with their Names and their Judgments, is described.

The Inquisitors of Spain.

1. *Dr.* Cacalla *a Frier Augustine.*

Dr. Cacalla, a Frier Augustine, Preacher sometime to Charles 5th. Martyr.

Before the Pope's great Proctor, or Collector fiscal, first was called forth Doctor *Austin Cacalla*. This Doctor was a Frier of *Austin*'s Order, and Priest of the Town of *Valledolid*, and Preacher sometimes to the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, a Man well accounted of for his Learning. Who for that he was thought to be as the Standard-bearer to the Gospellers (whom they called Lutherans) and Preacher and Doctor unto them; therefore he being first called for, was brought from his Stage nearer to the Proctor fiscal, there to hear the Sentence of his Condemnation, which was, That he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his Goods confiscate to the Profit and Advancement of Justice.

The Popes great Collector, or Procurator fiscal.

2. Francis de Bivero *Priest of* Valledolid, *and Brother to the forefaid* Cacalla.

Francis de Bivero, Priest and Brother to Cacalla, Martyr.

The second Prisoner, and next to Doctor *Cacalla* that was called, was *Francis de Bivero* his Brother, Priest also of *Valledolid*, who received likewise the same Sentence of Condemnation. And to the intent he should not speak any thing to the prejudice, or against the Abuse of the sacred Inquisition, as he before had done, both within and without the Prison, with much boldness; and also because he was much favoured of the People; to the end therefore that no Commotion should come by his speaking, his Mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speak one Word.

The Archbishop of Sevil.

3. *Dame* Blanch de Bivero.

Dame Blanch sister to them, Martyr.

The third was Dame *Blanch*, Sister to the other two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like Sentence, as upon her Brethren before.

The Bishop of Valence.

4. John de Bivero.

John de Bivero, Brother to the same Kindred, who was also judged an Heretick, and condemned to perpetual Prison, and to bear his *Sanbenito* all his Life long; which is an habiliment of dishonour.

5. Dame

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5. Dame Constance de Bivero, *Sister to the same aforesaid.*

D. Constance de Bivero, another Sister, martyr.

Dame *Constance de Bivero*, was the fifth Sister to the other before specified, and Widow of *Ferdinando Ortiz*, dwelling sometime at *Valledolid*, who was also condemned, with the like Sentence with her Brethren, to be burned.

The Bishop of Orense.

6. The Coffin with the dead Corps of Dame Leonore de Bivero, *the Mother of these aforesaid.*

D. Leonore de Bivero, Mother to these Martyrs above, burnt after her death.

The sixth Thunderbolt of Condemnation was thundred out against a poor Coffin, with the dead Corps of Dame *Leonore de Bivero*, Mother to these above-named, being her self the sixth, and being already dead long before at *Valledolid*. Above her Coffin was her Picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead Corps to be burned for an Heretick: and yet I never heard of any Opinion that this Picture did hold, either with or against the Church of *Rome*. This good Mother, while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's Gospel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers assemblies of the Saints in her house for the preaching of the Word of God. In fine, her Corps and Image also, being brought before the Fiscal, was condemned likewise (as the Mother with her seven Children in the Book of *Machabees*) to be burned for a *Lutheran* Heretick, and all her goods to be seized to the behoof of the superior Powers, and also her house utterly to be razed and cast down to the ground: and for a memorial of the same, a Marble Stone was appointed to be set up in the house, wherein the said cause of her burning should be engraved.

This good Mother, with her children, burned by Antichrist, resembled to the mother with her 7 children burned in the Book of Machabees.

The Inquisitors of Spain.

7. Mr. Alfonse Perez, *Priest of* Valence.

M. Alfonse Perez, martyr.

In the seventh place was condemned Master *Alfonse Perez*, Priest of *Valence*, first to be degraded, and after to be burned as an Heretick, and all his goods confiscate and likewise seized to the behoof of the Superiority.

The degradation of Dr. Cacalla, Francis his Brother, and Alfonse.

When these seven aforesaid had received their Sentence, then the Bishop of *Valence*, in his *Pontificalibus*, caused Dr. *Cacalla*, *Francis* his Brother, and *Alfonse Perez*, to be apparelled and revested in Priestly Vesture. Which done, he took from them first the Chalice out of their hands, and so all their other Trinkets in order, according to their accustomed solemnity. And thus they being degraded, and all their Priestly Unctions taken from their fingers, also their Lips and their crowns razed, so were their yellow Habits of *Sanbenito* put over their Shoulders again, with their Miters also of Paper upon their Heads. This done, Dr. *Cacalla* began to speak, praying the Princes and Lords to give him audience: but that being not granted unto him, he was rudely repulsed, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested clearly and openly, That his Faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure Word of God. For the which also he was prest and ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as an Heretick: Besides many other worthy Sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, whiles the Judges were busie in their Sentences against the residue of the Martyrs.

Dr. Cacalla not suffred to speak.

Don Peter Sarmiento, Kt. condemned for a perpetual Prisoner.

8. Don Peter Sarmiento, *Knight of the Order of* Alcantara.

The eighth that was brought before the foresaid Fiscal was *Don Peter Sarmiento*, Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*, dwelling at *Valence*,

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and Son of *Marquess de Poza*, who was pronounced an Heretick, and judged to bear the mark and habit of dishonour all his life, and condemned to perpetual Prison, with the loss of his Order, and of all his Goods. To whom moreover it was enjoined, never to wear any more Gold, Silver, Pearls, or any precious Stone about him.

9. Dame Mencia, *Wife of the said* Don Peter.

D. Mencia, Wife of D. Peter condemned for a perpetual Prisoner.

Ninthly, after him was called Dame *Mencia de Figueroa*, Wife of the foresaid *Don Peter Sarmiento*. Who likewise, being proclaimed for an Heretick, was condemned to the same punishment as her Husband was.

Don Lovis de Roxas condemned to bear a Sanbenito.

10. Don Lovis de Roxas, *Son and Heir of the Marquess* de Poza.

Next after her was called and brought forth *Don Lovis de Roxas*, Son and Heir of the Marqueſs *de Poza*: who also being declared an Heretick, for the great fair and labour that was made for him, was condemned only to bear his *Sanbenito* unto the Town-house, and his Goods to be confiscate.

Dame Ann Henriques joyned as an Heretick to bear a Sanbenito.

11. *Dame* Anne Henriques.

After whom, in the eleventh place, followed Dame *Ann Henriques*, Daughter of the Marquess *Alcanezes*, and Mother to the forenamed Marqueſs *de Poza*, and Wife to the Lord *Alphonso de Fonesca*: Who in like fort was declared an Heretick, and condemned to bear her *Sanbenito* to the Town-house, and her Goods to be confiscate.

The Inquisitors of Spain.

12. Christopher Del Campo.

C. Del Campo, martyr.

Christopher Del Campo, Citizen of *Samora*, was the twelfth, who, after he was declared an Heretick, was judged to be burned, and his Goods to be seized.

C. de Padilla martyr.

13. Christopher de Padilla.

The like Sentence was also given upon *Christopher de Padilla*, Citizen of *Samora*.

A. de Huezuello, martyr.

14. Antonie de Huezuello.

The fourteenth was *Antonie de Huezuello*, Bachelor of Divinity, dwelling at *Toro*. Who after he was proclaimed Heretick, and his Goods confiscate, was condemned to be burned; and moreover had his mouth stopped, for that he should not speak and make confession of his Faith unto the People.

Kat. Roman. martyr.

15. Katharine Roman.

Then followed *Katharine Roman*, dwelling in *Pedrosa*, called from her standing; who, receiving the like Sentence, was condemned to be burned, and all her Goods confiscate.

Fran. Ereera martyr.

16. Frances Erem.

The sixteenth was *Frances Eream*, born in *Pegnaranda*; whom they condemned to be burned alive, and all her Goods likewise to be confiscate.

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Kat. Ortega, martyr.

17. Katharine Ortega.

After her, ſucceeded in the next Sentence of Martyrdom, *Katharine Ortega*, dwelling in *Valledolid*, Daughter of *Hernando Piazo* Fiſcal, and Widdow of Captain *Lovis*, pronounced with the other to be an Heretick; and forſomuch as ſhe was reckoned to be a Schoolmiſtreſs to the reſt, ſhe was judged to be burned, and her Goods confiſcate.

Iſab. Strada, J. Valeſques, Martyrs.

18. Iſabell Strada.

19. Jane Valeſques.

In the eighteenth and nineteeth place, ſtood *Iſabel de Strada*, and *Jane Valeſques*, both dwelling in *Pedroſa*; which likewiſe were condemned to be burned, and all their Goods confiſcate.

A Smith martyr.

20. *A Smith.*

A certain Workman of white Iron, or Smith, for entertaining Aſſemblies in his Houſe, and for watching with them, received alſo with them the like Sentence, to loſe both Life and Goods for the Goſpel's ſake.

A Jew burned.

21. *A Jew.*

With theſe alſo was joined a *Portugal*, named *Goncalo Vaez* of *Lisbon*, which was born a Jew, afterward baptized, and then returned again to his Judaiſm: who, for more ſhame to the other, was put alſo in the ſame tale and number, as the two Thieves were joined with Chriſt, and was alſo with them condemned to be burned, and his Goods ſeized.

The Inquiſitors of *Spain*.

Dame Jane de Silva, condemned for an Heretick.

22. *Dame* Jane de Silva.

After theſe was called Dame *Jane de Silva*, Wife to *John de Bivero*, Brother to Dr. *Cacalla*, to whom it was enjoined to bear a Mantle all her life for penance, in token of her treſpaſs, and all her Goods confiſcate.

Leonore de Liſueros.

23. Leonore de Liſueros, *Wife of* Huezuello.

In like manner was called for *Leonore de Liſueros*, Wife of the aforeſaid *Anthony Huezuello*, Bachelor of Divinity.

Marina de Sajavedra.

24. Marina de Sajavedra.

Item, Marina de Sajavedra, Wife of *Ciſueros de Sareglio.*

Dan. Quadra condemned to perpetual Priſon.

25. Daniel Quadra.

Item, Daniel Quadra born at *Pedroſa*: all which three Perſons were pronounced Hereticks, and condemned to do penance in perpetual Priſon, with their Mantles, and confiſcation of all their Goods.

Mary de Royas enjoined Penance.

26. *Dame* Mary de Royas.

Dame *Mary de Royas*, Siſter of the Marqueſs of *Royas*, becauſe ſhe was in a Cloiſter, and was come of a good Houſe, was therefore judged to bear her Mantle to the Town-houſe, and all her Goods confiſcate.

Anthony Dominick enjoined Penance.

27. Anthony Dominick.

Anthony Dominick de Pedroſa, being then brought out, was judged and condemned to three years penance in Priſon for his Herely, cloathed with the Mantle of Yellow, and all his Goods confiſcate.

Anth. Baſor an Engliſhman, enjoined penance.

28. Anthony Baſor *an Engliſhman.*

Laſt of all was produced *Anthony Baſor*; who for that he was an Engliſh-man, he was judged to bear his Mantle of Yellow to the Town-houſe in penance for his Crime, and incontinent was thruſt into a Cloiſter for one year, to the intent he might there be inſtructed in the Catholick Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, as they be called.

14 Martyrs in Spain burned.

After theſe Sentences being thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned, with the Coffin of the dead Lady and her Picture upon the ſame, were committed to the ſecular Magiſtrate, and their Executioners, which were commanded to do their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one ſet upon an Aſs, their Faces turned backward, and led with a great Garriſon of armed Souldiers unto the place of puniſhment, which was without the Gate of the Town, called *Del Campo.*

When they were come to the place, there were fourteen Stakes ſet up of equal diſtance one from another, whereunto every one ſeverally being faſtned according to the faſhion of *Spain*, they were all firſt ſtrangled, and then burned and turned to Aſhes, ſave only *Anthony Huezuello*, who forſomuch as he had, both within and without the Priſon, vehemently deteſted the Pope's Spirituality, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth ſtopped from ſpeaking. And thus theſe faithful Chriſtians, for the verity and pure Word of God, were led to death as Sheep to the Shambles: who not only moſt Chriſtianly did comfort one another, but alſo did ſo exhort all them there preſent, that all Men marvelled greatly, both to hear their ſingular conſtancy, and to ſee their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, beſides theſe aforeſaid, there remained yet behind thirty ſeven other Priſoners, at the ſaid Town of *Valledolid*, reſerved to another Tragedy and Speƈtacle of that bloody Inquiſition. *Ex quin. parte Mart. Gall. Impreſſ. pag.* 474.

Furthermore, whereas the ſtory of the ſaid Inquiſition being ſet out in the French Tongue, doth reckon the number of the Martyrs above-mentioned, to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, That either this number lacked two of thirty, or elſe that two of the ſaid Company were returned back without judgment into the Priſon again.

And thus much for this preſent, touching the proceeding of the Church of *Spain*, in their Inquiſition againſt the *Lutherans*, that is, againſt the true and faithful Servants of Jeſus Chriſt. Albeit there be other Countries alſo, beſides *Spain*, ſubjeƈt unto the ſame Inquiſition, as *Naples* and *Sicily*: in which Kingdom of *Sicily*, I hear it credibly reported, That every third year are brought forth to Judgment and Execution a certain number, after the like ſort of Chriſtian Martyrs, ſometimes twelve, ſometimes ſix, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs. Among whom there was one, much about the ſame year abovementioned, *Anno* 1559; who coming from *Geneva* to *Sicily*, upon zeal to do good, was at laſt laid hand on; and being condemned the ſame time to the fire, as he ſtould take his death, was offered there of the Hangmen to be ſtrangled, having the Cord ready about his Neck; but he, notwithſtanding, refuſed the ſame, and ſaid, That he would feel the fire: and ſo endured he, ſinging with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of Speech and Life, in the midſt of the flame: ſuch was the admirable conſtancy and fortitude of that valiant Souldier

A Chriſtian Martyr burned in Sicily

K.Hen.8 *Perſecut.* | *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.* | *Perſecut.* | *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Souldier of Chriſt, as is witneſſed to me by him, which being there preſent the ſame time, did both then ſee that which he doth teſtify, and alſo doth now teſtify, that he then ſaw.

Now it remaineth further, according to my promiſe, in like order of a compendious Table, to comprehend all ſuch Martyrs as ſuffered for the Verity and true Teſtimony of the Goſpel, in the Places and Countries of *Italy*: which Table conſequently here next enſueth.

A Table of ſuch Martyrs as ſuffered for the Teſtimony of the Goſpel in Italy.

The Italian Martyrs.

Encenas, or Dryander, martyr.

N. Encenas, *otherwiſe called* Dryander, *at* Rome, *Anno* 1546.

THis *Encenas*, or *Dryander*, a Spaniard, born at *Bruges*, was Brother to *Franciſcus Encenas* the learned Man, ſo oft before mentioned: and was alſo the teacher or inſtruƈter in knowledg of Religion to *Dianius* the godly Martyr above recorded. He was ſent of his ſuperſtitious Parents, being young, unto *Rome*; Who there, after long continuance, growing up in Age and Knowledg, but eſpecially being inſtruƈted by the Lord in the truth of his Word, after he was known to miſlike the Pope's Doƈtrine, and the impure doings at *Rome*, was apprehended and taken of certain of his own Country-men, and ſome of his own houſhold Friends at *Rome*, at the ſame time when he was preparing to take his journey to his Brother *Francis Encenas* in *Germany*. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his own Country-men, was brought before the Cardinals, and there committed to ſtrait Priſon. Afterward he was brought forth to give teſtimony of his Doƈtrine, which he in the preſence of the Cardinals, and in the face of all the Pope's Retinue, boldly and conſtantly defended. So that not only the Cardinals, but eſpecially the Spaniards being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he ſhould be burned. The Cardinals, firſt before the Sentence of Death ſhould be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it (after the manner of the Spaniards) the Badg of Reconciliation; which hath the name of *Sanbenit's* Cloth, made in form of a Mantle, going both before him and behind him, with ſigns of the red Croſs. But *Encenas*, ſtill conſtant in the profeſſion of Truth, denied to receive any other Condition or Badg, but only the Badg of the Lord, which was to ſeal the Doƈtrine of his Religion with the teſtimony of his Blood. At laſt the matter was brought to that iſſue, that the faithful Servant and Witneſs of Chriſt was judged and condemned to the Fire; where he, in the ſight of the Cardinals, and in the face of the Apoſtolick See pretended, gave up his life for the teſtimony of the Goſpel. *Ex Pantal. lib. 6. Ex Criſp. & aliis.*

Certain Popiſh Spaniards at *Rome*.

P. Julius the third.

And for ſo much as mention hath been made both in this ſtory, and many other before, of *Franciſcus Encenas* his Brother, here is not to be permitted, how the ſaid *Francis* being a Man of notable learning as ever was any in *Spain*, being in the Emperor's Court at *Bruxels*, offered unto the Emperor, *Charles* the 5th, the New Teſtament of Chriſt tranſlated into Spaniſh. For the which he was caſt into Priſon, where he remained in ſorrowful captivity and calamity the ſpace of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than preſent death. At laſt, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, the firſt day of *February*, *Anno* 1545. at eight of the Clock after Supper, he found the doors of the Priſon ſtanding open, and he ſecretly was moved in his mind to take the occaſion offered, and to ſhift for himſelf; and ſo he iſſuing out of the Priſon, without any haſty pace, but going as leiſurely as he could, eſcaped from thence, and went ſtraight to *Germany*.

The Impriſonment and eſcape of Fr. Encenas.

Faninus, *at* Ferraria, *Anno* 1550.

Faninus martyr.

Faninus, born in *Faventia*, a Town in *Italy*, through the reading of godly Books tranſlated into the Italian Tongue, (having no perfect skill in the Latin) was converted from great blindneſs, to the wholſome knowledg of Chriſt and of his Word. Wherein he took ſuch a ſweetneſs, and ſo grew up in the meditation of the ſame, that he was able in ſhort time to inſtruƈt other. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being ſo in his mind perſwaded, that a Man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledg and illumination of his Verity, ought in no caſe to hide the ſame in ſilence, as a Candle under a Buſhel. And therefore being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he uſed not publickly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the Pope's Clients eſpied, apprehended, and committed to Priſon. Albeit he remained not long in Priſon, for by the earneſt perſwaſions and prayers of his Wife, his Children, and other Friends, he was ſo overcome, that he gave over, and ſo was diſmiſſed ſhortly out of Priſon. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind; inſomuch that unleſs the great Mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter deſperation, for ſlipping from the Truth, and preferring the love of his Friends and Kindred before the Service of Jeſus Chriſt, whom he ſo earneſtly before had profeſſed. This Wound went ſo deep into his heart, that he could in no caſe be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the Service of the Lord.

Faninus overcome by his Wife and Brethren.

Faninus again impriſoned.

Whereupon he, being thus inflamed with zeal of Spirit, went about all the Country of *Romagna*, publickly preaching the pure Doƈtrine of the Goſpel, not without great fruit and effeƈt in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it ſo fell out that he was apprehended again, *Anno* 1547, in a place called *Bagnacavallo*, where alſo he was condemned to be burned. But he ſaid his hour was not yet come, and the ſame to be but the beginning of his Doƈtrine: and ſo it was; for ſhortly after he was removed unto *Ferraria*, where he was detained two years. At laſt the Inquiſitors of the Pope's Hereſies condemned him to death, *Anno* 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of *September*, *An.* 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good Men came to viſit him; for the which the Pope commanded him to be incloſed in ſtraiter cuſtody; wherein he ſuffered great torments the ſpace of eighteen months, and yet had ſuffered greater, if the Dominick Friers might have got him in their

their house, as they went about. Thus *Faninus* removed from Prison to Prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a Prison, where were divers great Lords, Captains, and noble Personages there committed, for stirring up Commotions and Factions (as the Country of *Italy* is full of such) who at first, hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him: supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his Opinion, and to live with Men as other Men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his Judgment till the matter were decided in the General Council. To whom *Faninus* again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good wills wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the Doctrine which he professed, was no Humour nor Opinion of Man's brain, but the pure Verity of God, founded in his Word, and revealed to Men in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and especially now in these days restored: which Verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying Fansies of Men. And as in his Soul, which was redeemed by the Blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage: so likewise as touching Councils, he looked for no other Sentence nor Authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his Gospel, which both he preached with his Word, and confirmed with his Blood, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of Life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and recounted him for an holy Person. To whom he proceeded still to preach the Word of Grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable Sinner; but by the Faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the Grace only of him, he was fully perswaded and well assured his sins to be forgiven: like as all their sins also shall be remitted to them through their Faith only in Christ, they believing his Gospel.

There were others also besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the sharpness and the hardness of the Prison. These also received such comfort by the said *Faninus*, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in this their captivity, by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the prisonment of this *Faninus* was known to his Parents and Kinsfolk, his Wife and Sister came to him with weeping perswations, to move him to comfort and care for his poor Family. To whom he answered again, That his Lord and Master had commanded him, not to deny him for looking to his Family; and that it was enough for them that he had once for their sakes fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and sollicite him no more therein, for his end, he said, he knew to draw near, and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time died Pope *Paulus* the 3d, and after him succeeded *Julius* the 3d, which then sent Letters and Commandment that *Faninus* should be executed. Whereof when one of the Magistrates Officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the Messenger thanks, and began to preach a long Sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the Life to come. Then the Messenger exhorted him, that, in case he would change his Opinion, he should save both his Life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what case he should leave his little Children and his Wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them: wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them. *Faninus* answered, that he had left them with an Overseer, which would see unto them sufficiently: and being asked who he was? The Lord Jesus Christ, said he, a faithful Keeper and Conserver of all that is committed to him. After that the Messenger was thus departed from *Faninus*, all full of tears and sorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common Prison, and

The modest answer of Faninus to his fellow Prisoners.

Prisoners converted by Faninus.

Pope Julius the third.

Christ preferred before wife & children.

delivered to the secular Magistrate. Who in all his ways, his words, his gestures, and countenance, declared such constancy of Faith, such modesty of manners and tranquility of mind, that they which before were extream against him, thinking him rather to have a Devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the Word of God, that divers of the Magistrates Wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The Executioner also wept himself. One of the Publick Scribes then came to him, and said, That if he would relent from his Opinion, the Pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved: but that he refused. This was marvellous, that he having but small skill in the Latine, yet recited so many and sundry places of the Scripture without Book, and that so truly and promptly, as tho he had studied nothing else. One, seeing him so jocond and merry going to his death, asked, why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat Blood and Water before his Passion? Christ, said he, sustained in his Body all the sorrows and conflicts with Hell and Death due to us: by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all. Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer. Who, after his Prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the Stake, where with a Cord drawn about his Neck, he was secretly strangled of the Hangman, in the City of *Ferraria*, three hours before day, to the intent the People should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after, about dinner-time, his Body in the same place was burned. At the burning whereof such a fragrant and odoriferous scent came to all them there present, and so struck their senses, that the sweetness thereof seemed to refresh them no less, than his words would have done, if they had heard him speak.

Life refused.

The martyrdom of Dominicus de Basana.

How Christ feared death himself, and yet hath he taken away the fear of death from others.

A miracle as it is reported.

The Custom is of that City, that the Bones and Ashes which be left, should be carried out of the City: but neither the Magistrate, nor the Bishop, nor his great Vicar or Chancellor, nor any Divine else, would take any charge thereof, every Man transferring that burthen from themselves to him which was the cause of his death. Whereby it may appear, what secret judgment and estimation all they had of that good and blessed Man. At the last, People took his burned Bones, with the Cinders, and carried them out of the street of the City. *Ex Hen. Pantal. lib. 7. Ex Jo. Crisp. pag. 363.*

The death & martyrdom of Faninus.

Dominicus de Basana, *at* Placentia, *Anno* 1550.

The same year that the aforesaid *Faninus* suffered in *Ferraria*, *Dominicus* also suffered in the City of *Placentia*. This *Dominicus* was Citizen in *Basana*, and followed the Wars of *Charles* the Emperor in *Germany*: where he received the first taste of Christ's Gospel. Wherein he encreased more and more, by conferring and reasoning with learned Men, so that in short time he was able to instruct many, and so he did working and travelling in the Church, till at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the City of *Naples*, there preached the Word, and from thence proceeding to *Placentia*, preached there likewise unto the People, of true Confession, of Purgatory, and of Pardons. Furthermore, the next day he entreated of true Faith and good Works, how far they are necessary to Salvation, promising moreover the next day to speak of Antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his Sermon, the Magistrate of the City commanded him to come down from the Chair in the Market-place, and delivered him to the Officers. *Dominicus* was willing and ready to obey the Commandment, saying, That he did much marvel that the Devil could suffer him so long in that kind of Exercise. From thence he was led to the Bishop's Chancellor, and asked whether he was a Priest, and

Dominicus de Basana, martyr.

The name of the Persecutor in the story appeareth not.

The injurious and fraudulent dealing of the Papists.

Antichrist cannot abide to be detected.

and how he was placed in that Function. He answered, That he was no Priest of the Pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that Office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his Doctrine? He answered, That he maintained no Doctrine of his own, but only the Doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his Blood, and also gave hearty thanks to God, which so accepted him as worthy to glorify his Name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking Prison, where after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted divers times to revoke, otherwise he should suffer: but still he remained constant in his Doctrine. Whereupon when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the Market-place, where he preached, and there was hanged; who most heartily praying for his Enemies, so finished his days in this miserable wretched World. *Ex Pantal. lib. 7.*

Galeazius Trecius, *at the City called* Laus Pompeia *in* Italy, *Anno* 1551.

Galeazius Trecius martyr.

Santangelo, is a certain Fortress or Castle in *Italy*, within *Lombardy*, not far from the City called *Laus Pompeia*, belonging also to the same Diocess. In this Fort of *Santangelo* was an House of *Augustine* Friers, unto whom used much to resort a certain Frier of the same Order, dwelling at *Pania*, named *Maianardus*, a Man well expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this *Maianardus*, divers not only of the Friers, but also of other Townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's Word, and to the detestation of the Pope's abuses. Among whom was also this *Galeazius*, a Gentleman of a good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the Poor. Who first by conference with the Friers, and also with his Brother-in-Law, began to conceive some light in God's Truth, and afterward was confirmed more thoroughly by *Celius secundus Curio*, who then being driven by Persecution, came from *Pavia* to the said place of *Santangelo*. In process of time, as this *Galeazius* increased in Judgment and Zeal, in setting forward the wholsome Word of God's Grace: as a Light shining in darkness he could not so lie hid, but at last, in the year of our Lord 1551, certain were sent from the forenamed City of *Laus Pompeia*, to lay hands upon him, and brought him to the Bishop's Palace: where he was kept in bands, having under him but only a pad of straw. Altho his Wife sent unto him a good Feather-bed, with sheets to lie in, yet the Bishop's Chaplains and Officers kept it from him, dividing the Prey among themselves.

The Bishop of Santangelo and his Priests.

Galeazius recanteth.

Galeazius repenteth.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the Commissioners, where he rendered Reasons and Causes of his Faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scriptures, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate perswations of his Kinsfolk and Friends, and other cold Gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the Pope's Doctrine. But yet the Mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance, and bewailing of his Fact, that he became afterward (according to the example of *Peter*, and *S. Cyprian*, and others) double-wise more valiant in defence of Christ's Quarrel: neither did he ever desire any thing more, than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that which he had lost before by denial: affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart, than at the time of his examinations, where he flood thrice to the constant confession of the Truth: and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slip'd afterward from the same by dissimulation. Declaring moreover to his Brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with

A sentence of a martyr to be marked.

Galeazius returneth to his former confession of truth.

Galeazius combined to the secular power.

The Death and decease of Galeazius.

testimony of the Verity, than life with the least denial of Truth, and loss of a good Conscience. Thus *Galeazius*, mourning for his fall into Prison, after he heard of his Friends, that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance to God's Glory, and an admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort: and when they would have left with him a Book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his Disciples: also what happed both to Christ himself, and to his Disciples, for confessing the Word of Truth.

Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they which talked with him, continued all the day without Meat or Drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As *Galeazius* thus continued in the Prison, looking for some occasion to recover himself again from his fall, it followed in short time that the Inquisitors and Priests repaired to him again in the Prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them, and required him so to do. *Galeazius*, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former Doctrine, with much more boldness of Spirit confessing Christ, as he did before, and detested Images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in Spirit and Verity: Also that there be no more Mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently by his suffering hath taken away the sins of the whole World; and that all they which depart hence in this Faith, are afterward of everlasting Life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation, with such otherlike matter, which was repugnant utterly to the Pope's Proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the Adversaries went away as much appaled; who, at last perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular Judge to be burned.

Thus *Galeazius* early in the morning, being brought out of Prison to the Market-place, there was left standing bound to the Stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all Men to look upon. In the which mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to call away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it. If he passed not for his Life, nor for his Country where he should live, nor for his Goods and Possessions, which should be confiscate, yet he should somewhat respect his Wife whom he loved so well, and his young Children; at least he should confider his own Soul. This counsel gave they, which more esteemed the Commodities of this present life, than any true Soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the fetled mind of this valiant Martyr. Wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry Wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, save only these words heard in the middle of the flame, Lord Jesus. This was *Anno* 1551, *Novemb.* 24.

Touching the story of this blessed Martyr, this by the way is to be given for a *Memorandum*, That a little before this *Galeazius* should be burned, there was a Controversy between the Major of the City, and the Bishop's Clergy, for the expences of the Wood that should go to his burning. He hearing thereof, sent word to both the Parties to agree, for he himself, of his own Goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note moreover here is to be added, that while *Galeazius* was in captivity, certain of the Papists, perceiving that *Galeazius* had great Goods and Possessions, practised with his Wife, under colour to release her Husband, that she should lay out a sum of Money to be sent to the Wife of the chief Lord of *Millain* (called *Ferrante Gonzaga*) to the end that she should entreat both with her Husband, and with the Senate, for *Galeazius*'s Life. Which Money when they had thus jugled into their hands, *Galeazius* notwithstanding was burned, and so was the silly Woman robbed and defeated, both of her Husband, and also of her Money. *Ex Callio.*

D. John

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
D. Jo. Mollius, martyr.	**D. John Mollius,** *a Gray Frier.* *A certain Weaver of* Perusium. *At* Rome, *Anno* 1553.
Cornelius Professor of Bonony	*Joan. Mollius Montilcinus,* being but twelve years old, with his Brother *Augustinus,* was set of his Parents in the houle of the Gray Friers, where he in short time, having a fresh Wit, far excelled his Fellows in all Tongues and Liberal Sciences. So growing up to the Age of eighteen, he was ordained Priest, and sang his first Mass. After that he was sent to *Ferraria* to study, where he so profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned, by *Vigerius* General of that Order, to be Doctor, and then Reader in Divinity: who then, with his Sophistry, opposed himself as an utter Enemy against the Gospel. From thence he went to *Brixia,* and the next year following to *Millaine,* where he read or professed openly. Again, from hence he was taken by *Francisco Sforzia,* and brought to the University of *Papia,* there openly to profess Philosophy. Where he remained four years. After that he was called to the University of *Bononie,* by *Laurentius Spatha,* General of the Order, where he was occupied in reading the Books of *Aristotle de Anima.* In the mean time God wrought in his Soul such light of his Word, and of true Religion, that he, waxing weary of professing Philosophy, began secretly to expound the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans* to a few; which being known, his Auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the Temple. Whereas the number of his Audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every Man almost came with his Pen and Ink to write, and great diligence was bestowed how to come betime to take up the first places, where they might best hear, which was about the year of our Lord 1538. There was the same time, at *Bononie,* one *Cornelius* an arrogant Babler, who, envying the doings of *Joannes,* took upon him, at the request of Cardinal *Campejus,* to expound the said Epistle of Saint *Paul,* confuting, and disproving the explanation of the said *John,* and extolling the Pope with all his traditions. Contrary, *John* extolled and commended only Christ and his Merits to the People. But the purpose of *Cornelius* came to small effect. For the Auditors which first came unto him, began by little to fall from him, and the concourse of the other Man's Auditors more and more increased.
Cardinal de Capo.	
Bonaventura General.	
Six Cardinals.	
P. Julius the third.	
Laurentius Spatha, General of the gray Friers.	
Cornelius & Cardinal Campejus Persecutors.	

Which when *Cornelius* perceived, he persuaded *Campejus,* that unless he provided that Man to be dispatched, the estimation of the Church of *Rome* would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this way was devised, that *Cornelius* and *Joannes* should come to open disputation: which Disputation indured till three of the Clock after midnight. At length when neither part could agree, *Joannes* was bid to return home to his house. Who as he was come down to the lower steps, where the place was most straitest, so that his Friends could not come to refcue him, (altho by drawing their Swords they declared their good wills) was there taken and laid fast in Prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole City, that *Cornelius* was driven to hide himself. Also *Campejus* the Cardinal, with the Bishop there, were both contemned of the Students. The next day the Bishop of *Bononie* sent his Chancellor to *John* in the Prison, to signify unto him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he, being of a bold and cheerful Spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned, his cause being not heard.

Mollius taken and imprisoned by Cardinal Campejus.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
K.Hen. 8.	In the mean season, *Laurentius Spatha* above-mentioned, being General of that Order, in most speedy wise posted up to *Rome,* and there so practised with the Cardinal St. *Crucis,* the Proctor in the Court of *Rome* for the Gray Friers, that the Pope wrote down his Letters to *Campejus,* that he should deliver the said *John* out of Prison; so that he notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at *Rome.* Thus the thirtieth day of his Imprisonment he was delivered; who, but for the coming of the Pope's Letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said *Mollius, Cornelius* was also cited to make his appearance likewise at *Rome,* and there was detained in Prison by the Cardinal St. *Crucis,* till his cause should be decided. The Friends of *Mollius* gave him counsel not to go to *Rome,* and offered him money to go to *Germany:* but he would not, saying, that the Gospel must also be preached at *Rome.* After he was come to *Rome,* and appeared before Pope *Paul* the third, humbly he desired, that the Cause being so weighty, might come in publick hearing, but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in Articles, and to bring his Proofs: which he diligently performed, intreating of Original Sin, Justification by Faith, Free-Will, Purgatory, and other such like: proving the said Articles by the Authority of the Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and so exhibited the same to the Bishop of *Rome.* Upon this, certain Cardinals and Bishops were assigned to have the Cause in hearing: who disputed with him three days, and could not feel that which he had proved. At last answer was made unto him thus; that it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the Apostolick See: wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the Epistles * of St. *Paul,* and so return again safe to *Bononie,* and there profess Philosophy. Thus as he was returned to *Bononie,* and all Men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at *Rome,* openly in the Pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.	Mollius delivered out of Prison by means of Spatha the General.
	Mollius appeareth before the Pope.
	* The Popes Church cannot abide S. Pauls Epistles. Pauls Epistles must give place to Philosophy.

Herewith *Campejus,* being more offended than before, obtained of the Pope, that the General of the Order should remove the said *John Mollius* from *Bononie,* and place him some other where. So *Mollius* from thence was sent to *Naples,* and there was appointed Reader and Preacher in the Monastry of St. *Laurence.* But *Petrus* the Vice-roy there, not abiding his Doctrine, so nearly fought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life; and so departing from thence, he went wandring in *Italy* from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when Cardinal *Campejus* was dead, he was called again unto *Bononie* by a good Abbat named *de Graffis,* Anno 1543, where he renewed again the reading of St. *Paul's* Epistles after a secret fort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered. Whereupon by the means of Cardinal *de Capo,* and by *Bonaventure* the General, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to *Faventia,* and laid there in a filthy and stinking Prison, where he continued four years, no Man having leave once to come to him. During which time of his indurance, he wrote a Commentary upon the Books of *Moses:* but that labour, by the malignity of the Adversaries was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the Earl *Petilianus,* and of the aforesaid good Abbat *de Graffis,* he was again delivered, and sent to *Ravenna,* where he made his abode a few months with the Abbat *ad S. Vitalem,* and there again taught the Gospel of Christ as before: and whensoever he spake of the Name of Jesus, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

Mollius to great danger at Naples.

Mollius the second time apprehended for reading St. Pauls Epistles.

Mollius again delivered.

The fervent zeal of Mollius.

In process of time, when this Abbat was dead, his Sureties began to be weary of their Bond, and so was he again now the third time reduced into Prison by the Pope's Legats. There were then four Men of great Authority, who, being stirred up of God, had pitty upon him, and bailed him out of Prison. Of whom, one of the said Sureties took the said *Mollius* home, to instruct his Children in the Doctrine of Religion and good Letters. Furthermore, at the same of this Man such a concourse of People came to see him, that the Adversaries began to consult

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
K.Hen.8.	consult with themselves to kill him, lest his Doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of *Rome.* Whereupon commandment was sent to the Pope's Legat to lay hands upon him, and to send him up fast bound to *Rome.* Where again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the Castle of *Rome,* and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering Promises, sometimes with terrible Threats, to give over his Opinion: but his Building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure Rock. Thus Dr. *Mollius,* being constant in the defence of Christ's Gospel, was brought, with certain other Men (which were also apprehended for Religion) into the Temple of St. *Mary* (called *De Minerva*) the fifth day of *September, Anno* 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There sat upon them six Cardinals in high Seats, besides the Judge: before whom preached a Dominick Frier, with cruelty inveighing against the poor Prisoners, incensed the Cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor Men stood holding a burning Taper in their hands: of whom some for fear of death revolted. But this Doctor *Mollius,* with a Weaver of *Perusium,* remained constant. Then *Mollius* began an earnest Sermon in the Italian Tongue, wherein he confirmed the Articles of the Faith by the Sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the Pope was not the Successor of *Peter,* but Antichrist, and that his Sectaries do figure the Whore of *Babylon.* Moreover, he cited them up to the Tribunal Seat of Christ, and threw away the burning Taper from him. Whereupon they, being replenished with anger, condemned him with the Weaver to the Fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the Camp or Field, called *Florianum,* where they remained chearful and constant. First, the Weaver was hanged: *Mollius* then, willing the Hangman to execute his Office likewise upon him, began to exhort the People to beware of Idolatry, and to have no other Saviours but Christ alone: for he only is the Mediator between God and Man. And so was he also hanged, commending his Soul to God, and afterward laid in the fire and burned. The People having divers Judgments upon him; some said he died an Heretick, some said he was a good Man. *Ex Henrico Pantal. Lib. 19. Anno* 1543.	Mollius the fourth time imprisoned.
	The constancy of Dr. Mollius and of the Weaver.
	D. Mollius citeth the Pope to the Tribunal Seat of Christ.
	The martyrdom of Dr. Mollius and the Weaver.

Two Monks of the House of St. Austin in Rome. *At* Rome, *Anno* 1554.

Furthermore in the same City of *Rome,* and about the same time, in the Monastry of Saint *Austin,* were found two Monks in their Cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebuking the immoderate and outragious excess of the Cardinals, as witnesseth *Manlius.* Such was the cruelty then of the malignant Adversaries. *Ex Joban. Man. in dictis Phil. Melancth.*

Two Augustine Monks martyrs.

Franciscus Gamba.
At the City of Comum. *In the Diocess of* Millain.
Anno 1554.

Fr. Gamba, martyr.

Francis Gamba born in the City of *Brixia,* in *Lombardy,* after he had received the knowledg of the Gospel, went to *Geneva,* to confer about certain necessary Affairs with them that were wife and learned in that Church, which was about the time when the Lord's Supper there was administred at Pentecost: Who there also at the same time did communicate with them. Afterward in his returning home, as he was passing over the Lake of *Come,* he was taken and brought to *Come,* and there committed to Ward. During the time of which imprisonment, divers and sundry, as well Nobles as others, with Doctors also, especially Priests and Monks, resorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and most fair promises, to reduce him from his Opini-

The Senate of Millain.

The blind Judgment of the World in God's Matters.

Persecut.	Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.
	ons: which seemed to some but Phantasies coming of some Humor: to some they seemed uncatholick or Heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, declared the Opinions which he defended, not to be any vain Speculations or imaginary Phantasies of Man's doting Brain, but the pure Verity of God, and the evident Doctrine of Jesus Christ, expressed in his Word, necessary for all Men to believe, and also to maintain unto death; and therefore for his part, rather than he would be found false to Christ and his Word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to stand to Christ's Gospel, to the effusion of his Blood.
	Patience in perfection.

Thus when he could in no wise be reclaimed from the Doctrine of Truth, Letters came from the Senate of *Millain,* that he should be executed with death. Which execution, as they of *Comum* were about to prepare, in the mean while came other Letters from *Geneva,* written by the Emperor's Embassador, and other Nobles of *Millain,* by the which Letters his death was delay'd for a time, till at length other Letters were sent from the Senate again of *Millain,* requiring execution of the Sentance. Nevertheless, through intercession of his Friends, one weeks respite more was granted him, to prove whether he might be won again to the Pope's Church, that is to say, left from God. Thus he being mightily and long, both assailed by Friends, and by Enemies tervified, yet by no perswasions would be expunged, but gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this World, and cruel death, for the testimony of his Son; and so went he chearfully unto his death. Then came certain *Franciscan* Friers to him to hear his Confession, which he refused. Also they brought in their hands a Cro's for him to behold, to keep him from desperation at the feeling of the fire. But his mind, he said, was so replenished with joy and comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their Cross, nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the People, of the fruition of those heavenly Joys above which God hath prepared for his, because he should speak no more to the People, his Tongue was bored through; and so immediately being tied to the Stake, there he was strangled till he was dead; every Man there, which saw his constancy, giving testimony, that he died a good Man. *Ex Epist. conjusd. Nobilii Comiensis apud Hen. Pant. lib. 10. & Calium.*

Fr. Gamba his tongue bored through.

Pomponius Algerius, *at* Rome.
Anno 1555.

Pomponius Algerius, martyr.

Pomponius Algerius born in *Capua,* a young Man of great learning, was Student in the University of *Padua,* where he not able to conceal and keep close the Verity of Christ's Gospel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's Grace, ceased not both by Doctrine and Example of Life, to inform as many as he could in the same Doctrine, and to bring them to Christ. For the which he was accused of Heresy to Pope *Paulus* the fourth. Who, sending immediatly to the Magistrates of *Venice,* caused him to be apprehended at *Padua,* and carried to *Venice,* where he was long detained in Prison and Bands, till at last the Pope commanded the Magistrates there to send him up bound unto *Rome.* which the *Venetians* effedoms accomplished. After he was brought to *Rome,* manifold perswasions and allurements were assayed to remove this vertuous and blessed young Man from his Sentence. But when no worldly perswasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

P. Paulus the fourth

The Magistrates of Venice.

Being in Prison at *Venice,* he wrote an Epistle to the afflicted Saints; which for the notable sweetness and most wonderful consolation contained in the same, in shewing forth the mighty operation of God's Holy Power working in his afflicted Saints that suffer for his sake, I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a principal

Perfect. | *Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

principal Monument amongst all other Martyrs Letters, not only with the other Letters which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the Book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they which be, or shall be hereafter in affliction, may take consolation: and also they that yet follow the trade of this present World, in comparing the Joys and Commo-

Perfect. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.* K.Hen.8.

dities thereof, with these Joys here expressed, may learn and consider with themselves, what difference there is between them both, and thereby may learn to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their Souls. The Copy of the Letter, first written in Latin, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth.

A comfortable Letter of *Pomponius Algerius* an Italian Martyr.

To his dearly beloved Brethren and fellow Servants of Christ, which are departed out of Babylon into Mount Syon; Grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

'TO mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectation and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him, I shall utter that which no Man will believe when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of Hony and Hony-comb in the intrails of a Lion. Who will ever believe that I shall say? or what Man will ever think in the deep dark Dungeon to find a Paradise of Pleasure? in the cave of sorrow and death, to dwell in tranquility and hope of life? in a Cave infernal to be found joy of Soul? and where other Men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where other do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woful flate such delectation? in a place so desolate, such society of good Men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord (my sweet Brethren) doth minister unto me. Behold, he that was once far from me, now is present with me. Whom once scarce I could feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungred for, the same now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me up with gladness; he driveth away all bitterness, he ministreth strength and courage, he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. O how good is the Lord, which suffereth not his Servants to be tempted above their strength! O how easy and sweet is his Yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who recovereth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn ye, We beloved, how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, which visiteth his Servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and stinking Caves. Will the blind and incredulous World (think you) believe this? Or rather will it not say thus? No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable; the rebukes and frowning faces of Men how wilt thou suffer? Doth thou not consider and revolve in thy mind the pleasant Country, the riches of the World, thy Kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honours of this Life? Doth thou forget the solace of thy Sciences, and fruit of all thy Labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painful travels, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally severeth thou not death which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? O what a fool art thou, which for one word speaking mayest salve all this, and wilt not? What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be intreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so vertuous, so prudent and gracious Senators, and such noble Personages, &c.

'But now to answer; Let this blind World hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? And likewise what snow can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkness, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and sharp, or crooked, than this present life which here we lead? What thing more odious and hateful than this World here present? and let these worldly Men here answer me; What Country can we have more sweet than the Heavenly Country above? What Treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who be our Kinsmen, but they which hear the Word of God? where be greater Riches, or Dignities more honourable, than in Heaven? And as touching the Sciences, let this foolish World consider, be they not ordained to learn to know God? whom unless we do know, all our Labours, our night Watchings, our Studies, and all our Enterprises serve to no use or purpose, all is but labour lost. Furthermore, let the miserable worldly Man answer me; What remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the Life and Medicine of all Men? And how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ be the Way, Verity, and Life, how can there be any life then without Christ: The fooly heat of the Prison to me is coldness; the cold Winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of the weather? or what careth he for the pinching frost, which burneth with the Love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here dropeth the delectable Dew, here floweth the pleasant Nectar, here ranneth the sweet Milk, here is plenty of all good things. And altho the place it self be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the World. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if there be any Plot, Pasture, or Medow, so delightful to the mind of Man, as here. Here I see Kings, Princes, Cities, and People; here I see Wars, where some be overthrown, some be Victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the Mount-Action, here I am already in Heaven it self. Here standeth first Christ Jesus in the Front. About him stand the old Fathers, Prophets, and Evangelists, Apostles, and all the Servants of God. Of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort, some open the Sacraments unto me, some comfort me, other-some are singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many and such as these be? the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example. Fore here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder, and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot Cauldrons, some having their Eyes bored through, some their Tongues cut out, some their Skin plucked over their Heads, some their Hands and Feet chop'd off, some put in Kilns and Furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the Beasts and Fowls of the Air to feed upon; it would ask a long time if I should recite all.

'To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate: yet notwithstanding, all living, and all life. One Plaister, one Salve cureth all their Wounds: which also gives to me strength and life, so that I sustain all these tranlitory anguishes and small afflictions, with a quiet mind, having a greater Hope laid up in Heaven. Neither do I fear mine Adversaries which here persecute me and oppress me: for he that dwelleth in Heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear

not

K.Hen.8.

'not thousands of People which compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my Hope, my Supporter; my Comforter, who exalteth up my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of Sinners asunder: for he only is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's Cause makes us jocund; for so it is written, *if ye be rebuked and scorned for the Name of Christ, happy be you; for the Glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you*, 1 Pet. 4. Be you therefore certified, that our Rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the Rebukers. In this World there is no Mansion fixed to me: and therefore I will travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in Heaven, and which offereth it self unto me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have entred already in my Journey, where my House standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have Riches, Kinsfolks, Delights, Honours never failing. As for these earthly things here present, they are transitory Shadows, vanishing Vapours, and ruinous Walls. Briefly, all is but very Vanity of Vanities, whereas Hope and the substance of Eternity to come are wanting; which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given as Companions to accompany me, and to comfort me, and now do the same begin to work and to bring forth Fruits in me. I have travelled hitherto, laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travels begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the true Countenance of God is sealed upon me, the Lord hath given mirth in my heart. And therefore in the same will I lay me down in peace and rest, *Psal.* 4. And who then shall dare to blame this our Age confumed, or say that our years be cut off? What Man can now cavil that these our Labours are lost, which have followed and found out the Lord and Maker of the World, and which have changed death with Life? My Portion is the Lord (saith my Soul) and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly Rebel, which blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? O how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's Cup, which is an assured pledg of true Salvation! for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying; *The same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you.* Wherefore let the doltish World with his blind Worldlings (who in the bright Sunshine yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as Beetles) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it. To whom this we answer again with the Holy Apostle, That neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ: we are slain all the day long, we are made like Sheep ordained to the Shambles, *Rom.* 8. Thus do we resemble Christ our Head, which said, That the Disciple cannot be above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. The same Lord hath also commanded, that every one shall take up his Cross and follow him, *Luke* 9. Rejoice, rejoice (my dear Brethren, and fellow Servants) and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. Let your Patience be perfect on all parts. For so is it foreshewed us before, and is written, That they which shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. Therefore Afflictions and Death be as Tokens and Sacraments of our Election and Life to come. Let us then be glad and sing unto the Lord, when as we, being clear from all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death. For better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it fo be the Will of the Lord, than doing evil, 1 *Pet.* 3. We have for our example Christ and the Prophets, which spake in the Name of the Lord, whom the Children of Iniquity did quell and murther. And now we bless and magnify them that then suffered; Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revengement to him.

'I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true Doctrine and Knowledg of God, and do not rid my self out of these troubles, when with one word I may. O the blindness of Man, which seeth not the Sun-shining, neither remembreth the Lord's words,

'Consider therefore what he saith, You are the Light of the World. A City built on a Hill cannot be hid; neither do Men light a Candle, and put it under a Bushel, but upon a Candlestick, that it may shine and give light to them in the house. And in another place he saith, You shall be led before Kings and Rulers; fear ye not them which kill the Body, but him which killeth both Body and Soul: whosoever shall confess me before Men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in Heaven. And he that denieth me before Men, him will I also deny before my Heavenly Father. Wherefore seeing the Words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority will this wise Counsellor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the Commandments of God, and follow the Counsels of Men: for it is written; Blessed is the Man that hath not gone in the way of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsels of the ungodly, and hath not sit in the chair of Pestilence, *Psal.* 1. God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not set more by my Life than by my Soul: neither will I exchange the Life to come, for this World here present. O how foolishly speaketh he which argueth me of foolishness?

'Neither do I take it to be a thing so uncomely, or unseeming for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honourable, just, prudent, vertuous, and noble Senators, whose desire (he saith) were enough to command me: for so are we taught of the Apostles; That we ought to obey God before Men. After that we have served and done our duty first unto God, then are we bound next to obey the Protestates of this World; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord. They are just; but yet Christ, the Seat of Justice, is lacking in them. They are wise; but where is it then the beginning of Wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? They are called Vertuous, but yet I with them more absolute in Christian Charity: they are good and gracious, but yet I miss in them the foundation of Goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all Goodness and Grace. They are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of Glory, which is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. Understand you Kings, and learn you that judg the Earth: Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Hearken to Doctrine, and get knowledg, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of Righteousness. What fret you, what fume you, O Gentiles? O you People, what cast you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? you Kings of the Earth, and you Princes, why conspire you together against Christ and against his Holy One? *Psal.* 2. How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts. For this you must needs confess, that they which persecute the Lord's Servants, do persecute the Lord himself. For so he saith himself; Whatsoever Men shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to my self.

'And now let this carnal politick Counsellor and Disputer of this World tell, wherein have they to blame me; if in my Examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? seeing it is not our selves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us; as he himself doth forewitness, saying; When you shall be brought before Rulers and Magistrates, it is not you your selves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you, *Mat.* 10. Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his Word, as it is most certain, then there is no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did speak; and who was I that could resist his Will? If any Man shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accused, which did that I purposed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them shew it, and then will I say, that they were my words, and not the Lords. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord, and then who be they that shall accuse me? A People of Prudence? or who shall condemn me? Just Judges?

'And tho they to do, yet nevertheleſs the Word ſhall not 'be fruſtrate, neither ſhall the Goſpel be fooliſh, or there-'fore decay; but rather the Kingdom of God ſhall the 'more proſper and flouriſh unto the Iſraelites, and ſhall 'paſs the ſooner unto the Elect of Chriſt Jeſus: And they 'which ſhall ſo do, ſhall prove the grievous Judgment of 'God; neither ſhall they eſcape without puniſhment that 'be Perſecutors and Murderers of the Juſt. My welbelo-'ved, lift up your Eyes, and conſider the Counſels of 'God. He ſhewed unto us alate an Image of his Plague, 'which was to our correction: and if we ſhall not receive 'him, he will draw out his Sword, and ſtrike with Sword, 'Peſtilence, and Famine, the Nation that ſhall riſe againſt 'Chriſt.

'Theſe have I written to your comfort, dear Brethren. 'Pray for me. F kiſs in my heart, with an holy kiſs, my 'good Maſters, *Sylvius*, *Pergula*, *Juſtus*, alſo *Fidel Rocke*, 'and him that beareth the name of *Lelius*, whom I know, 'altho being abſent. *Item*, The Governor of the Univer-'ſity, *Syndicus*, and all other, whoſe Names be written 'in the Book of Life. Farewel all my fellow Servants of 'God; fare you well in the Lord, and pray for me conti-'nually.

From the delectable Orchard of *Leonine* Priſon, 12 Calend. *Auguſt. Anno* 1555.

It is written of one *Thibrotus*, That when he had read the Book of *Plato*, *De Immortalitate Animæ*, he was ſo moved and perſwaded therewith, that he caſt himſelf headlong down from an high Wall, to be rid out of this preſent life. If thoſe Heathen Philophers, having no Word of God, nor promiſe of any Reſurrection and Life to come, could ſo ſoon be perſwaded, by reading the Works of *Plato*, to condemn this World and Life here preſent; how much more is it to be required in Chriſtians, inſtructed with ſo many Evidences and Promiſes of God's moſt perfect Word, that they ſhould learn to caſt off the carnal deſires and affections of this miſerable peregrination? and that for a double reſpect, not only in ſeeing, reading, and underſtanding ſo many Examples of the miſeries of this wretched World; but alſo much more in conſidering and pondering the heavenly Joys and Conſolations of the other World remaining for us hereafter in the Life to come. For a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this preſent Letter of *Algerius* above-preſixed, for a taſte of the ſame, and a lively Teſtimony for all true Chriſtians to read and conſider. Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our Table of Italian Martyrs.

Perſecut. *Martyrs, and the Cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Joannes Aloyſius, *at* Rome.
Anno 1559.

Of *Joannes Aloyſius*, we find mention made in a Letter of *Simon Florilius*; which *Aloyſius* was ſent down from *Geneva* to the parts of *Calabria*, there to be their Miniſter; who afterward was ſent for up to *Rome*, and there ſuffered. *Ex Epiſt. D. Simonidis Florilii.*

Jacobus Bovellus, *at* Meſſina.
Anno 1559.

Jacobus Bovellus was likewiſe ſent from *Geneva* to the ſaid parts of *Calabria*, with *Aloiſius*; who alſo, being ſent for up to *Rome*, was ſent down to the City *Meſſina*, and there was martyred. *Ibidem.*

Divers that ſuffered in the Kingdom of Naples.
At Naples, *Anno* 1560.

After Pope *Julius* the third, came *Marcellus* the ſecond. After him ſucceeded Pope *Paul* the fourth. This *Paul* being dead, followed Pope *Pius* the fourth; who, being advanced to that

Pope *Pius* the fourth.

room, began hot perſecution in all the Territories of the Church of *Rome*, againſt them which were ſuſpected for *Lutherans*.

Whereupon enſued great trouble and perſecution in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in ſuch cruel ſort, that many Noblemen, with their Wives and others, are reported there to be ſlain. *Vide Pantal. lib. 11.*

Eighty eight Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly Knife, ſlain like Sheep.

A hundred and ſixty other alſo condemned.
At Calabria, *Anno* 1560.

Pope *Pius* the fourth.

In *Calabria* likewiſe the ſame time ſuffered a bleſſed number of Chriſt's welbeloved Saints, both old and young, put together in one houſe, even 88 Perſons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the Houſe, and ſo being laid upon the Butchers Stall, like the Sheep in the Shambles, with one bloody Knife were all killed in order. A Spectacle moſt tragical for all Poſterity to remember, and almoſt incredible to believe. Wherefore for the more credit of the matter, leſt we ſhould ſeem either light of credit, to believe that is not true, or raſhly to commit to Pen things without due proof and authority; we have here annexed a piece of an Epiſtle written by Mr. *Simon Florius*, preacher of God's Word at the City *Clavenna*, among the *Rhetians*, unto a certain Friend of his named *Gulielmus Gratalorus*, an Italian, and Doctor of Phyſick in the Univerſity of *Baſil*. Which *Gratalorus* tranſlated the ſame into the Latin Tongue, and it is to be found in the 11*th* Book of *Pantal. pag.* 337. the Engliſh whereof is this as followeth.

The Chriſtians killed like Calves. 88 Martyrs.

The end of a certain Letter of Mr. *Simon Florelius*, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable ſlaughter of eighty eight Chriſtian Saints in the parts of *Calabria*.

News out of Italy, Anno 1560.

AS *concerning News I have nothing to write, but only that I ſend you a Copy of certain Letters, imprinted either at* Rome *or at* Venice, *concerning the martyrdom or perſecution in two ſeveral Towns of* Calabria, *eight Italian miles from the borders of* Conſentia, *the one called* St. Sixtus, *within two miles of* Montalte, *under the Seigniory of the Duke of* Montalte; *the other called* Guardia, *ſcituate upon the Sea-Coaſt, and twelve miles from* St. Sixtus: *the which two Towns are utterly deſtroyed, and eight hundred of the Inhabitants there, or (as ſome write from the City of* Rome) *no leſs than a full thouſand. He that wrote the Letter, was Servant to* Afcanius Carracciolus. *The Country and People there I well know to take the firſt original of their good Doctrine and honeſt Life from the* Waldenſes. *For before my departure from* Geneva, *at their requeſt, I ſent them two School-maſters, and two Preachers. The laſt year the two Preachers were martyred, the one at* Rome, *named* Joannes Aloiſius Paſcalis, *a Citizen of* Cunium; *the other at* Meſſina, *named* James Bovell, *both of* Piedmont: *This year the reſidue of that godly fellowſhip were martyred in the ſame place. I truſt this good Seed ſown in* Italy, *will bring forth good and plentiful Fruit.*

Jo. Aloyſius Paſcalis. Jam. Bovell, Preachers and Martyrs.

Now followeth the Copy of the Letters ſent from *Montalte*, a Town in *Calabria*, eight miles diſtant from *Conſentia*, bearing date the 11*th* of *June*, 1560. The Writer of which Letters, as ye may perceive, was one of them which call themſelves *Catholicks*, and followers of the Pope. The words of the Letter be theſe, as hereunder followeth.

Here

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Here followeth the Copy of a Letter ſent from *Montalte* in *Calabria*, by a Romaniſt, to a certain Friend of his in *Rome*, containing news of the perſecution of Chriſt's People in *Calabria*, by the new Pope *Pius* the Fourth.

Horrible perſecution in Calabria, An. 1560.

HItherto, *moſt noble Lord, I have certified you, what here daily hath been done about theſe Hereticks. Now cometh next to ſignify unto your Lordſhip the horrible judgment begun this preſent day, being the eleventh of* June, *to be executed very early in the morning againſt the* Lutherans: *Which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death, was to be compared to the ſlaughter of Calves and Sheep. For they being all thruſt up in one houſe together, as in a Sheep-fold, the Executioner cometh in, and amongſt them taketh one and blindfoldeth him with a Muffler about his eyes, and ſo leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being ſo done, he cutteth his Throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his Butchers Knife and Muffler all of goar Blood, (which the Italians call* Benda) *cometh again to the reſt, and ſo leading one after another, he diſpatched them all, which were to the number of eighty eight. This Spectacle to behold how doleful and horrible it was, I leave to your Lordſhips Judgment: for to write of it, I my ſelf cannot chuſe but weep. Neither was there any of the beholders there preſent, which ſeeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes ſo humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almoſt incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do. Notwithſtanding, the moſt part of them died in the ſame their obſtinate Opinions. All the aged Perſons went to death more chearfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and ſhake even to remember how the Executioner held his bloody Knife between his teeth, with the bloody Muffler in his hand, and his arms all in goar blood up to the elbowes, going to the Fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and ſo diſpatching them all, no otherwiſe than doth a Butcher kill his Calves and Sheep.*

It is moreover appointed (and the Carts be come already) that all thoſe ſo put to death ſhould be quartered, and ſo be conveyed in the Carts to the hithermoſt parts of Calabria, *where they ſhall be hanged upon Poles in the high ways and other places, even to the confines of the ſame Country. Unleſs the Pope's Holineſs and the Lord Viceroy of* Naples *ſhall give in commandment to the Lord Marqueſs of* Buccianus, *Governour of the ſaid Province, to ſtay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with the Rack, and Torture, examining all other, and ſo increaſe the number in ſuch ſort, that he will nigh diſpatch them all.*

This day it is alſo determined, that an hundred of the more ancient Women ſhould appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for ſo many Men ſo many Women. And thus have you that I can ſay of this Juſtice. Now is it about two of the clock in the afternoon: ſhortly, we ſhall hear what ſome of them ſaid when they went to execution. There be certain of them ſo obſtinate, that they will not look upon the Crucifix, nor be confeſſed to the Prieſt, and they ſhall be burned alive.

The Hereticks that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 1600, *but as yet no more but theſe aforeſaid* 88, *are already executed. This People have their original of the Valley named* Angrognia, *near to* Subaudia, *and in* Calabria *are called* Ultramontani. *In the Kingdom of* Naples, *there are four other places of the ſame people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but ſimple people, ignorant without learning, Wood-gatherers, and Huſbandmen: but as I hear, much devout and religious, giving themſelves to die for Religion's ſake. From* Montalto *the* 11*th of* June. And thus much writeth this Romaniſt.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the foreſaid Marqueſs *Buccianus* above ſpecified, had a Son or Brother, unto whom the ſaid new Pope (*Pius* the fourth belike) is reported to have promiſed a Cardinallſhip at *Rome*, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that Province. And like enough that the ſame was the cauſe of his butcherly perſecution and effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, in the ſaid Country of *Calabria*, beyond *Naples*, in *Italy*.

Beſides thoſe godly Italian Martyrs in this Table above contained, many other alſo have ſuffered in the ſame Country of *Italy*, of whom ſome before have been ſpecified, ſome peradventure omitted. But many more there be, whoſe names we know not; whereof as ſoon as knowledg may be given unto us, we purpoſe God willing to impart the ſame, loving Reader, unto thee.

Now in the mean time it followeth (according to my promiſe made before) next after this lamentable ſlaughter of *Calabria*, here to inſert alſo the tragical Perſecution, and horrible Murder of the faithful Flock of Chriſt, inhabiting in *Mirindol* in *France*, and in the Towns adjacent near unto the ſame, in the time of *Franciſcus* I. the French King. The furious cruelty of which miſerable Perſecution, altho it cannot be fet forth too much at large, yet becauſe we will not weary too much the Reader with the full length thereof, we have ſo contracted the ſame, eſpecially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in ſuch ſort, that as we on the one part have avoided prolixity, ſo on the other, we have omitted nothing which might ſeem unworthy to be forgot. The ſtory here followeth.

A notable Hiſtory of the Perſecution and Deſtruction of the People of Merindol *and* Cabriers *in the Country of* Provence: *where not a few Perſons, but whole Villages and Townſhips, with the moſt part of all the foreſaid Country, both Men, Women, and Children, were put to all kind of Cruelty, and ſuffered Martyrdom for the Profeſſion of the Goſpel.*

The lamentable ſtory of Merindol.

THey that write of the beginning of this People, ſay, That about two hundred years ago, they came out of the Country of *Piedmont* to inhabit in *Provence*, in certain Villages deſtroyed by Wars, and other deſert places: wherein they uſed ſuch labour and diligence, that they had abundance of Corn, Wine, Oils, Hony, Almonds, with other Fruits and Commodities of the Earth, and much Cattel. Before they came thither, *Merindol* was a barren Desert, and not inhabited. But theſe good People (in whom God always had reſerved ſome little Seed of Piety) being diſperſed and ſeparated from the ſociety of Men, were compelled to dwell with Beaſts, in that waſte and wild Defert, which notwithſtanding, through the Bleſſing of God, and their great labour and travel, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithſtanding, the World in the mean time ſo deteſted and abhorred them, and with all ſhameful rebukes and contumelies, railed againſt them in ſuch deſpiteful manner, that it ſeemed they were not worthy that the Earth ſhould bear them. For they of a long continuance and cuſtom had refuſed the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Authority, and obſerved ever a more perfect kind of Doctrine than others, delivered unto them from the Father to the Son, ever ſince the year of our Lord 1200.

For the original of this people, ſee before.

For this cauſe they were often accuſed and complained of to the King, as contemners and deſpiſers of the Magiſtrates, and Rebels. Wherefore they were called by divers names, according to the Countries and Places where they dwelt. For in the Country about *Lions*, they were called *the poor People of Lions*; in the borders of *Sarmatia*, and *Livonia*, and other Countries toward the North, they were called *Lollards*; in *Flanders* and *Artois*, *Turelupins*, of a Defert where Wolves did haunt. In *Dolphine*, with great deſpight, they were called *Chagnards*, becauſe they lived in places open to the Sun, and without houſe or harbour. But moſt commonly they were called *Waldoys*, of *Waldo*, who firſt inſtructed them in the Word of God, which name continued until the name of *Lutherans* came up, which above all other was moſt hated and abhorred.

Paupers de Lugduno. Waldenſes. Turrelupins. Carmaulx. Of Waldo read before.

Notwithſtanding in all theſe moſt ſpiteful contumelies and ſlanders, the People dwelling at the foot of the *Alps*, and alſo in *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, and the quarters thereabout always lived ſo godly, ſo uprightly, and juſtly, that in all their Life and Converſation, there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledg which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and encreaſe daily more and more, ſparing no charges, whether it were to procure Books of the holy Scriptures, or to inſtruct ſuch as were of the beſt and moſt towardly wit in

learning and godlinesse or else to send them into other Countries, yea even to the farthest parts of the Earth, where they had heard that any light of the Gospel began to thine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the Gospel was preached in certain Towns of *Germany* and *Switzerland*, they sent thither two learned Men, that is, *Georgius Maurelius* born in *Dolphine*, a godly Preacher of their own, and whom they had of their own charges brought up in learning, and *Pet. Latomus* a *Burgundian*, to confer with the wise and learned Ministers of the Churches there, in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those Churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain Points which they were not resolved in. These two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the Church of God, namely with *Oecolampadius* at *Basil*; at *Strasburg*, with *Bucer* and *Capito*; and at *Bern*, with *Bartholdus Hallerus*, as they were returning thorow *Burgundy* homeward, *Petrus Latomus* was taken at *Dyon*, and cast into Prison; *Maurellus* escaped, and returned alone to *Merindol*, with the Books and Letters which he brought with him from the Churches of *Germany*; and declared to his Brethren all the Points of his Commission, and opened unto them, how many and great Errors they were in, into the which their old Ministers, whom they called * *Barbes* (that is to say, Uncles) had brought them, leading them from the right way of true Religion.

When the People heard this they were moved with such a zeal to have their Churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient Brethren, and the chiefest in knowledg and experience of all *Calabria* and *Apulia*, to consult with them touching the Reformation of the Church. This matter was so handled, that it stirred up the Bishops, Priests, and Monks in all *Province*, with great rage against them. Amongst other, there was one cruel Wretch called *Jo. de Roma* a Monk, who obtaining a Commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the *Waldoys* or *Lutheran* Profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the Faithful with all kind of Cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in and most commonly practised; he filled Boots with boiling Grease, and put them upon their Legs, tying them backward to a Form, with their Legs hanging down over a small fire, and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

The first whom he thus tormented, were *Michelotus Serra*. W. *Melius*, and a number more.

Wherefore *Francis* the French King, being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this Hellish Monk, sent Letters to the High Court of Parliament of *Province*, that forthwith he should be apprehended, and by form of Process, and order of Law, he should be condemned, and advertisement sent unto him with all speed of his Condemnation. The Monk being advertised hereof by his Friends, conveyed himself to *Avinion*, where he thought to enjoy the Spoilings, which he, like a notorious Thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Christians. But shortly after, he which had so shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of all together by his own houshold Servants. Whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible Disease, strange and unknown to any Physician. So extream were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his Body, that no Ointment, no Fomentation, nor any thing else could ease him one minute of an hour. Neither was there any Man that could tarry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own Friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For the which cause he was carried from the *Jacobines* to an Hospital, there to be kept. But the stench and infection so increased, that no Man there durst come near him: no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stench that issued from his Body, full of Ulcers and Sores, and swarming with Vermine, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by peacemeal.

Whiles he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage; Oh who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of these intollerable pains, which I know I suffer for the Evils & Oppressions that I have done to the poor Men? And he himself went about divers times to destroy himself, but he had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearful despair, this Blasphemer and most cruel Homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all Persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no Man that would come near him to bury him: but a young Novice newly come to his Order, instead of a more honourable Sepulture, caught hold with a Hook upon his stinking Carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by which was made for him.

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A spectacle to all Persecutors.

After the death of this cruel Monster, the Bishop of *Aix*, by his Official *Perionet*, continued the Persecution, and put a great multitude of them in Prison: of whom some by force of torments revolted from the Truth; the others which continued constant, after he had condemned them of Heresy, were put into the hands of the ordinary Judg, which at that time was one *Meiranus*, a notable cruel Persecutor, who without any form of Process, or order of Law, such as the Official had pronounced to be Hereticks, he put to death with most cruel torments; but shortly after he received a just reward of his cruelty in like manner.

The Bishop of Aix, Perionet his Official, Meiranus, cruel Persecutors.

After the death of the good President *Cassineus*, the Lord of *Revest*, being chief President of the Parliament of *Aix*, put many of the Faithful to death. Who afterward, being put out of his Office, returned to his House of *Revest*, where he was stricken with such an horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, his Wife, or any that were about him, durst not come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing.

Another example of God's terrible Judgment upon a Persecutor.

After him succeeded *Barthol. Cassaneus*, likewise a pestilent Persecutor, whom God at length struck with a fearful and sudden Death. In the time of this Tyrant, those of *Merindol*, in the person of ten, were cited personally to appear before the King's Attorney. But they, hearing that the Court had determined to burn them without any further Proceis or order of Law, durst not appear at the day appointed. For which cause the Court awarded a cruel Sentence against *Merindol*, and condemned all the Inhabitants to be burned, both Men and Women, sparing none, no not the little Children and Infants; the Town to be rased, and their Houses beaten to the ground; also the Trees to be cut down, as well Olive-trees as all other, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a Desert or Wilderness.

Another example of God's judgment upon Cassaneus a bloody persecutor. A bloody Decree against the Merindolians.

This bloody Arrest or Decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all *Province* there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the Advocates and Men of learning and understanding: insomuch that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that Court of Parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an Arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn Oath which all such as are received to Office in Courts of Parliament, are accustomed to make, that is to say, to judg justly and uprightly, according to the Law of God, and the just Ordinances and Laws of the Realm, so that God thereby might be honoured, and every Man's right regarded, without respect of Persons.

Some of the Advocates or Lawyers, defending the said Arrest to be just and right, said, That in cafe of *Lutheranism*, the Judges are not bound to observe either Right or Reason, Law or Ordinance; and that the Judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be *Lutherans*.

Even so the Pharisees proceeded against Christ the Son of God.

To this the other Lawyers and learned Men answered, That upon their sayings it would ensue, that the Judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form in proceeding against the Christians accused to be *Lutherans*, which the Gospel witnesseth that the Priests, Scribes, and Pharisees followed in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning our Lord Jesus Christ.

By these and such other-like talks, the said Arrest was published throughout the Country, and there was no Assembly or Banquet where it was not disputed or talked of: and namely, within twelve days after the Arrest was given out, there was a great Banquet in the Town of *Aix*; at which Banquet was present *M. Bartholomew Chassanee*, President,

The Bishops Banquet.

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President, and many other Counsellors and other noble Personages and Men of Authority. There was also the Archbishop of *Arles*, and the Bishop of *Aix*, with divers Ladies and Gentlewomen, amongst whom was one which was commonly reported to be the Bishop of *Aix* his Concubine. They were scarce well sate at the Table, but the begain thus to talk; My L. President, will you not execute the Arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of *Merindol*? The President answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain Gentleman asked of her What Arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time studied to commit the same to memory. Whereunto they which were at the Banquet gave diligent eare, without any word speaking, until she had ended her Tale.

There is no Cruelty to Cruelty of an Harlot.

Then the Lord *Alenc*, a Man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her; Gentlewoman, you have learned this Tale either of some who would have it so, or else it is given out by some Parliament of Women. Then the Lord of *Senas*, an ancient Counsellor, said unto him; No, no, my Lord of *Alane*. it is no Tale which you have heard this Gentlewoman tell; for it is an Arrest given out by a whole Senate; and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the Court of *Province* a Parliament of Women. Then the Lord of *Alane* began to excuse himself with Protestation, that he would not speak any thing to blemish the Authority of that Soveraign Court; notwithstanding he could not believe all that which the said Gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the Inhabitants of *Merindol* were condemned to die by the Arrest of the said Court of Parliament of *Province*, and especially the Women, and little Children, and Infants; and the Town to be rated for the fault of ten or twelve Persons which did not appear before the said Court at the day appointed. And the Lord of *Beavieu* also answered, that he believed not the said Court to have given out any such Arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the greatest Tyrants in the World would judg to be a thing most detestable; and said further, that he had known a long time many of *Merindol* which seemed unto him to be Men of great honesty: and my Lord President (said he) can certine us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto Womens Tales. Then the Gentlewoman which had rehearsed the Arrest, stayed not to hear the President's Answer, but suddenly looking upon the Bishop of *Aix*, said, I should greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this Company which would defend these wicked Men. And lifting up her Eyes to Heaven, in a great womanly chafe and fume, said, Would to God that all the Lutherans which are in *Province*, yea, and in all *France*, had Horns growing on their Foreheads, then we should see a goodly many of Horns. To whom the Lord *Beavieu* friddenly answered, saying, Would to God all Priests & Friers should chatter like Pies. Then said the Gentlewoman, Ah, my Lord *Beavieu*, you ought not so to speak against our holy Mother the Church, for that there was never Dog that barked against the Crucifix, but he waxed mad. Whereat the Bishop of *Aix* laughed, and clapping the Gentlewoman on the shoulder, said, By my holy Orders, my Minion, well said, I con you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my L. *Beavieu*, remember well the Lesson which the hath given you. Here the L. *Beavieu* being wholly moved with anger, said, I care neither for her School nor yours, for it would be long before a Man should learn of either of you both any Honesty or Honour. For if I should say, that the most part of the Bishops and Priests are abominable Adulterers, blind Idolaters, Deceivers, Thieves, Seducers, I should not speak against the holy Church, but against an heap and flock of Wolves, Dogs, and filthy Swine: In speaking these things I should think a Man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for speaking of the truth.

The Lord of Alenc a good man.

The Lord of Beavieu.

A Catholick wish of a Priests Harlot.

Then the Archbishop in a great fury answered, My L. *Beavieu*, you speak very evil, and you must give account, when time and place serveth, of this your talk which you have here uttered against the Churchmen. I would, said the L. *Beavieu*, that it were to do even this present day, and I would bind my self to prove more Abuses and Naughtiness in Priests than I have yet spoken. Then said the President *Chassanee*, My L. *Beavieu*, let us leave off this talk, and live as our Fathers have done, and maintain their Honour. Then said he in great anger, I am no Priest's Son to maintain their Wickedness and Abuse. And afterward he said, I am well content to honour all true Pastors of the Church, and will not blame them which shew good Example in their Doctrine and living: but I demand of you, my Lord, of *Arles*, and you my L. of *Aix*, when as our Lord Christ Jesus called the Priests, deceiving Hypocrites, blind Seducers, Robbers and Thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong? and they answered, no; for the most part of them were such Men. Then said the Lord *Beavieu*, even so it is with the Bishops and Priests which I have spoken of, for they are such kind of Men, or rather worse: and I so abhor their filthy and abominable life, that I dare not speak the one half of that which I know, and therefore in speaking the truth, to cool the babbling of an Harlot, I do them no Injury.

The Popes Church-work to call true Christians.

Then Mounsieur *de Senas*, an ancient Councellor, said, Let us leave off this contentious talk, for we are here assembled and come together to make good Cheer. And afterward he said, *Mounsieur de Beavieu*, for the Love and Amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertise you of three things, which, if you will do, you shall find great ease therein.

Churchmen, if they never do ill, must not be Reformers against 1 Pet. 4.

The first is, That you neither by Word nor Deed aid or assist those which you hear to be Lutherans.

Secondly, That you do not intermeddle openly to reprove Ladies and Gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasure.

Thirdly, That you do never speak against the life and living of Priests, how wicked soever it be, according to this saying, *Do not touch mine Anointed*.

How Priests & Harlots should be handled.

To whom *Mounsieur de Beavieu* answered, As touching the first Point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this Word Lutheranism, except you do call them Lutherans, which profess the Doctrine of the Gospel. Neither yet will I ever allow any Arrest which shall be given out to death against Men, whose cause hath not been heard, especially against Women and young Infants: and I am assured, that there is no Court of Parliament in all *France*, which will approve or allow any such Arrest. And whereas you say, that I should not meddle to reprove Ladies and Gentlewomen, if I knew any Kinswoman of mine, which would abandon her self unto a Priest or Clark, yea, albeit he were a Cardinal or Bishop, I would not do her so much honour as to rebuke her therefore, but at the least I would cut off her Nose. And as touching Priests, as I am contented not to meddle with their Business, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come frome henceforth within mine house. For as many as I shall find or take there, I will set their Crowns so near their their Shoulders, that they shall need no more to wear any Hoods about their Necks: the like also said the President *Cassanee*.

Well stocked and like an Harlot.

Then the Bishop of *Aix* his Sweet-heart, which had begun the Quarrel, said, I shall not be in quiet, except I speak yet one word more unto *Mounsieur de Beavieu*: Do you think, said the unto him, that all the Cardinals, Bishops, Abbats, Priests, and all those holy religious Men, which go oftentimes to Gentlemen's houses, and haunt the Castles and Palaces of Princes and Noble Men, go thither to commit Wickedness? Also you must not think evil of all those Ladies and Gentlewomen that go to Bishops houses of Devotion, and to several those whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the Pulpit upon paine of Excommunication: if so be you will maintain these words, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of Treason both to God and Man: for here be those in this Company, which shall make you give an account thereof. She had not so soon ended her talk, but *Mounsieur Beavieu* said unto her, Avaunt, O *Herodias*, thou filthy and impudent Harlot! is it thy part to open thy Mouth to talk in this Company? Doth thou well understand and know what Treason to God and Man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou must follicite other to fled innocent Blood? With these Words the Gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All Men had thought that this talk had been at an end, and every Man began to invent some merry Communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

So Herodias wrought the death of John Baptist, to this Strumpet stoles the death of the Merindolians. Two Strumpets well coupled and together.

At the last, the Gentlewoman advising her self, and thinking that she was too much injured, in that it was said,

* Three were their Ministers for lack of better, until they came to more knowledg: which instructed them most commonly by night abroad in Caves and Quarries, for fear of Persecution.

Of these Calabrians. Vide infra.

Joannes de Roma, a wretched Persecutor.

The cruelty of a Papist.

Michelotus Serra. W. Melius, Martyrs.

The just judgment of God against a cruel Persecutor.

that the went about to shed innocent Blood, she brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, *Monsieur Beavies*, if I were a Man as I am a Woman, I would offer you the Combate, to prove that I am no such manner of Woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent Blood. Do you call the Blood of these wicked Men of *Merindol*, innocent Blood? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packs of *Merindol*, and such like as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the greatest even unto the least. And to see the beginning of this work, I have imployed all my credit, and all my Friends, and do spare neither Body nor Goods to work the Ruin and Destruction of these People, and to rase out and to deface their memory from amongst Men. Do you then, Mounsieur *B.avin*, call the slaughter of these Lutherans, the effusion of innocent Blood? And say you what you will, I will not refrain for any man living, to go either by day or by night unto the Houses of Bishops, in all (*a*) honestly and honour, for the Devotion which I bear unto our holy (*b*) Mother the Church, and also I will receive into my house all religious Men, to consult and devise the means how to put these Lutherans to death. But as Mounsieur *Beavies* took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the Table dispraised her, and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certain young Gentleman, which merrily jesting, said unto her, Gentlewoman, it must needs be that these poor People, unto whom you do wish this cruel death, have done you some great displeasure. Then said the, I may well take an Oath, that I never knew one of these wretched People, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them. And had rather to meet ten Devils than one of these naughty Knaves: for their Opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they that never heard tell of them. And I was not then well advised at what time by Curiosity, I seeing the Bishop of *Aix* so much troubled and angry, that he could not eat nor drink, did desire him and constrain him to tell me the cause thereof. Then he perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the Cause, that is to say, that there were certain Hereticks, which spake against our holy Mother the Church, and among other errors, they maintained even to death, that all Bishops, Priests and Pastors ought to be married, or else they should be gelded: and hearing this I was marvellously offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was enjoyned unto me by Penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these Hereticks to death. After these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatnings, which were too long here to describe.

Then the President *Gaffaro*, and the Counsellors parted aside, and the Gentlemen went on the other part. The Archbishop of *Arles*, the Bishop of *Aix*, and divers Abbats, Priors, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this Arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new Persecution, greater than that of *John* the Jacobin Monk of *Rome*; for otherwise (said they) our State and Honour is like to decay: We shall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all Men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us, but these Peasants and such like, it were but a small matter; but many Doctors of Divinity, and Men of the religious Order, divers Senators and Advocates, many wise and well learned Men, also a great part of the Nobility (if we may so say) and that of great Renown, yea, even of the chiefest Peers in all *Europe*, begin to contemn and despise us, counting us to be no true Pastors of the Church; so that except we see to this Mischief, and provide for Remedy betime, it is greatly to be feared, left not only we shall be compelled to forsake our Dignities, Possessions, and Livings, which we now wealthily enjoy, but also the Church being spoiled of her Pastors and Guides, shall hereafter come to miserable Ruin, and utter Desolation. This matter therefore now requireth great Diligence and Circumspection, and that with all celerity.

Then the Archbishop of *Arles*, not forgetting his Spanish Subtilities and Policies, gave his Advice as followeth. Against the Nobility (said he) we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortress and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new Gospellers, yet may we not reprove them, or exasperate them in any case: but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win them, and to make them our Friends again by gifts and Presents: and by this Policy we shall live in safety under their Protection. But if we enterprise any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught.

It is well said (said the Bishop of *Aix*) but I can shew you a good Remedy for this Disease: we must go about with all our endeavour and power, and policy, and all the Friends we can make, sparing no Charges, but spending Goods, Wealth and Treasure, to make such a slaughter of the *Merindolians* and ruftical Peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, altho they be of the Blood Royal, once to open their Mouths against us, or the Ecclesiastical State. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw our selves to *Avinion*, in the which City we shall find many Bishops, Abbots, and other famous Men, which will with us imploy their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the Majesty of our holy Mother the Church. This Counsel was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said Archbishop of *Arles* and the Bishop of *Aix* went with all speed to *Avinion*, there to assemble out of hand the Bishops, and other Men of Authority and Credit, to intreat of this matter. In this pestilent Conspiracy, the Bishop of *Aix*, a stout Champion, and a great Defender of the Traditions of Men, taking upon him to be the chief Orator, began in a manner as followeth:

'O Ye Fathers and Brethren, ye are not ignorant, that a great Tempest is raised up against the little Bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger, and ready to perish. The Storm cometh from the North, whereof all these troubles proceed. The Seas rage, the Waters rush in on every side, the Winds blow and beat upon our House, and we without speedy Remedy are like to sustain Shipwrack and loss of all together. For Oblations, Cenate, Pilgrimage and Devotion waxeth cold, Charity is clean gone, our Estimation and Authority is debased, our Jurisdiction decayed, and the Ordinances of the Church despised. And wherefore are we set and ordained over Nations and Kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow whatsoever is against our holy Mother the Church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us stand stoutly in the right of our own Possession, that we may root out from the memory of men for ever, the whole Rout of the wicked Lutherans: Those Foxes (I say) which destroy the Vineyard of the Lord: these great Whales which go about to drown the little Bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible Arrest against these cursed Hereticks of *Merindol*; now then resteth no more, but only the same to be put in Execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that which we have so happily begun; and let us take good heed that our Gold and Silver do not witness against us at the day of Judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a Sacrifice unto God. And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of mine own Costs and Charges, an hundred Men well horsed, with all other Furniture to them belonging, and that so long, until the utter Destruction and Subversion of these wretched and cursed Caitifs be fully performed and finished.

This Oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one Doctor of Divinity, a Frier Jacobin, named *Bastinet*, who then answered again with this Oration.

'THis is a weighty matter (said he) and of great importance; we must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable People wrongfully, when the King and the Nobility shall hear of such an horrible slaughter, we shall be in great danger, left they do to us as we read in the Scriptures was done to the Priests of *Baal*. For my part I must

must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly signed many Processes against those which have been accused of heretical Doctrine: but now I do protest before God which seeth and knoweth the Hearts of Men, that, seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine Assignments, I have had no quietness in my Conscience, considering that the secular Judges, at the Report of the Judgment and Sentence given by me and other Doctors my Companions, have condemned all those unto most cruel death, whom we have adjudged to be Hereticks. And the cause why in Conscience I am thus disquieted, is this, that now of late, since I have given my self more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the holy Scriptures, I have perceived that the most part of those Articles, which they that are called Lutherans do maintain are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer gainsay them, except I should even wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy Ordinances of God. Albeit hitherto to maintain the honour of our holy Mother the Church, and of our holy Father the Pope, and of our Orders, I have consented to the Opinions and doings of other Doctors, as well through ignorance, as also because I would not seem to attempt any thing against the Will and Pleasure of the Prelates and Vicars general. Yet now it seemeth unto me, that we ought not any more to proceed in this matter as we have done in time past. It shall be sufficient to punish them with Fines, or to banish them, which shall speak too intemperately and rashly against the Constitutions of the Church, and of the Pope. And such as shall be plainly convicted by the holy Scripture to be blasphemous or obstinate Hereticks, to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their Crimes or Errors, or else to perpetual Prison. And this my Advice and Counsel I desire you to take in good part.

With this Counsel of *Bastinet* all the Company was offended, but especially the Bishop of *Aix*, who, lifting up his voice above all the rest, said thus unto him: O thou Man of little Faith! whereof art thou in doubt? Doth thou repent thee of that thou hast well done? Thou hast told here a Tale that smelleth of Fagots and Brimstone. Is there any difference (think'st thou) between Heretics and Blasphemies spoken and maintained against the holy Scriptures, and Opinions holden against our holy Mother the Church, and contrary to our holy Father the Pope, a most undoubted and true God on Earth? *Art thou a Master in* Israel, *and knowest thou not these things?* Then said the Bishop of *Arles*, Could any Man intreat better of the little Bark of Christ Jesus, than my Lord of *Aix* hath done? Then stood up *Bastinet* again, and made this Oration.

'IT is true that my Lord the Bishop of *Aix* hath very well set out the manners and state of the Clergy, and hath aptly reproved the Vices and Heresies of this present time; and therefore so soon as mention was made of the Ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all of the high Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Priests, the Doctors of the Law, the Scribes and Pharisees, which sometimes had the governance of this Ship, being ordained Pastors in the Church of God: But when they forsook the Law of God, and served him with Men's Inventions and Traditions, he destroyed those Hypocrites in his great Indignation; and having compassion and pity upon the People which were like Sheep without a Shepherd, he sent diligent Fishers to fish for Men, faithful Workmen into his Harvest, and Labourers into his Vineyard, which shall all bring forth true Fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the Reverend Lord Bishop of *Aix*, I called to mind the saying of the Apostle in his first Epistle and fourth Chapter unto *Timothy*, *That in the latter days some shall fall away from the Faith, following after deceitful Spirits, and the Doctrine of Devils.* And the Apostle giveth a Mark whereby a Man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ, in the seventh Chapter of *Matthew*, saith, *That the false Prophets shall come cloathed in Sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves, and by their Fruits they shall be known.* By these two, and divers such other places, it is easie to understand, who are they that go about to drown this little Bark of Christ. Are they not those which fill the same with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking Water? Are they not those which have forsaken Jesus Christ, the Fountain of living Water, and have digged unto themselves Pits or Cisterns which will hold no Water? Truly even those they are which vaunt themselves to be the Salt of Earth, and yet have no savour at all; which call themselves Pastors, and yet are nothing less than true Pastors, for they minister not unto the Sheep the true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the true Bread of the Word of Life. And (if I may be bold to speak it) would it not be at this present as great a Wonder to hear a Bishop preach, as to see an Ass fly? Are not they accursed of God which glory and avaunt themselves to have the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, to come in? They may be known right well by their Fruits; for they have forsaken Faith, Judgment, and Mercy, and there is no honest, clean, or undefiled thing in them, but their Habit, their Rochet, and their Surplice, and such other. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all Abomination, Rapine, Gluttony, filthy Lust, and all manner of Uncleanness; they are like painted Sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within they are full of Filth and Corruption. A Man shall know, I say, these ravening Wolves by their Fruits, which devour the quick and the dead under the pretence of long Prayer; and forsomuch as I am enforced to give place to the Truth, and that you call me a Master in *Israel*, I will not be afraid to prove by the holy Scriptures, that your great Pilot and Patron the Pope, and the Bishops the Mariners, and such others which impudently forsake the Ship of Christ Jesus, to imbark themselves in Pinnaces and Brigandines, are Pyrates and Robbers of the Sea, false Prophets, Deceivers, and not true Pastors of the Church of Jesus Christ.

Math. 23. Take heed of those that come to you in Sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves. Math. 7. The Popes Pilots in Christs Ship are become Pyrats.

When Dr. *Bastinet* had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and spitefully railed at him. But the Bishop of *Aix*, above other, raging and crying out as he had been mad; Get thee out, said he, from amongst us, thou wicked Apostata, thou art not worthy to be in this Company. We have burned daily a great many which have not so well deserved it, as thou hast: We may now perceive, that there is none more stedfast and fervent in the Faith than the Doctors of the Canon Law. And therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next General Council, that none should have to do in matters of Religion but they alone: For these Knaves and beggarly Monks and Friers will bring all to naught. Then the other Doctors of the same Order boldly reproved the Bishop of *Aix* for the Injury he had done unto them. After this there arose a great Dissention amongst them, insomuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After Dinner all these reverend Prelates assembled together again, but they suffered neither Frier nor Monk to be amongst them, except he were an Abbat. In this Assembly they made a general Composition confirmed with an Oath, That every Man should endeavour himself that the said Arrest of *Merindol* should be executed with all expedition, every Man offering to furnish out Men of War, according to his ability. The Charge whereof was given to the Bishop of *Aix*, and to the President of the Carcons, to solicite the matter, and to perswade by all means possible the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court of Parliament without fear or doubt, to execute the said Arrest with Drums, Ensigns displayed, Artillery, and all kind of Furniture of War.

This Conspiracy being concluded and determined, the Bishop of *Aix* departed incontinent from *Avinion*, to go unto *Aix*, to perform the Charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding they desired him to be the next day after the Council was holden, at a Banquet which should be made at the house of the Bishop of *Rieux*. To this Banquet such as were known to be the fairest and most beautiful Women in all *Avinion*, were called, to refresh and solace these good Prelates, after the great pains and travel which they had taken for our holy Mother the Church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at Dice, and such other Pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the Banquets and Feasts of these holy Prelates. Afterthis they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till Supper. As

K. Hen. 8

K. Hen. 8 The godly Repentance of Bastinet.

A butcherly Religion which worketh all by Blood.

The Testimony of Bastinet for Lutherans.

Cathedræ pestilentia.

An Oration of Cæsline, i. e. it is the Oration of the Bishop of Aix, seditious and bloody. Your Oblations be against the Scripture. Your Pilgrimage is Idolatry. Your Charity is gone indeed, when ye seek to the Blood of your Brethren. Your estimation is Pharisaical, your Jurisdiction is tyrannical, your Ordinances serve not to Christs Glory, but your own.

The day shall come when men shall think they do a good Service to God, in putting you to death. John 16.

The Oration of Bastinet, unlearning to the Bishop of Aix.

False Pastors in Christs Church described.

A commendation for Doctors of Canon Law.

The Bishop of Aix, his cunning of this Persecution.

Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his Minion upon his Arm, they saw a Man which sold bawdy Images and Pictures, with filthy Rhymes and Ballads annexed to the same, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly Pictures were brought up by the Bishops; which were as many as a Mule could well carry. And if there were any obscure Sentence, or hard to understand in those Rhymes or Ballads, the same these learned Prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a Bookseller which had set out to sale certain Bibles in *French* and *Latine*, with divers other Books; which when the Prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, Darell thou be so hardy to set out such Merchandise to sell here in this Town? Dost thou not know that such Books are forbidden? The Bookseller answered, Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly Pictures, which you have bought for these Gentlewomen? He had scarce spoken these words, but the Bishop of *Aix* said, I renounce my part of Paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken, said he, and examined what he is; and incontinently the Bookseller was taken and carried unto Prison, and spitefully handled: for a Company of Knaves and Ruffians, which waited upon the Prelates, began to cry out, A Lutheran, a Lutheran, to the fire with him, to the fire with him, and one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor Man was all imbrued with Blood before he came to Prison.

Bawdy Pictures received, Gods Book rejected.

The morrow after he was brought before the Judges in the presence of the Bishops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in *French*? The Prisoner answered, that he had so done. And being demanded, Whether he understood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other Language than in Latin? He answered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the *French* Tongue, with the Emperor's Priviledge, and many other printed at Lyons; also New Testaments imprinted by the King's Priviledge. Furthermore he said, that he knew no Nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the holy Scriptures in their vulgar Tongue: and afterward with a bold courage thus he spake unto them: O you Inhabitants of *Avinion*! are you alone in all Christendom those Men which do despise and abhor the Testament of the Heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power unto his Apostles to speak all manner of Tongues, to this end that his holy Gospel should be taught unto all Creatures in every Language? And why do you not forbid those Books and Pictures, which are full of Filthiness and Abomination to move and stir up the People to Whoredom, and to Uncleanness, and to provoke God's Vengeance and great Indignation upon you all? What greater Blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy Books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again into the way such as are gone astray? What Cruelty is this, to take away from the poor silly Souls their nourishment and sustenance? But my Lords, you shall give an heavy account, which call sweet sower, and sower sweet, which maintain abominable and detestable Books and Pictures, and reject that which is holy.

Christian constancy in a good Bookseller.

Then the Bishop of *Aix* and the other Bishops began to rage, and gnash their teeth against this poor Prisoner. What need you, said they, any more examination? Let him be sent straight unto the fire without any more words. But the Judge *Laborius* and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death, but went about to have him put to his Fine, and to make him confess and acknowledg the Bishop of *Aix*, and others his Companions, to be the true Pastors of the Church. But the Bookseller answered, that he could not do it with a good Conscience, forasmuch as he did see before his Eyes, that these Bishops maintained filthy Books and abominable Pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy Books of God, and therefore he judged them rather to be the Priests of *Bacchus* and *Venus*, than the true Pastors of the Church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the Sentence was executed the very same day. And for a sign or token of the cause of his Condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor Man had also the Word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until that he came to the place of Execution, to exhort and admonish the people to read the holy Scriptures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the Truth. The Prelates seeing a great dissention among the people of *Avinion*, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good Man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in a fear, they proceeded the next day to make a Proclamation by the sound of a Trumpet throughout the whole Town and County of *Venice*. That all such as had any Books in the *French* Tongue, intreating upon the holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the Committioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise they which had any such Books found about them, should be put to death.

K. Hen. 8

A godly Bookseller with two Bibles about his neck, burnt in Avinion.

Proclamation against French Bibles.

Then after that these Prelates had taken advice to raise great Perfecution in *Venice*, the Bishop of *Aix* returned to prosecute the Execution of the Arrest against *Merindol*, travelling earnestly with the President *Cassanens* to that effect; declaring unto him the Good-will of the Prelates of *Avinion* and *Provence*, and the great affection they have both to him and his, with many fair promises if he would put the Arrest in Execution. The President answered him, that it was no small matter to put the Arrest of *Merindol* in execution: Also that the said Arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, which were a great number in *Provence*, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said Arrest. Moreover he said, That the Arrest of *Merindol* was not definitive, and that the Laws and Statutes of the Realm did not permit the Execution thereof without further Proceis. Then said the Bishop, if there be either Law or Statute which do hinder or let you, we carry in our sleeves to dispence therewithal. The President answered, It were a great sin to shed the innocent Blood. Then said the Bishop, The Blood of them of *Merindol* be upon us, and upon our Successors. Then said the President, I am very well assured, that if the Arrest of *Merindol* be put in Execution, the King will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his Subjects. Then said the Bishop, Altho the King at the first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done; for we have the Cardinals on our side, and especially the most Reverend Cardinal of *Tournon*, which will take upon him the defence of our Cause, and we can do him no greater pleasure, than utterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we have any need of his Counsel or Aid, we shall be well assured of him: And is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent Adversary of these Lutherans, which is in all Christendom?

The Bishop of Aix stirreth up Cassanens the President to Persecution.

The answer of Cassanens to the Bishop for Merindol.

The President Cassanens chosen Advocate for the Rats.

Sanguis eius super nos, & super filios nostros Mat. 27.

By this and such other like talk the Bishop of *Aix* persuaded the President and Councellors of the Court of Parliament, to put the said Arrest in Execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said Court, the Drum was sounded throughout all *Provence*, the Captains were prepared with their Ensigns displayed, and a great number of Foot-men and Horse-men began to set forward, and marched out of the Town of *Aix* in order of Battel, well horsed and furnished against *Merindol*, to execute the Arrest. The Inhabitants of *Merindol* being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves and their Cause unto God by Prayer, making themselves ready to be murthered and slain, as Sheep led unto the Butchery.

The Pope's Army set forward toward Merindol.

The Cardinal of Tournon the Organ of Antichrist.

Whilst they were in this grievous distress, pitiously mourning and lamenting together, the Father with the Son, the Daughter with the Mother, the Wife with the Husband, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the Army was retired. and no Man knew at that time how, or by what means; yet notwithstanding, afterward it was known, that the Lord of *Allene*, a wise Man, and learned in the Scriptures, and in the Civil Law, being moved with great zeal and love of Justice, declared unto the President *Cassanes*, that he ought not so to proceed against the Inhabitants of *Merindol* by way of force of Arms, contrary to all form and order of Justice, without Judgment or Condemnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the innocent. And furthermore he said, I desire you, my Lord President, call to remembrance the Counsel which you have written in your Book entituled *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*; in the which Book you have intreated and brought forth the Proceffes which were holden against the Rats by the Officers of the Court and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Authun*. For as it happened, there was almost throughout all the Baillwick of *Lauffois* great number of Rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the Corn of the Country. Whereupon they took counsel to send unto the Bishop of *Authun*'s Official, to have the Rats excommunicate. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the said Official, after he had heard the Plaintiff of the Procurator fiscal, that before he would proceed to Excommunication, they should have admonition and warning according to the order of Justice. For this cause it was ordained, that by the sound of a Trumpet, and open Proclamation made throughout all the Streets of the Town of *Authun*, the Rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them.

The Lords Providence for the Merindolians.

The three days were passed, and the Procurator came into the Court against the Rats, and for lack of Appearance obtained default, by Virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the Excommunication. Whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said Rats, being absent, should have their Advocate appointed them to bear their defence, forsomuch as the Question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the said Rats. And you my Lord President, being at that time the Kings Advocate at *Authun*, were then chosen to be the Advocate to defend the Rats. And having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the Citation was of no effect, for certain Causes and Reasons by you there alledged. Then it was decreed, that the said Rats should be once again cited throughout the Parishes where they were. Then after the Citations were duly served, the Procurator came again into the Court as before; and there it was alledged by you my Lord President, how that the term of Appearance given unto the Rats was too short, and that there were so many Cats in every Town and Village as they should pass through, that they had just cause to be absent.

The perfuasion of the L. of Allene to Cassanes, to return his Army from Merindol.

Wherefore my L. President, you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor Men, but you ought to look upon the holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how ye ought to proceed in this matter; and you my Lord have alledged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your said Book; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of a small importance you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how Judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal Causes. Then my Lord President, you which have taught others, will you not also learn by your own Books? the which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor Men of *Merindol*. For are they not Christian Men, and ought you not as well to minister Right and Justice unto them, as you have done to the Rats? By these and such like Demonstrations the President perswaded, and immediately called back his Commission which he had given out, and caused the Army to retire, the which was already come near unto *Merindol*, even within one mile and a half.

The Army again retired by the means of the Lord of Allene.

Then the *Merindolians* understanding that the Army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their Eyes, to be obedient to his holy Commandments, subject to his most holy Will, and every Man to submit himself unto his Providence, patiently attending and looking for the hope of the Blessed, that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting Riches, having always before their eyes for example our Lord Jesus Christ the very Son of God, who hath entred into his Glory by many Tribulations. Thus the *Merindolians* prepared themselves to endure and abide all the Afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them: and such was their Answer to all those that either pitied, or else fought their destruction. Whereupon the bruit and noise was so great, as well of the Arrest, as of the Enterprise of the Execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the *Merindolians*, that it was not hidden or kept secret from King *Francis*, a King of noble Courage and great Judgment; who gave Commandment unto the Noble and Virtuous Lord Monsieur *de Langeay*, which then was his Lieutenant in *Thurin*, a City in *Piemont*, that he should diligently enquire and search out the Truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said Monsieur *de Langeay* sent unto *Province* two Men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the Copy of the Arrest, and diligently to enquire out all that followed and enfued thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and manners of the *Merindolians*, and others which were perfecuted in the Country of *Province*.

Francis the French King sendeth Monsieur Langeay to enquire better of the Merindolians.

A story of excommunicating the Rats for eating up the Corn.

These Deputies brought the Copy of the Arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said Monsieur *de Langeay*, declaring unto him the great Injuries, Pollings, Extortions, Exactions, Tyrannies, and Cruelties, which the Judges as well Secular as Ecclesiastical used against them of *Merindol*, and others. As touching the Behaviour and Disposition of those which were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the Men of *Province* affirmed them to be Men given to great labour and travel; and that about 200 years past, (as it is reported) they came out of the Country of *Piemont* to dwell in *Province*, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many Hamlets and Villages destroyed by the Wars, and other defert and waste places: which they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of Wines, Oyls, Honey, and Cattel, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Besides that, before they came into the Country to dwell, the place of *Merindol* was taxed but at four Crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the Lord for Taxes and Tallages, above three hundred and fifty Crowns, beside other Charges.

A testimony in the commendation of the Merindolians.

The like was was also reported of *Lormarin*, and divers other places of *Province*, whereas there was nothing but Robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the Country of *Province* affirmed, That the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and the other that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet People, beloved of all their Neighbours. Men of good Behaviour, constant in keeping of their promise, and paying of their Debts, without traverfing or pleading at the Law: That they were also charitable Men, giving Alms, relieving the Poor, and suffered none amongst them to lack, or to be in necessity. Also they gave Alms to strangers, and to the poor Paslengers, harbouring, nourishing and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the Country of *Province*, that they would not swear, nor name the Devil, or easily be brought to take an Oath, except it were in Judgment, or making some solemn Covenant. They were also known by this, That they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters, but in what Company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, Swearing or Blasphemy to the dishonour of God, they straitway departed out of that Company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their Business, but first they made their Prayers. The said People of *Province* furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any Fairs or Markets, or came to their Cities by any occasion, they never in a manner were seen in their Churches: and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the Images, and neither offered Candles to them, nor kissed their feet. Neither would they worship the Reliques of Saints, nor once look upon them. And moreover, if they passed by any Cross or Image of the Crucifix, or any other Saint by the way as they went, they would do no Reverence unto them. Also the Priests did testifie, that they never caused them to say any Masses, neither Dirges, neither yet *De profundis*, neither would they take any holy Water; and if it were carried home unto their houses, they would not say once, God a mercy, yea, they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on Pilgrimage, to make any Vows to Saints, to buy Pardons or Remission of Sins with Money, yea, tho it might be gotten for a Half-penny, they thought it not lawful. Likewife when it thundered or lightned, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their Eyes unto Heaven, fetch deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the Sign of the Cross, or taking of holy Water. Also they were never seen to offer, or cast into the Bason any thing for the maintenance

Crimes laid against the Merindolians.

Mans Law preferred before Gods Law.

tenance of Lights, Brotherhoods, Churches, or to give any offering either for the Quick or the Dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, thofe they relieved gladly, and thought nothing too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto Monſieur *de Langeay*, touching the life and behaviour of the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and the other which was perſecuted; alſo as touching the Arreſt, and that which enſued thereon. Of all thoſe things the ſaid *Monſieur de Langeay*, according to the charge that was given him, adverti'ed the King, who underſtanding theſe things, as a good Prince moved with mercy and pity, ſent Letters of Grace and Pardon, not only for thoſe which were condemned for lack of appearance, but alſo for all the reſt of the Country of *Provence*, which were accuſed and ſuſpected in like caſe; expreſly charging and commanding the ſaid Parliament, That they ſhould not hereafter proceed ſo rigorouſly as they had done before, againſt this People: but if there were any that could be found or proved, by ſufficient information, to have ſwerved from the Chriſtian Religion, that then he ſhould have good demonſtration made unto him by the Word of God, both out of the Old and New Teſtament: and ſo, as well by the gentleneſs as by the rigor of the ſame, he ſhould be reduced again unto the Church of Chriſt. Declaring alſo, That the King's pleaſure was, that all ſuch as ſhould be convict of Hereſy in manner aforeſaid, ſhould abjure; forbidding alſo all manner of perſons, of what eſtate or condition ſoever they were, to attempt any thing againſt them of *Merindol*, or other that were perſecuted, by any other manner of means, or to moleſt or trouble them in perſon or goods: revoking and diſannulling all manner of ſentences and condemnations of what Judges ſoever they were, and commanding to ſet at liberty all Priſoners which either were accuſed or ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm.

The King's Pardon ſo natural and free down for the Merindolians.

By virtue of theſe Letters they were now permitted to declare their cauſe, and to ſay what they could in defence thereof. Whereupon they made a Confeſſion of their Faith, the effect whereof you ſhall ſee in the end of the Story. This Confeſſion was preſented firſt to the Court of Parliament; and afterward being declared more at large, with Articles alſo annexed thereunto, it was delivered to the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, who required the ſame. Alſo to Cardinal *Sadolet*, Biſhop of *Carpentras*, with the like Articles, and alſo a Supplication to this effect: That the Inhabitants of *Cabriers* in the Country of *Venice* moſt humbly delired him, that he would vouchſafe to receive and read the Confeſſion and Declaration of their Faith and Doctrine, in the which they, and alſo their Fathers before them, had been of a long time inſtructed and taught, which they were perſuaded to be agreeable to the Doctrine contained in the Old and New Teſtament. And becauſe he was learned in the holy Scriptures, they deſired him that he would mark ſuch Articles as he thought to be againſt the Scriptures; and if he ſhould make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the ſame, they would not only ſubmit themſelves to abjuration, but alſo to ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as ſhould be adjudged unto them, even to the loſs, not only of all that they had, but alſo of their Lives. And moreover, if there were any Judg in all the Countrey of *Venice*, which by good and ſufficient information ſhould be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous Doctrine, or maintained any other Religion than was contained in the Articles of their Confeſſion, they deſired him that he would communicate the ſame unto them, and with all obedience they offered themſelves to whatſoever ſhould be thought juſt and reaſonable. Upon this requeſt Cardinal *Sadolet* anſwered by his Letters written by his Secretary, and ſigned with his own hand, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

This moſt godly and Chriſtian Confeſſion you ſhall find more largely ſet out in Hen. Pant. and alſo in the French Story, intreating of the deſtruction of Merindol and Cabriers: alſo touching their Faith & Confeſſion you ſhall partly ſee hereafter.

The Merindolians require the Judgment of Cardinal Sadolet touching theſe Articles.

The anſwer of Cardinal Sadolet to the Merindolians.

I have ſeen your Requeſt, and have read the Articles of your Confeſſion, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not underſtand that you are accuſed for any other Doctrine, but for the very ſame which you have confeſſed. It is moſt true, that many have reported divers things of you worthy of reproof, which, after diligent enquiry made, we have found to be nothing elſe but falſe reports and ſlanders. As touching the reſt of your Articles, it ſeemeth unto me, that there are many words therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confeſſion. And likewiſe it ſeemeth to me, that it is not neceſſary that you ſhould ſpeak ſo manifeſtly againſt the Paſtors of the Church. For my part, I deſire your Welfare, and would be ſorry that you ſhould be ſo ſpoiled or deſtroyed as they do pretend. And to the end you ſhall the better underſtand my amity and friendſhip toward you, ſhortly I will be at my Houſe by Cabriers, whither ye may reſort unto me either in greater or ſmaller numbers, as you will, and return ſafely without any hurt or damage, and there I will adverti'ſe you of all things that I think meet for your proſit and health. K.Hen. 8

The Biſhop of Cavaillon procureth the deſtruction of Cabriers.

About this time, which was the year of our Lord 1542, the Vice-legate of *Avinion* aſſembled a great number of Men of War, at the ſuit of the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, to deſtroy *Cabriers*. When the Army was come within a mile of *Cabriers*, the Cardinal *Sadolet* went with ſpeed to the Vice-legat, and ſhewed him the requeſt of the Inhabitants of *Cabriers*, with the Articles of their Confeſſion, and the Offers that they made; ſo that for that preſent the Army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the Inhabitants of *Cabriers*. After this the Cardinal *Sadolet* went unto *Rome*; but before his departure he ſent for divers of *Cabriers*, and certain Farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of thoſe which were called Lutherans, and told them, That he would have them in remembrance of him as ſoon as he came to *Rome*, and communicate their Articles and Confeſſion unto the Cardinals, truſting to find a mean to have ſome good reformation, that God ſhould be thereby glorified, and all Chriſtendom brought to unity and concord; at the leaſt, nothing at all doubting but that the ſouleſt Abuſes ſhould be corrected and amended; adverti'ſing them in the mean time to be wiſe and circumſpect, to watch and pray, for that they had many Enemies. With this Oration of Cardinal *Sadolet*, they of *Cabriers* were greatly comforted, truſting that at the ſuit of Cardinal *Sadolet* they ſhould have anſwer of their Confeſſion. But at his return they underſtood that he found all things ſo corrupt at *Rome*, that there was no hope of any Reformation there to be had, but rather mortal War againſt all ſuch as would not live according to the Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*. Likewiſe ſaid the Treaſurer of *Carpentras*, who albeit he payed out money to furniſh Souldiers that were hired for the deſtruction of *Cabriers*, notwithſtanding he did aid them ſecretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it ſo ſecretly, but that it came to the knowledg of the Legate; whereupon he was conſtrained to withdraw himſelf.

Cardinal Sadolet returneth back the Army coming againſt Cabriers.

The promiſe of Sadolet to his Tenants of Cabriers.

The Treaſurer of Carpentras a priy Friend to them of Cabriers.

On the other part, the Biſhop of *Aix* and *Cavaillon* purſued ſtill the execution of the Arreſt of *Merindol*. Then it was ordained by the Court of Parliament, That, according to the King's Letters, *John Durand*, Counſellor of the Court of Parliament, with a Secretary, and the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, ſhould go unto *Merindol*, and there declare unto the Inhabitants the Errors and Hereſies which they knew to be contained in their Confeſſion, and make them apparent by good and ſufficient information; and having ſo convicted them by the Word of God, they ſhould make them to renounce and abjure the ſaid Hereſies; and if the *Merindolians* did refuſe to abjure, then they ſhould make relation thereof, that the Court might appoint how they ſhould further proceed. After this Decree was made, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the Court for the execution of this matter; but he himſelf, with a Doctor of Divinity, came to *Merindol* to make them to abjure. Unto whom the *Merindolians* anſwered, That he entertained againſt the authority of the Parliament, and that it was againſt his Commiſſion ſo to do. Notwithſtanding he was very earneſt with them that they ſhould abjure, and promiſed them, if they would ſo do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the Hen doth her Chickens, and that they ſhould be no more robbed or ſpoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they ſhould abjure. The Biſhop anſwered, that the matter needed no diſputation, and that he required but only a general Abjuration of all Errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himſelf would not ſtick to make the like Abjuration. The *Merindolians* anſwered him again, That they would do nothing contrary to the Decree and Ordinance of the Court, or the King's Letters, wherein he commanded that firſt the Errors ſhould be declared unto them, whereof they were accuſed: whereſore they were reſolved to underſtand what thoſe Errors and reaſoning. Hereſies were, that being informed thereof by the Word of God, they might ſatisfy the King's Letters; otherwiſe it

The Biſhop of Cavaillon returneth to Merindol.

The anſwer of the Biſhop of Cavaillon to the Merindolians.

it were but hypocriſy and diſſimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appear unto them by good and ſufficient information, that they had holden any Errors and Hereſies, or ſhould be convict thereupon by the Word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their Confeſſion there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the ſame. Contrariwiſe, if it were not made manifeſt unto them, that they had holden any Hereſies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the Goſpel, and that their Confeſſion was grounded upon the ſame, then they ought by no means to move or conſtrain them to abjure any Errors which they held not, and that it were plainly againſt all equity and juſtice ſo to do. K.Hen.8.

The Biſhops condemn the Merindolians for hereſy, and yet can ſhew no hereſies in them by the Word of God.

Then the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* was marvelouſly angry, and would hear no word ſpoken of any demonſtration to be made by the Word of God, but in a fury curſed and gave him to the Devil that firſt invented that means. Then the Doctor of Divinity, whom the Biſhop brought thither, demanded what Articles they were that were preſented by the Inhabitants of *Merindol*; for the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* had not yet ſhewed them unto him. Then the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* delivered the Doctor the Confeſſion which after he had read, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* ſaid, What! will you any more witneſs or declaration? this is full of Hereſy. Then they of *Merindol* demanded, In what point? whereupon the Biſhop knew not what to anſwer. Then the Doctor demanded to have time to look upon the Articles of the Confeſſion, and to conſider whether they were againſt the Scriptures or no. Thus the Biſhop departed, being very ſore aggrieved that he could not bring his purpoſe to paſs.

The Biſhop ſore aggrieved to have herely tried by the Word of God.

After eight days the Biſhop ſent for this Doctor, to underſtand how he might order himſelf to make their Hereſies appear which were in the ſaid Confeſſion. Whereunto the Doctor anſwered, That he was never ſo much abaſhed: for when he had beholden the Articles of the Confeſſion, and the Authorities of the Scriptures that were there alledged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that thoſe Articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned ſo much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in thoſe eight days, in looking upon thoſe Articles, and the Authorities therein alledged.

The Articles of the Merindolians approved by the Doctor.

Shortly after the Biſhop of *Cavaillon* came unto *Merindol*, and calling before him the Children both great and ſmall, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed* in Latin. The moſt part of them anſwered, That they knew the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed* already in Latin, but they could make no reaſon of that which they ſpake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The Biſhop anſwered, That it was not neceſſary they ſhould be ſo cunning, but that it was ſufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requiſite for their ſalvation, to underſtand or to expound the Articles of their Faith; for there were many Biſhops, Curates, yea, and Doctors of Divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed*. Here the Bayliff of *Merindol*, named *Andrew Maynard*, asked, To what purpoſe it would ſerve to ſay the *Pater noſter* and the *Creed*, and not to underſtand the ſame? for in ſo doing they ſhould but mock and deride God. Then ſaid the Biſhop unto him, Do you underſtand what is ſignified by thele words, *I believe in God?* The Bayliff anſwered, I ſhould think my ſelf very miſerable, if I did not underſtand it; and then he began orderly to give an account of his Faith. Then ſaid the Biſhop, I would not have thought there had been ſo great Doctors in *Merindol*. The Bayliff anſwered, The leaſt of the Inhabitants of *Merindol* can do it yet more readily than I: but I pray you, queſtion with one or two of theſe young Children, that you may underſtand whether they be well taught or no. But the Biſhop either knew not how to queſtion with them, or at the leaſt would not.

The anſwer of the Children of Merindol to the Biſhop.

The Biſhop will come to no reaſoning.

The Children of Merindol brought up by the Biſhop.

Then one named *Pieron Roy* ſaid, Sir, one of theſe Children may queſtion with another, if you think it ſo good, and the Biſhop was contented. Then one of the Children began to queſtion with his fellows, with ſuch grace and gravity as if he had been a Schoolmaſter; and the Children one after another anſwered ſo unto the purpoſe, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the preſence of many, among whom there were four Religious Men, that came lately out of *Paris*, of whom one ſaid unto the Biſhop, I muſt needs confeſs, that I have often been at the common Schools of *Sorbon* in *Paris*, where I have heard the diſputations of the Divines; but yet I never learned ſo much as I have done by hearing theſe young Children. Then ſaid *William Armant*, Did you never read that which is written in the eleventh Chapter of St. *Matthew*, where it is ſaid, *O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, I render thanks unto thee, that thou haſt hidden theſe things from the ſage and wiſe Men of the World, and haſt revealed them unto young Infants: But behold, O Father, ſuch was thy good will and pleaſure.* Then every Man marvelled at the ready wit and witty anſwers of the Children of *Merindol*.

The Youth of Merindol well brought up.

Mat. 11.

When the Biſhop ſaw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about by fair and flattering words to bring his purpoſe to paſs. Wherefore, cauſing the Strangers to go apart, he ſaid, That he now perceived they were not ſo evil as many thought them to be; notwithſtanding, for the contentation of them which were their perſecutors, it was neceſſary that they ſhould make ſome ſmall Abjuration, which only the Bayliff, with two Officers, might make generally in his preſence, in the name of all the reſt, without any Notary to record the ſame in writing; and in ſo doing they ſhould be loved and favoured of all Men, and even of thoſe which now perſecuted them: and that they ſhould ſuſtain no infamy thereby, for there ſhould be no report thereof made, but only to the Pope, and to the High-Court of Parliament of *Provence*: And alſo if any Man in time to come would turn the ſame to their reproach, or alledg it againſt them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly deny it, and ſay they made no Abjuration at all, becauſe there were no records made thereof, or witneſſes to prove the ſame. For this purpoſe he deſired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter, without any further buſineſs.

The Merindolians are moved to abjure.

The Bayliff, and the two Officers, with divers other Ancients of the Town, anſwered, That they were fully reſolved not to conſent to any Abjuration, howſoever it were to be done, except that (which was always their exception) they could make it appear unto them by the Word of God, that they had holden or maintained any Hereſy; marvelling much that he would go about to perſuade them to lie to God and to the World. And albeit that all Men by nature are Liars, yet they had learned by the Word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed that their Children did not accuſtom or uſe themſelves to lie, and therefore puniſhed them very ſharply, when as they took them with any Lie, even as if they had committed any Robbery: *For the Devil is a Liar, and the Father of Lies.* Here the Biſhop roſe up in great anger and indignation, and ſo departed.

In matters of Faith and Religion ought to be no diſſimulation.

Within a while after the Biſhop of *Aix* ſolicited Maſter *John Durandus*, Counſellor of the Court of the Parliament of *Provence*, to execute the Commiſſion which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of *Merindol*, together with the Secretary of the ſaid Court, and there in the preſence of the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, accompanied with a Doctor of Divinity, to declare the Errors and Hereſies, which the Biſhops pretended the Inhabitants of *Merindol* to be infected and entangled withal, and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the Word of God, and ſo being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the ſaid Hereſies. Whereupon the ſaid Counſellor *Durandus* certified the day that he would be preſent at *Merindol*, to the end and purpoſe that none of the Inhabitants ſhould be abſent. At the day appointed the ſaid Counſellor *Durandus*, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Secretary, came unto *Merindol*, where were alſo preſent divers Gentlemen, and Men of underſtanding of all ſorts, to ſee this Commiſſion executed. Then they of *Merindol* were advertiſed that they ſhould not appear all at once, but that they ſhould keep themſelves apart, and appear as they ſhould be called, in ſuch order and number as ſhould be appointed unto them.

Durand ſtirred up by the Biſhop to execute the Commiſſion given him againſt the Merindolians.

Durandus the Counſellor cometh to Merindol.

After that *Durandus*, the Biſhop of *Cavaillon*, the Doctor of Divinity, and the Secretary were ſet in place where Juſtice was accuſtomed to be kept, there was called forth *Andrew Maynard*, the Bayliff of *Merindol*; *Jenon Romane*, and *Michceline Maynard*, Syndiques; *John Cabrie*, and *John Palene*, Ancients of *Merindol*; and *John Brunerat*, Under-bayliff. After they had preſented themſelves with all due reverence, the Counſellor *Durandus* ſpake thus unto them.

Syndicus Is a Greek word, and ſignifieth as much as Advocate or Patron, or Defender ſent to plead our cauſe.

You

Ib. with of Durandus to the Merindolians.

You are not ignorant that, by the Arrest given out by the high Court of *Province*, you were all condemned to be burned, both Men, Women, and Children; your Houses also to be beaten down, and your Town to be razed and made desolate, &c. as is more largely contained in the said Arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the King, our most gracious Prince, to send his Letters unto the said Court, commanding that the said Arrest should not so rigorously proceed against you: but if it could by sufficient Information be proved, that you, or any of you, had swerved from the true Religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the Word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the Flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said Court of Parliament, that the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, with a Doctor of Divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the Errors and Heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the Word of God, you should publickly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said Heresies; and in so doing, should obtain the Grace and Pardon contained in the King's Letters: wherefore shew your selves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the King and the Magistrates. When he had thus spoken, what answer you, said he, to that which I have propounded?

Then *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff, desired that they would grant them an Advocate to answer according to the Instructions which they would give him, forasmuch as they were Men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The Counsellor answered, that he would hear their Answer neither by Advocate nor by Writing, but would hear them answer in their own persons: Notwithstanding he would give them leave to go apart, and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves: and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the Bayliff and the two Syndiques, with other two ancient Men, talked together a while and determined that the two Syndiques should speak first, and after them the Bailiff, then the two ancient Men, every Man according as God should give them Grace, and by and by presented themselves. Whereat the Counsellor *Durandus* was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then *Michelin Maynard* began to answer, desiring the Counsellor and the Bishop, with the the other Affistants, to pardon him, if that he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant Men. His Answer here followeth.

The Answer of the Merindolians for Durandus

We are greatly bound, faith he, to give God thanks, that, besides other his Benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great Assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our Noble King, that our cause might be intreated with justice, and not by violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our Noble King, which, following the example of *Samuel* and *Daniel*, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor Subjects. Also we render thanks unto the Lords of the Parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister Justice according to the King's Commandment. Finally, we thank you my Lord *Durandus* Commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you in so few words to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the Heresy and Errors whereof I am accused: and whereas they shall make it appear unto me, that I have holden any Errors or Heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you.

After him answered *Jonon Romine* the other Syndique, a very ancient Father, approving all that which his Fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard so good News, that the cause of Religion should be decided and debated by the Holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient Men say, that they could never obtain of the Judges, in all their Persecution, to have their Cause debated in such fort.

The Bailiff of Merindol answereth.

Then *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff answered, saying, That God had given to these two Syndiques the Grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto. Notwithstanding it seemed good that their Answers were put in writing, which was not done by the Secretary, that had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said: Wherefore he required the Commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the Commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his Secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their Answers word for word, and he himself with a singular memory repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said Answers being thus put in writing, the Commissioner asked the Bailiff, if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to shew him his Secretaries Fault, willing him to speak boldly what he thought good for the defence of their Cause. Then the Bailiff said, Forsomuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely: I say moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of Process in this Judgment: for there is no Party here that doth accuse us. If we had an Accuser present, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that whereof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are Hereticks; I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his Accusations, as we to answer unto the same.

K.Hen.8.

The Proceedings of Merindolians not after form of Law.

After that the Bailiff had made this answer, *John Palane*, one of the Ancients of *Merindol*, said, that he approved all that had been said by the Syndiques, and that he was able to say no more than had been said by them before. The Commissioner said unto him: You are, I see, a very ancient Man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause. And the said *Palane* answered, seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me unpossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or vantage; For our Judges be our Enemies.

John Palane answereth.

Then *John Bruneral*, Under-Bailiff of *Merindol*, answered, That he would very fain know the Authority of the Counsellor *Durandus*, Commissioner in this Cause, forasmuch as the said Counseller had given them to understand, that he had Authority of the High Court to make them abjure their Errors which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them, so doing, the Pardon contained in the King's Letters, and quit them of all Punishment and Condemnation. But the said Commissioner did not give them to understand that if it could not be found, by good and sufficient Information, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said Sentence and Condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more vantage for the said *Merindolians*, if it should appear that they were Hereticks, than to be found to live according to the Doctrine of the Gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said Commissioner to make declaration thereof: Concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swerved from the Faith, or if there were no Accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in Body or Goods.

The Under-Bailiff of Merindol answereth.

Durandus the Commissioner refuseth to give his Commission.

These things were thus in debating, from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the Commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one of the clock at afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said Commissioner. They answered, No. Then said the Commissioner, What do you conclude for your defence? the two Syndiques answered, We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the Errors and Heresies whereof we are accused. Then the Commissioner asked the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, what information he had against them. The Bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, that the Commissioner & all other that stood thereby were weary thereof. In the end, the Commissioner said unto them, That the Bishop of *Cavaillon* had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, That they required the Causes and Reasons alledged by the Bishop of *Cavaillon* against them, should be put in writing. The Bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing, that either he said or alledged, to be put in writing. Then *John Bruneral* required the Commissioner, that at the least he would put in writing, that the Bishop would speak nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the Commissioner but only in his ear,

The Bishop of Cavaillon and his Servitors of Merindol appear the second time.

K.Hen.8.

Ear. The Bishop on the contrary part defended, that he would not be named in Process. There was great disputation upon this matter, and continued long. Then the Commissioner asked the *Merindolians* if they had the Articles of their Confession, which they had presented to the high Court of Parliament. Then they required that their Confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the Doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Confession was read publickly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the Commissioner asked the Doctor, If he did find in the said Confession any heretical Opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the Word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the Doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, *Andrew Maynard* the Bailiff desired the Commissioner according as he had propounded, to make the Errors and Hereſies that they were accused of, apparent unto them by good information, or at the least to mark those Articles of their Confession, which the Bishop and the Doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the Bishop as of the Doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latine, so that they of *Merindol* could not understand one word. Then the Commissioner promised them to put in Writing all that should make for their Cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the *Merindolians*, if these were no more to be said to them than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the Sum of all that was done at the Afternoon.

What were the Articles and Doctrine of their Confession read. Sleid. lib. 10.

The Doctors converted by the Confession of the Merindolians.

Many which came thither to hear these Disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly Demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the Bishop and the Doctor so confounded; which thing afterward turned to the great Benefit of many: for hereby they were moved to require Copies of the Confession of their Faith; by means whereof they were converted and imbraced the Truth, and namely three Doctors who went about divers times to diswade the *Merindolians* from their Faith, whose Ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his Gospel: Of whom one was Dr. *Combaudi* Prior of St. *Maximin*, afterwards a Preacher in the Territory of the Lords of *Berne*. Another was Dr. *Somati*, who was also a Preacher in the Bailiwick of *Tonon*. The other was Dr. *Heraudi*, Pastor and Minister in the County of *Neweastle*.

The sudden death of a Persecutor.

After this the Inhabitants of *Merindol* were in rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every Man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those which persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the President *Chassanee*, but also many other of the chiefest Counsellors of the Parliament of *Province*, whose horrible End terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful Example of that bloody Tyrant *John de Roma*, set out as a Spectacle to all Persecutors, whereof we have spoken before.

Miserius a pestilent Persecutor without all reason and measure.

Six Martyrs of Opede.

The Lord repressing the rage of the Adversaries for a time, stayed the Violence and Execution of that cruel Sentence or Arrest given out by the Parliament of *Province* against the *Merindolians*, until *John Miniers*, an exceeding bloody Tyrant, began a new Persecution. This *Miniers*, being Lord of *Opede* near to *Merindol*, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his Seigniory or Lordship, which before was very base. For this cause he put five or six of his own Tenants into a Cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and *Waldoys*, to have their Goods and Possessions. By this, and such other Practises this Wretch was advanced in short space to great Wealth and Dignity, and so at length became not only the chief President of the High Court of Parliament, but also the King's Lieutenant General in the Country of *Province*, in the absence of the Lord *Grignan*, then being at the Council of *Wormes* in *Germany*. Now therefore seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish Enterprise, he employed all his Power, Riches, and Authority not only to confirm and to revive that cruel Arrest given out before by the Court of Parliament, but also (as a right Minister of Sathan) he exceedingly increased the Cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this Mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent Lie, giving the King to understand, that they of *Merindol* and all the Country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand were in the field in Armour with their Ensigns displayed, intending to take the Town of *Marseille*, and make it one of the Cantons of the *Switzers*; and to slay this Enterprise, he said, it was necessary to execute the Arrest *Manu militari*: and by this means he obtained the King's Letters Patents, through the help of the Cardinal of *Tournon*, commanding the Sentence to be executed against the *Merindolians*, notwithstanding the King had before revoked the said Sentence, and given strict Commandment that if should in no wise be executed, as is before mentioned.

False Accusations and Crimes forged upon the innocent Christians.

The King abused by wicked Counsel.

After this he gathered all the King's Army, which was then in *Province* ready to go against the *Englishmen*, and took up all besides, that were able to bear Armour, in the chiefest Towns of *Province*, and joyned them with the Army which the Pope's Legat had levied for that purpose in *Avinion*, and all the Country of *Venice*, and imployed the same to the Destruction of *Merindol*, *Cabriers*, and other Towns and Villages to the number of two and twenty, giving Commission to his Soudiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill Man, Woman, and Child without all mercy, sparing none: No, otherwise than the Infidels and cruel *Turks* have dealt with the Christians, as before in the Story of the *Turky* you may read.

Eight Towns & the most part of the people destroyed.

For as the Papists and *Turks* are alike in their Religion; so are the said Papists like, or rather exceed them in all kinds of Cruelty that can be devised. But this Archtyrant before he came to *Merindol*, ransacked and burnt certain Towns, namely *La Roch*, St. *Stephans*, *Ville Laure*, *Lormarin*, *La Motte*, *Cabrierettes*, St. *Martin*, *Pipin* and other places more, notwithstanding that the Arrest extended but only to *Merindol*: Where the most of the poor Inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; Women and Maidens ravished; Women with Child, and little Infants born and to be born, were also put off cruelly murdered; the Paps of many Women cut off, which gave suck to their Children, which looking for suck at their Mother's Breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never any such Cruelty and Tyranny seen before.

Horrible Cruelty upon Women and young Infants.

The *Merindolians* seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their Houses, and fled into the Woods, and remained all that Night at the Village *Sanfales*, and thereabouts in wonderful fear and perplexity; for the Bishop of *Cavaillon*, Deputy to the Bishop of *Rome*'s Legat, had appointed certain Captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in Woods, for there was danger on every side, and *Miniers* had commanded under pain of death, that no Man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wheresoever they were found. The same Proclamation was of force also in the Bishop of *Rome*'s Dominions thereby; and it was said, that the Bishops of that Country did find a great part of the Army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful Journey, carrying their Children upon their Shoulders, and in their Arms, and in their Swadling-clothes, and many of them also being great with Child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither was already preferred a great number which had lost their Goods, and saved themselves by flight.

They thirsted the words of darkness hate the light.

Miserius made the King's Lieutenant of Province.

Not long after it was shewed them how that *Miniers* was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersom places, and hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safegard to leave behind them all the Women and Children, with a few other, and among them also certain Ministers of the Church, the residue were appointed to go to the Town of *Mault*. And this did they upon hope that the Enemy would shew mercy to the multitude of Women and Children being destitute of all Succour. No Tongue can express what Sorrow, what Tears, what Sighing, what Lamentation

A lamentable Separation of the Merindolians from their Wives and Children.

mentation there was at that woful departing, when they were compelled to be thus separated asunder, the Husband from his dear Wife, the Father from his sweet Babes and tender Infants, the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding after the Ministers had ended their ordinary Sermons, with Evening-Prayers and Exhortations, the Men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed over the great Hill of *Libron*, they might see many Villages and Farms set on fire. *Miniers* in the mean time had divided his Army into two parts, marching himself with the one towards the Town of *Merindol*; and having knowledg by Espial whither the *Merindolians* were fled, he sendeth the other part to set upon them, and to shew their accustomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of *Miniers* Army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their Enemies were coming: and one of them from the top of an high Rock, where he thought that the *Merindolians* were underneath, casteth down two stones, and afterward, altho he could not see them, he called unto them that they should immediatly flie from thence. But the Enemies suddenly came upon them, finding them all assembled together at prayers, and spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: some they ravished, some they whipped and scourged, and some they fold away like Cattel, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The Women were in number about five hundred.

The Merindolians overtaken of their Enemies.

In the mean time *Miniers* came to *Merindol*, where he found none but a young Man named *Maurice Blanc*, who had yielded himself unto a Souldier, promising him for his ransom two French Crowns. *Miniers* would have had him away by force, but it was answered that the Souldier ought not to lose his Prisoner. *Miniers* therefore, paying the two Crowns himself, took the young Man, and caused him to be tied unto an Olive-Tree, and shot through with Harquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many Gentlemen which accompanied *Miniers* against their wills, seeing this cruel Spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear Tears: For albeit this young Man was not yet very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at *Merindol*, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to Heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God: and the last words that he spake were these; *Lord God, these Men take away my life full of misery, but how wilt give unto me life everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glorie.* So was *Merindol* without any resistance valiantly taken, rausack'd, burnt, razed, and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no Man to resist, yet this valiant Captain of *Opede*, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

Vile Cruelty shewed upon a young Man of Merindol.

The Town of Merindol destroyed at the Papists.

When he had destroyed *Merindol*, he laid siege to *Cabriers*, and battered it with his Ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the Lord of the Town, and *Paulon* his chief Captain, perswaded with the Inhabitants to open their Gate, solemnly promising, that if they would so do, they would lay down their Armor, and also that their Cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be shewed against them. Upon this they opened their Gates, and let in *Miniers*, with his Captains, and all his Army. But the Tyrant, when he was once entred, falsified his promise, and raged like a Beast. For first of all he picked out about thirty Men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a Meadow near to the Town, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces of his Souldiers.

The Town of Cabriers fully taken.

Oaths and Promises broken of the Papists. 30 Men Martyrs.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon poor silly Women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a Barn full of Straw and Hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the silly Women, running to the great Window where the Hay is wont to be cast into the Barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with Pikes and Halberds. Then there was a Souldier which moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the Women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming out, the Tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces, opening their bellies that their Children fell out, whom they trod under their feet. Many were fled into the Wine-cellar of the Castle, and many hid themselves in Caves, whereof some were carried into the Meadow, and there stripped naked were slain: Other some were bound two and two together, and carried into the Hall of the Castle, where they were slain by the Captains, rejoycing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

40 Women Martyrs.

That done, this Tyrant, more cruel than ever was *Herod*, commanded Captain *John de Gay* with a Band of Ruffians to go into the Church, (where was a great number of Women, Children, and young Infants) to kill all that he found there; which the Captain refused at first to do, saying, that were a cruelty unused among Men of War. Whereat *Miniers* being displeased, charged him upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the King, to do as he commanded him. The Captain fearing what might ensue, entred with his Men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In this mean while certain Souldiers went to rausack the Houses for the spoil, where they found many poor Men that had there hidden themselves in Cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, Kill, kill. The other Souldiers that were without the Town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of those that were unmercifully murdered, were about a thousand persons of Men, Women, and Children. The Infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again of their Enemies.

Above a thousand Martyrs of Cabriers.

In token of this jolly Victory the Pope's Officers caused a Pillar to be erected in the faid place of *Cabriers*, in the which was ingraven the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this Town, by *John Miniers* Lord of *Opede*, and chief President of the Parliament of *Province*, for a memorial for ever of that barbarous Cruelty, the like whereof was never yet heard of. Whereupon we with all our posterity have to understand what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the Antichrist of *Rome* is wont to uphold the impious seat of his abomination; who now is come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of Iniquity, that all Justice, Equity and Verity being fet aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing but only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and shedding of blood.

The Arguments whereupon the Doctrine of the Popes Church standeth.

In this mean while the Inhabitants of *Merindol*, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great neceffity of victuals, and much affliction; who had procured certain Men which were in some favour and authority with *Miniers*, to make requeft for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their Wives and Children, altho they had no more but their Shirts to cover their nakednefs. Whereunto *Miniers* made this answer: *I know what I have to do; not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in Hell among the Devils.*

Antichrist here playeth the Devil.

After this there was a Power fent unto *Cofta*, which likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the Inhabitants fled away, and ran into an Orchard, where the Souldiers ravished the Women and Maidens; and when they had kept them there inclosed a day and a night, they handled them so beastly, that those which had great Bellies, and the younger Maidens died thortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowful examples of this cruel Perfecution against the *Merindolians*, and their Fellows, insomuch that no kind of cruel Tyranny was unpractised: for they which escaped by Woods, and went wandring by Mountains, were taken and set in Gallies, or else were slain outright.

The Town of Cofta destroyed.

Martyrs of Cofta.

Many which did hide themselves in Rocks and dark Caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire and smoke put unto them. All which may more fully be understood by the Records of the Court, and by the Pleas between them and their Adversaries in the high Confistory of the Court of *Paris*, where all the doors being set open, and in the publick hearing of all the People, the cause of this Trouble and Perfecution was shortly after solemnly debated between two great Lawyers; the one called *Aubrius*, which accused *Minerius* the President committed to prison; and the other called *Robertus*, the defendant against him. The cause why this matter of *Merindol* was brought in plea and judgment to be decided by the Law, was this:

When the Merindolians were slain, their Cause was pleaded.

Henry

K. Hen. 8. French King noted of tyranny by Charles the fifth Emperor.

Henry the second, French King, which newly succeeded *Francis* his Father above-mentioned, considering how this cruel and infamous Perfecution against his own Subjects and People was greatly misliked of other Princes, and also objected both against him & his Father as a note of shameful tyranny, by the Emperor himself *Charles* the fifth, and that in a publick Council of all the States of *Germany*, for so murthering and spoiling his own natural Subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the faid matter to be brought into the Court, and there to be decided by order of Justice.

K. Hen. 8. Cruelty No-torious or rather Tyranny Diabolical.

The cause of the Merindolians after their death pleaded fifty times in the Court. Minerius hooted out of Prifon.

Which Cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in publick Audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, fo it brake off & was paffed over; and at length *Minerius*, being hooted out of Prifon, was restored to his liberty and poffeffions again, upon this condition and promise made unto the Cardinal *Charles* of *Lorrain*, that he ſhould banish and expel these new Christians (terming fo the true Profeffors of the Gofpel) out of all *Province*.

Vid. ſupra. 1170.

The laſt ſtroke of God upon cruel Miniers.

Thus *Minerius* being restored, returned again into *Province*, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury ceafe to proceed, before the laſt Judgment of God lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible Diſeaſe unto the torments of death, which he moſt juſtly had deſerved. For he being ſtricken with a ſtrange kind of bleeding at the lower parts, in manner of a bloody Flux, and not being able to void any Urin, thus by little and little his Guts within him rotted: and when no Remedy could be found for this terrible Diſeaſe, and his Intrails now began to be eaten of Worms, a certain famous Chirurgeon, named *La Mote*, which dwelt at *Arles*, a Man no leſs godly than expert in his Science, was called for; who after he had cured him of this difficulty of making Water, and therefore was in great eſtimation with him; before he would proceed further to ſearch the other parts of his putrefied Body, and to ſearch out the inward Cauſe of his Malady, he deſired that they which were preſent in the Chamber with *Minerius*, would depart a little aſide. Which being done, he began to exhort *Minerius* with earneſt words, ſaying, How the time now required that he ſhould ask forgiveneſs of God by Chriſt, for his enormous Crimes and Cruelty, in ſhedding ſo much innocent Blood, and declared the ſame to be the cauſe of this ſo ſtrange profuſion of Blood coming from him.

Good counſel given to Minerius of his Surgeon.

Minerius ſeeketh the Blood of his Surgeon.

Theſe words being heard, ſo pierced the impure Conſcience of this miſerable Wretch, that he was therewith more troubled than with the Agony of his Diſeaſe: inſomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the Chirurgeon as an Heretick. *La Mote* hearing this, eſtſoons conveyed himſelf out of ſight, and returned again to *Arles*. Notwithſtanding it was not long but he was ſent for again, being intreated by his Friends, and promiſed moſt firmly, that his coming ſhould be without any peril or danger: and ſo with much ado, he returned again to *Minerius*, what time all now was paſt remedy: and ſo *Minerius* raging and caſting out moſt horrible and blaſpheming words, and feeling a Fire which burnt him from the Navel upward, with extream ſtench of the lower parts, finiſhed his wretched Life. Whereby we have notoriouſly to underſtand, that God through his mighty Arm at length confounded ſuch Perſecutors of his Innocent and faithful Servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praiſe and glory for ever.

The wretched end of wretched Minerius the Perſecutor.

Moreover beſides this Juſtice of God ſhewed upon *Minerius*, here alſo is not to be forgotten that which followed likewiſe upon certain of the other which were the chief doers in this Perſecution under *Minerius* aforeſaid; namely *Lewis de Vaine*, Brother-in-Law to the ſaid Preſident, and alſo the Brother and the Son-in-Law to *Peter Durant*, Maſter-butcher of the Town of *Aix*; the which three did ſlay one another, upon a certain ſtrife that fell upon them. And upon the ſame day the Judg of *Aix*, who accompanied *Minerius* in the ſame Perſecution, as he returned homeward, going over the River of *Durance*, was drowned. *Ex hiſt. Gallica, Henr. Pantal. & aliis.*

The laſt plague of God upon three Perſecutors.

Notes upon the Story of Merindol, *above recited.*

The Conſolations of Merindol after the firſt of the Waldenſes.

THus haſt thou heard (loving Reader) the terrible troubles and flaughters committed by the Biſhops and Cardinals, againſt theſe faithful Men of *Merindol*, which for the hainous tyranny, and example of the Fact moſt unmerciful, may be comparable with many of the firſt Perſecutions in the Primitive Church, done either by *Decius*, or *Diocleſianus*.

Now touching the ſaid Story and People of *Merindol*, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the firſt time that theſe Men of this Country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the Doctrine and Profeſſion of them began. For (as by the courſe of Time, and by ancient Records it may appear) theſe Inhabitants of *Province*, and other Coaſts bordering about the Confines of *France*, and *Piedmont*, had their continuance of ancient Time, and received their Doctrine firſt from the *Waldenſes*, or *Albigenſes*, which were (as ſome ſay) about the year of our Lord 1170; or (as others do reckon) about the year of Lord 1216, whereof thou haſt (gentle Reader) ſufficiently to underſtand, reading before.

Vid. ſupra.

Theſe *Waldenſes*, otherwiſe called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, beginning of one *Petrus Waldus*, Citizen of *Lions*, as is before ſhewed, by violence of Perſecution being driven out of *Lions*, were diſperſed abroad in divers Countries, of whom ſome fled to *Maſſilia*, ſome to *Germany*, ſome to *Sarmatia*, *Livonia*, *Bohemia*, *Calabria*, and *Apulia*; divers ſtraied to the Countries of *France*, eſpecially about *Province* and *Piedmont*, of whom came theſe *Merindolians* above mentioned, and the *Angrognians* with others, of whom now it followeth likewiſe (God willing) to diſcourſe.

Vid. ſupra.

Waldenſes.

Which were in the Country of *Tolouſe*, of the place where they frequented, were called *Albii*, or *Albigenſes*. Againſt the which *Albigenſes*, Frier *Dominicus* was a great doer, labouring and preaching againſt them ten years together; and cauſed many of them to be burned. For the which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the Apoſtolical Court, and at length, by Pope *Honorius* the third, was made Patriarch of the black Guard of the *Dominick* Friers. *Ex Antonio part. 3. titul. 19. Capitulo 1.*

Dominicus Patriarch of the black Friers, enemy to the Waldenſes. Vid. ſupra.

Theſe *Albigenſes*, againſt the Pope of *Rome*, had ſet up to themſelves a Biſhop of their own, named *Bartholomeus*, remaining about the Coaſts of *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*, as appears by a Letter of one of the Pope's Cardinals above ſpecified. For which Cauſe the See of *Rome* took great indignation againſt the ſaid *Albigenſes*, and cauſed all their faithful Catholicks, and Obedientiaries to their Church, to riſe up in Armour, and to take the ſign of the holy Croſs upon them, to fight againſt them. *Anno* 1206 by reaſon whereof great multitudes of them were pittifully murdered, not only of them about *Tolouſe* & *Avinion* in *France*, (as is afore to be ſeen) but alſo in all quarters, miſerable ſlaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the reign of *Frederick* the ſecond, Emperor, almoſt to this preſent time, through the inſtigation of the Roman Popes.

Ex Paul Æmilio lib. 6.

Paulus Æmilius the French Chronicler, in his ſixth Book, writing of theſe *Pauperes de Lugduno*, and *Henricians* and dividing theſe two Orders from *Albigenſes*, reporteth that the two former Orders were rejected of Pope *Lucius* the third. And in their place other two Orders were approved, to wit, the Order of the *Dominick* Friers, and of the *Franciſcans*. Which ſeemeth not to be true, forſomuch as this Pope *Lucius* was twenty years before *Innocent* the third: and yet neither in the time of Pope *Innocent* the Order of the *Dominick* Friers was approved; but in the time of Pope *Honorius* the third, who was forty years after Pope *Lucius*. Again, *Bernardus Lutzenbergenſis*, in *Catal. Hæret.* affirmeth, That theſe *Pauperes de Lugduno*, or *Waldenſes*, began firſt, *Anno* 1218. Which if it be true, then muſt the other report of *Æmilius* be falſe, writing of the Sect of *Pauperes Lugdunenſes*, to be refuſed by Pope *Lucius* of the 34, who was long before this, in the year of our Lord 1181.

Ex Bernardo Lutzenbergi.

Amongſt other Authors which write of thoſe *Waldenſes*, See the Story of Stella. *Joannes Sleid. lib. 16.* intreating of their Continuance and Doctrine, thus writeth of them. There be, ſaith he, in the French Province a People called *Waldoys*. Theſe of an ancient trade and cuſtom among them, do not acknowledg the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ever have uſed a manner of

Doctrine, somewhat more pure than the rest, but especially since the coming of *Luther*, they have increased in more knowledge and perfection of judgment. Wherefore they have been oftentimes complained upon to the King, as tho they conterned the Magistrate, and would move Rebellion, with other such Matters falsely surmised against them, more of despite and malice, than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certain Towns and Villages, among which *Merindol* is one. Against these *Meridolians* Sentence was given five years past, at *Aix*, being the high Tribunal Seat or Judgment Place of *Province*, that all should be destroyed without respect of Age or Person, in such sort, as that the Houses being plucked down, the Village should be made plain even with the ground, the Trees also should be cut down, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, tho it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the means of certain that persuaded the King to the contrary, namely, one *William Belsay*, who was at the same time the King's Lieutenant in *Piedmont*. But at the last, *April* 12. 1545. *John Minerius* President of the Counsel of *Aix*, calling the Senate, read the King's Letters, commanding them to execute the Sentence given, *&c.*

This confession worthy of perpetual memory, you shall see more largely set out in M. Pantaleon's writing of the destruction of Cabriers and Merindol, and also in the French story, Fo. Jean. Sleid. l. 16.

Moreover, concerning the Confession and the Doctrine of the said *Merindolians*, received of ancient time from their Forefathers the *Waldenses*, thus it followeth in the said Book and Place of *John Sleidan*.

At last (saith *Sleidan*) after he had described what great cruelty was shewed against them, when the report hereof was bruited in *Germany*, it offended the minds of many: and indeed the *Switzers*, who were then of a contrary Religion to the Pope, intreated the King, that he would shew mercy to such as were fled. Whereunto the said King *Francis* made answer in this wise; pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: Inferring moreover, that they ought not to be careful what he did within his Dominions, or how he punished his Offenders, more than he was about their Affairs, *&c.* Thus hard was the King against them, notwithstanding (saith *Sleidan*) that he, the year before, had received from the said his Subjects of *Merindol*, a Confession of their Faith and Doctrine: The Articles whereof were, That they, according to the Christian Faith confessed, first God the Father, Creator of all things: The Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of Mankind: The Holy Spirit, the Comforter and Instructer of all Truth. They confessed also the Church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God's Elect, whereof Jesus Christ is head. The Ministers also of the Church they did allow, wishing it such as did not their Duty should be removed.

The Confession & Faith of the Waldenses in Merindol.

And as touching Magistrates, they granted likewise the same to be ordained of God to defend the Good, and to punish the Transgressors. And how they owe to him, not Love only, but also Tribute and Custom, and no Man herein to be excepted, even by the Example of Christ, who paid Tribute himself, *&c.*

Likewise of Baptism, they confessed the same to be a visible and an outward sign, that representeth to us the renewing of the Spirit, and mortification of the Members.

Furthermore, as touching the Lord's Supper, they said and confessed the same to be a Thanksgiving, and a Memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

Matrimony they affirmed to be Holy; and instituted of God; and to be inhibited to no Man.

That good Works are to be observed and exercised of all Men, as Holy Scripture teacheth.

That false Doctrine, which leadeth Men away from the true Worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their Faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; protesting that they believed all such things as are contained in the Apostolick Creed: Desiring moreover the King to give credit to this their declaration of their Faith; so that whatsoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard.

And thus much concerning the Doctrine and Confession of the Merindolians *out of* Sleidan, *and also concerning their Descent and Off-spring from the Waldenses.*

The History of the Persecutions and Wars against the People called Waldenses *or* Waldoys, *in the Valleys of* Angrogne, Luserne, S. Martin, Perouse, *and others, in the Country of* Piedmont, *from the Year* 1555, *to the Year of our Lord* 1561. K. Hen. 8.

Persecut. *Martyrs, and the Causes of their Martyrdom.*

The Martyrs of the Valley of Angrogne.
The Martyrs of the Valley of Lucerne.
The Martyrs of St. Martin.
The Martyrs of Perouse *and others.*
In the Country of Piedmont. *From the year* 1555, *unto* 1561. Persecution in the Valley of Angrogn, Lucern, S. Martin, Perouse, in Piedmont.

The Parliament of Thurin.

The President of S. Julian.

Jacomel Monk, an Inquisitor

Monsieur de la Trinity.

The Gentlemen of the Valleys.

Charles Trucher.

Boniface Trucher.

The Collateral of Corbia.

The Collateral de Ecclesia.

The Duke of Savoy.

Monks of Pignerol.

And many other more, Enemies of God, and Ministers of Satan.

TO proceed now further in the persecution of these *Waldois*, or *Waldenses*, you have heard hitherto, first how they dividing themselves into divers Countries, some fled to *Province*, to *Tolouse*, of whom sufficient hath been said. Some went to *Piedmont*, and the Valley of *Angrogne*, of whom it followeth now to intreat, God willing.

Thus these good Men, by long Persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor yet compelled to yield to the superstitious and false Religion of the Church of *Rome*: but ever abstained from their corruption and Idolatry, as much as was possible, and gave themselves to the Word of God, as a Rule both truly to serve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many Books of the Old and New Testament translated into their Language. Their Ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their Enemies which could not abide the light, albeit they did not instruct them with such purity, as was requisite. They lived in great simplicity, and with the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their Neighbours, abstaining from blasphemy, and prophaining of the Name of God by Oaths, and such other impiety: from lewd games, dancing, filthy songs, and other vices and dissolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of God's Word. Their principal care was always, that God might be rightly served, and his Word truly preached: Insomuch that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the Light of his Gospel more clearly, they never spared any thing to establish the true and pure ministry of the Word of God and his Sacraments. Which was the cause that Satan with his Ministers did so persecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody and horrible Persecutions which have been, not only in *Province*, against those of *Merindol* and *Cabriers*; also against them of *Prague* and *Calabria*, (as the Histories afore written do sufficiently declare) but also against them in the Country of *Piedmont*, remaining in the Valley of *Angrogne*, and of *Lucerne*, and also in the Valley of S. *Martin* and *Perouse*, in the said Country of *Piedmont*. Which People of a long time were persecuted by the Papists, and especially within these few years they have been vexed in such sort, and so diversly, that it seemeth almost incredible: and yet hath God always miraculously delivered them, as hereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the People of *Angrogne* had before this time certain to preach the Word of God, and minister the Sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of *August*, the Gospel was openly preached in *Angrogne*. The Ministers and

K. Hen. 8.

The just hand of God upon John Martin a Persecutor.

and the People intended at the first to keep themselves still as secret as they might: but there was such concourse of People from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cause they built them a Church in the midst of *Angrongne*, where Assemblies were made, and Sermons preached. It hapned about that time, that one *John Martin* of *Briqueras*, a mile from *Angrongne*, which vanted every where, that he would flit the Minister's nose of *Angrongne*, was assaulted by a Wolf which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the Towns thereabout.

At this season the French King held these foresaid Valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the Parliament of *Thurin*. In the end of *Decemb.* following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the said Parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy *Angrongne*. Whereupon some which pretended great friendship to this People, counselled them not to go forward with their Enterprise, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they notwithstanding calling upon God, determined with one accord constantly to perfist in their Religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against *Angrongne* was soon dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in *Luserne*.

In the month of *March* 1556. the Ministers of the Valley of St. *Martin* preached openly. At that time certain Gentlemen of the Valley of St. *Martin* took a good Man named *Bartholomew*, a Bookbinder, Prisoner, as he passed by the said Valley, the which was sent by and by to *Turin*; and there with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good Confession of his Faith, he suffered death: insomuch that divers of the Parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said Parliament, being sore incensed against the *Valdoys*, sent one named the President of St. *Julian*, associating unto him one called *De Ecclefe*, and others, to hinder their enterprise. These coming first to the Valley of *Perouse*, whereas yet no Preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the Sermons of *Angrongne*, very much troubled and feared the poor People there.

Bartholomew a bookbinder, martyr.

The President of St. Julian and other, sent to the Angrognians.

From thence they went to the Valley of St. *Martin*, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor People, and threatning their utter ruin and destruction. After that they came to *Luserne*, troubling and vexing the People there in like manner. From thence they went to *Angrongne*, accompanied with many Gentlemen, and a great rabble of Priests of the said Country. But by the way, the President enquired for one dwelling at St. *Johns* near to *Angrongne*, and examined him, Whether he had not baptized his Child at *Angrongne*, and wherefore he had so done? The poor simple Man answered, that he had baptized his Child at *Angrongne*, because Baptism was there ministred according to the institution of Christ. Then the President in great rage commanded him in the King's Name to baptize his Child again, or else he should be burnt. The poor Man desired the President that he might be suffered to make his Prayer to God, before he should make answer thereunto. Which after he had done in the Hall, before all the company there present, he required the President that he would write, and sign the same with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his Child again, and that he would take the peril upon him and his.

Note here how the Papists play the Anabaptists. Example of good prayer.

The President confounded at the poor Mans answer.

President hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said he, in a great fury; Away thou Villain out of my sight; and after that he was never called more.

After they were come to *Angrogne*, the President having visited the two Temples, caused a Monk to preach in the one, the People being there assembled: who pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to return to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*. The aforesaid Monk, with the President, and all his whole Retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin *Mary*: but the Ministers and all the People stood still, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the Monk had ended his Sermon, the People requested instantly, that their Minister might also be suffered to preach, affirming that the said Monk had spoken many things which were not according to the Word of God. But the President would not grant their Request. After that

The people would not kneel to pray to our Lady.

the said President admonished them, in the Name of the King and the Parliament of *Thurin*, that they should return to the Obedience of the Pope, upon pain of loss of Goods and Life, and utter destruction of their Town. And withal he recited unto them the pitious discomfiture of their Brethren and Friends, which had been done before in *Merindol* and *Cabriers*, and other places in the Country of *Province*. The Ministers and the People answered, that they were determined to live according to the Word of God, and that they would obey the King and all their Superiors in all things, so that God thereby were not displeased: and furthermore, if it were shewed unto them by the Word of God, that they erred in any point of Religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours together, even until night. In the end, the President said there should be a Disputation appointed for those matters. Whereunto the People gladly agreed. But after that there was no more mention made thereof.

The People of Angrogne threatned with destruction.

The Angrognians defired to be tried by the Word of God.

Here he remained fourtain days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new Proclamations, now calling to him the Syndiques and head-Officers, now severally, and now altogether, that so for fear he might make them relent: causing also Assemblies to be made in every Parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the People. Notwithstanding he nothing prevailed with all that he could do: but still they continued constant. In so much that they with one accord presented a brief Confession of their Faith, with an answer to certain Interrogatories propounded by the President: In the which they confessed,

The Syndiques were as Sheriffs, Counsellors, or Advocates.

That the Religion wherein both they and their Elders had been long instructed and brought up, was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, of the which is also briefly comprised in the twelve Articles of the Christian Belief.

The Articles and Confession of the Angrognians exhibited to the President.

Also, that they acknowledged the Sacraments instituted by Christ, whereby he distributeth abundantly his Graces and great Benefits, his heavenly Riches and Treasures to all those which receive the same with a true and lively Faith.

Furthermore, that they received the Creeds of the four General Councils; that is to say, of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, and also the Creed of *Athanasius*, wherein the Mystery of the Christian Faith and Religion is plainly and largely set out.

Item, The Ten Commandments expressed in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*, and in the 5th of *Deuteronomy*, in the which the Rule of a godly and holy Life, and also the true Service which God requireth of us, is briefly comprised: and therefore following this Article, they suffered not by any means (said they) any gross Iniquities to reign amongst them; as unlawful Swearing, Perjury, Blasphemy, Cursing, Slandering; Dissention, Deceit, wrong Dealing, Usury, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Whoredom, Theft, Murder, Sorcery, Witchcraft, or such like; but wholly endeavoured themselves to live in the Fear of God, and according to his holy Will.

Moreover, they acknowledged the Superior Powers, as Princes and Magistrates, to be ordained of God: and that whosoever resisteth the same, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitted themselves to their Superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

Finally, they protested, That they would in no point be stubborn, but if that their Forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning true Religion, the same being proved by the Word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed.

Their Interrogatories.

Their Interrogatories were concerning the Mass, Auricular Confession, Baptism, Marriage, and Burials, according to the institution of the Church of *Rome*.

Their Answers to the Interrogatories.

To the first they answered, That they received the Lord's Supper as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his Apostles: but as touching the Mass, except the same might be proved by the Word of God, they would not receive it.

To the second, touching Auricular Confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his in the Prayer which

1 John 1. he taught them: *Lord forgive us our sins.* And as St. *John* saith: *If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.* And according to that which God himself saith by his Prophet; *O Israel, if thou return, return unto me.* And again, *O Israel, it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy sins.* So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only which forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to God only, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that *David* in his Psalms, and the Prophets, and other faithful Servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet if the contrary might be proved by the Word of God, they would (say they) with all humbleness receive the same.

Jerem. 1. Ezek. 33.

Auricular Confession.

Baptism. Thirdly, As touching Baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy Institution of Christ, and administred the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his Holy Gospel, without any changing, adding or diminishing in any point, and that all this they did in their Mother-Tongue, according to the Rule of St. *Paul*, who willeth that in the Church every thing be done in the Mother-Tongue, for the edification of our Neighbour: but as for their Conjurations, Oiling, and Salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

1 Cor. 14.

The manner of Burials. Fourthly, As touching Burials, they answered, that they knew there is a difference between the Bodies of the true Christians and the Infidels, forsomuch as the first are the Members of Jesus Christ, Temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious Resurrection of the Dead, and therefore they accustomed to follow their Dead to the Grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the Word of God, as well to comfort the Parents and Friends of the Dead, as also to admonish all Men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of Candles or Lights, praying for the Dead, ringing of Bells, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the Word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them.

Obedience to Mens traditions. Fifthly, As touching obedience to Mens Traditions, they received and allowed all those Ordinances which (as St. *Paul* saith) serve for Order, Decency, and Reverence of the Ministry. But as for other Ceremonies, which have been brought into the Church of God, either as a part of Divine Service, or to merit remission of Sins, or else to bind Mens Consciences, because they are repugnant to the Word of God, they could by no means receive them.

Councils not to be preferred before God's Word. And whereas the Commissioners affirmed the said Traditions to have been ordained by Councils: first, they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by Councils. Secondly, That Councils were not to be preferred above the Word of God, which saith, *If any Man, yea or Angel from Heaven, should preach unto you otherwise, than that which hath been received of the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed.* And therefore (said they) if Councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the Word of God, they would not receive it.

Gal. 1.

Finally, they said, That the Councils had made divers notable Decrees concerning the election of Bishops and Ministers of the Church; concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline, as well of the Clergy as of the People; also concerning the distribution of the Goods and Possessions of the Church and further, that all Pastors which were either Whoremongers, Drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be put from their Office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the Mass of a Priest which was an Whoremonger, should be excommunicate. And many such other things which were not in any point observed. And that they omitted to speak of many other things which were ordained by divers Councils, very superstitious, and contrary to the holy Commandments of God, as they would be ready to prove (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

Councils not kept of the Papists in many points

Disputation required. Wherefore they required the Commissioners, that a Disputation might be had (as by the said President was pretended) publickly, and in their presence, and then if it might be proved by the Word of God, that they erred either in Doctrine, or Conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed, as they had beforesaid. Beseeching them to consider also that their Religion had been observed and kept from their Ancestors, until their time, many hundred years together: and yet for their parts, being convicted by the infallible Word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof. Saying, moreover, that they, together with the said Lords Deputies, confessed all one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one Law, one Baptism, one Hope in Heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their Faith and Religion was firmly founded and grounded upon the pure Word of God: wherefore it is said, that *blessed are they which hear the same, and keep it.*

K. Hen. 8.

For the Antiquity of their Religion, &c. before.

To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews (which are mortal Enemies to our Saviour Christ) to dwell peaceably in the faireft Cities of Christendom; by good reason they should be suffered to live in the desolate Mountains and Valleys, having their whole Religion founded upon the holy Gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus, and therefore they most humbly belought them to have pitty and compassion upon them, and to suffer them to live quietly in their Deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their Lord and Prince, and to his Lieutenants and Officers.

Turks and Jews find more favour with the Papists than the true Christians.

The President, and the rest of the Commissions, perceiving that they laboured in vain, returned to *Thurin* with the Notes of their Proceedings; the which immediatly were sent unto the King's Court, and there the matter remained one year before there was any answer made thereunto. During which time the *Waldoys* lived in great quietness, as God of his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor Servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful so augmented, that throughout the Valleys God's Word was purely preached, and his Sacraments duly administred, and no Mass was sung in *Angrogne*, nor in divers other places. The year after, the President of St. *Julian*, with his Associates, returned to *Pignerol*, and sent for thither the chief Rulers of *Angrogne*, and of the Valley of *Lucerne*, that is, for six of *Angrogne*. and for two of every Parish besides, and shewed unto them, how that the last year they had presented their Confession, the which, by a Decree made by the Parliament of *Turin*, was sent to the King's Court, and there diligently examined by learned Men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the King willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, upon pain of loss, both of Goods and Life: injoining them moreover to give him a direct answer within three days. From thence he went to *Lucerne*, and called the householders, with great threatnings, to assemble themselves before certain by him appointed: but they with one assent persisted in their former Confession. And lest they should seem flubborn in the defence of any erroneous Doctrine, they desired that their Confession might be sent to all the Universities of Christendom, and if the same in any part by the Word of God were disproved, it should immediatly be amended: but contrariwise, if that were not done, then they to be no more disquieted.

A breathing time given of God to the Angrognians.

Persecution again beginneth against the Angrognians.

The Lutherans receive trial by God's Word.

The Pope stirreth up the Duke of Savoy against the Angrognians.

The Angrognians required to bring in their Ministers and Schoolmasters.

The President not contented with this, the next morning sent for six of *Angrogne* by him named, and for two out of every other Parish, the which he and the Gentlemen of the Country threatned very fore, and warned twelve of the chief of *Angrogne*, and certain of the other Parishes to appear perfonally at the Parliament of *Thurin*, and to bring before the Judges of the said Parliament their Ministers and Schoolmasters, thinking, if they were once banished the Country, that then their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To the which it was answered, that they could not, nor ought not to obey such a Commandment.

Proclamation made at Angrogne.

A little while after Proclamation was made in every place, that no Man should receive any Preacher coming from *Geneva*, but only such as were appointed by the Archbishop of *Thurin*, and other his Officers, upon pain of confiscation of their Goods, and loss of their Lives, and that every one should observe the Ceremonies, Rites, and Religion used in the Church of *Rome*. Furthermore, if any of the forefaid Preachers of *Geneva* came into those quarters, that they should immediatly be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one to be concealed, upon the pain aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those which should disclose any one of them, should be kept secret, and

K. Hen. 8. and also for their accusation, they should have the third part of the Goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said Accusers were any of those which privily did keep or maintain the said Ministers: and that they and all other, which would return to their Mother the Church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said Commissioners.

The Germans make supplication for the Angrognians. At the same season the Princes of *Germany*, and certain of the *Switzers*, sent unto the French King, desiring him to have pitty on the forefaid Churches, and from that time, until three years after, the People of the foresaid Valleys were not molested by any of the Kings Officers, but they were fore vexed by the Monks of *Pignerol*, and the Gentlemen of the Valley of St. *Martin*.

Geffery Variallis, martyr. About that time a Minister of *Angrogne*, named *Geffrey Variallis*, born in *Piedmont*, a vertuous and learned Man, and fearing God, went to visit certain Churches in those Quarters where he was born, and coming homeward was taken at *Berge*, and from thence led to *Thurin*, where he, after he had made a good Confession of his Faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his Adversaries, most constantly suffered.

A few days after, a Minister of the Valley of *Lucerne*, returning to *Geneva*, was taken Prisoner at *Suse*, and soon after sent to *Thurin*, and with an invincible constancy made his Confession before those of the Parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The Hangman at the time of Execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveighed himself away. And so likewise another served them, being appointed by the forefaid Court to execute the poor Minister. It is credibly reported that the Hangman, which executed certain Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution. Whereupon the Minister was sent to Prison again, where after long and painful indurance, seeing the Prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his Cure.

A notable example of a good Hangman.

Now four years being past, in such manner, as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the year following, which was 1559, there was a Peace concluded between the French King and the King of *Spain*. Whereupon the Country of *Piedmont* (certain Towns excepted) was restored to the Duke of *Savoy*: under whose Regiment the forefaid Churches, and all other faithful People in *Piedmont*, continued in great quietness, and were not molested: and the Duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their Religion, knowing that he had no Subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan hating all quietness, by his Ministers stirred the Duke against the said Churches of *Piedmont*, his own natural Subjects. For the Pope and the Cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the Duke towards this People, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not. The Pope's Legat also which then followed the Court, and others that favoured the Church of *Rome*, laboured by all means to perswade the Duke, that he ought to banish the said *Waldoys*, which maintained not the Pope's Religion: alledging, that he could not suffer such a People to dwell within his Dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the Apostolick Sea. Also that they were a rebellious People against the holy Ordinances and Decrees of their holy Mother the Church. And briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said People, being so disobedient and flubborn against the holy Father, if he would indeed shew himself a loving and obedient Son.

Such deviliſh Instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious Persecutions, wherewith these poor People of the Valleys, and the Country of *Piedmont*, was so long vexed. And because they foresaw the great Calamities which they were like to suffer, to find some remedy for the same (if it were possible) all the said Churches of *Piedmont*, with one common consent wrote to the Duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for the which he was by their Enemies so fore incensed against them, was their Religion, which was no new, or light Opinion, but that wherein they and their Ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved by the same Word, that they held any false or erroneous Doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this Advertisement was delivered unto the Duke or no: for it was said that he would not hear of that Religion. But howsoever it was in the month of *March* following, there was a great Persecution raised against the poor Christians which were at *Carignan*. Amongst whom there were certain godly Persons taken, and burnt within four days after; that is to say, one named *Mathurine*, and his Wife, and *John de Carquignam*, dwelling in the Valley of *Luserne*, taken Prisoner as he went to the Market at *Pignerol*. The Woman died with great constancy. The good Man, *John de Carquignam*, had been in Prison divers times before for Religion, and was always delivered by God's singular Grace and Providence. But seeing himself taken this last time, incontinent he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way as he went, and in Prison, and also at his death, he shewed an invincible constancy, and marvellous vertue, as well by the pure Confession which he made touching the Doctrine of Salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in Prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing also Man more than God, looking rather to the Earth than to Heaven, consented to return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*.

Mathurine, and his Wife, Joh. de Carquignan, Martyrs.

Within few days after, these Churches of the said *Waldoys*, that is to say, *Le Larch*, *Meronne*, *Meane*, and *Suse*, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevities sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The Churches of *Meane* and *Suse* suffered great affliction. Their Minister was taken amongst others. Many fled away, and their Houses and Goods were ransack'd and spoiled. The Minister was a good and faithful Servant of God, and endued with excellent Gifts and Graces, who in the end was put to most shameful and cruel death. The great patience which he shewed in the midst of the fire, greatly astonished the Adversaries. Likewise the Churches of *Larch* and *Meronne* were marvellously tormented and afflicted. For some were taken and sent to the Galleys, other some contented and yielded to the Adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those which yielded to the Adversaries, were more cruelly handled than the others which continued constant in the Truth. Whereby God declareth how greatly he detesteth all such as play the Apostates, and shrink from the Truth.

Persecution begineth in the Valleys.

The Minister of Meane, martyr.

God's severe judgement upon them that shrink from his Truth.

But for the better understanding of the beginning of this horrible Persecution against the *Waldoys*, here note, that first of all the Proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the Sermons of the Lutherans, but should live after the custom of the Church of *Rome*, upon pain of forfeiture of their Goods, and to be condemned to the Gallies for ever, or lose their lives. Three of the most cruel Persons that could be found, were appointed to execute this Commission. The first was one named *Thomas Jacomel* a Monk, and Inquititor of the Romish Faith; a Man worthy for such an Office, for he was an Apostate, and had renounced the known Truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poor Christians, against his own Conscience, and of set purpose, as his Books do sufficiently witness: he was also a Whoremonger, and given over to all other Villanies and filthy living, and in the horrible sin of Sodomy, which he commonly used, he passed all his Fellows. Briefly, he was nothing else but a mishapen Monster both against God and Nature. Moreover, he so afflicted and tormented the poor Captives of the said *Waldoys*, by spoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deserved not only to be hanged, but to be broken upon the Wheel 100 times, and to suffer so many cruel deaths, if it were possible; so great, so many, and so horrible were the Crimes that he had committed.

Cruel Persecutors. Th. Jacomel, a cruel Apostate.

The first rough handling of the Waldoys.

The second was the Collateral *Corbis*, who in the Examination of the Prisoners, was very rigorous and cruel; for he only demanded of them, Whether they would go to the Mass, or be burnt within three days? and in very deed executed his sayings. But it is certainly reported, that he seeing the constancy, and hearing the Confession of the poor Martyrs, feeling a remorse, and tormented in Conscience, protested that he would never meddle any more.

Martyrs.

The

The third was the Provoſt *de la Juſtice*, a cruel and crafty Wretch, accuſtomed to apprehend the poor Chriſtians, either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to the Market, and was commonly lodged in the Valley of *Luſerne*. or thereabouts. Thus the poor People were always as the ſilly Sheep in the Wolves Jaws, or as the Sheep which are led unto the Slaughter-houſe.

The cruel Monks of Pignerol.

At that ſeaſon one nmned *Charlet de Comptes*, of the Valley of *Luſerne*, and one of the Lords of *Angrogne*, wrote to the ſaid Commiſſioners, to uſe ſome lenity towards them of the Valley of *Luſerne*. By reaſon whereof they were a while more gently entreated than the reſt. At that ſeaſon the Monks of *Pignerol*, and their Aſſociates, tormented grievouſly the Churches near about them. They took the poor Chriſtians as they paſſed by the way, and kept them Priſoners within their Abbey. And having aſſembled a Company of Ruffians, they ſent them to ſpoil thoſe of the ſaid Churches, and to take Priſoners Men, Women, and Children; and ſome they ſo tormented, that they were compelled to ſwear to return to the Maſs; other ſome alſo they ſent to the Gallies, and other ſome they burnt cruelly. They which eſcaped, were afterward ſo ſick, that they ſeemed to have been poiſoned. The ſame year there were two great Earthquakes in *Piedmont*, and alſo many great Tempeſts and horrible Thunders.

Martyrs.

The Gentlemen of the Valley of St. *Martin* entreated their Tenants very cruelly, threatning them, and commanding them to return unto the Maſs; alſo ſpoiling them of their Goods, impriſoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the other, two eſpecially, that is to ſay, *Charlet Trutchet*, and *Boniface* his Brother, the which, the ſecond day of *April*, before day, with a company of Ruffians, ſpoiled a Village of their own Subjects, named *Rencharet*: the which as ſoon as the Inhabitants of the ſaid Village perceived, they fled into the Mountain covered with Snow, naked and without Victual, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his Retinue took a Miniſter of the ſaid Valley Priſoner, which was come out of *Calabria*, and was going to viſit the poor People of *Rencharet*, and led him Priſoner to the Abby, where ſoon after he was burnt, with one other of the Vally of St. *Martin*.

Ch. Truchet and Boniface his Brother, two cruel Perſecutors.

A Miniſter of Calabria burnt.

The third night after, they of *Pragela*, having pitty upon the poor People of *Rencharet*, ſent about four hundred to diſcomfit the company of the *Truchets*, and to reſtore thoſe which were fled to their Houſes. They were furiouſly aſſaulted by the foot of their Enemies, who notwithſtanding in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

God's people refiſted.

About the year before, the ſaid *Truchet*, being accompanied with a company of Ruffians, arreſted Priſoner the Miniſter of *Rencharet* as he was at his Sermon. But the People were ſo moved by his outragious dealing, and eſpecially the Women, that they had almoſt ſtrangled the ſaid *Truchet*; and the reſt of them were ſo canvaſſed, that they had no lift to come there again any more. By reaſon whereof he ſo vexed them by Proceſſes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him ſixteen hundred Crowns.

A Miniſter of the Valley of Rencleret taken & wounded.

Soon after the Lords of the ſaid Vally took another Miniſter of the ſame Vally, as he was going to preach in a Parith a mile from his houſe: but the People perceiving that, ſpeedily purſued him and took him. The Enemies, ſeeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him ſo ſore, that they left him for dead. Whereupon they ſo perſecuted the poor People, that they were almoſt deſtroyed.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the ſame night, in the which the company of *Truchet* was diſcomfited, was ſo ſtormy and terrible, and the Gentlemen of that Country were ſo terrified, that they thought they ſhould have been all deſtroyed. Wherefore they uſed more gentleneſs towards the people than before. Except *Charles Truchet* and his Brother, the which went to the Duke, and made grievous complaints againſt the *Waldoys*, not only for that which was done and paſt, but alſo perſwaded the Duke, that they went about to build three Fortreſſes in the Mountains, and alſo intended to maintain certain Garriſons of Strangers, charging them further with divers other Crimes, of the which they were in no point guilty. The Duke being moved by theſe falſe ſurmiſes, gave in charge to the ſaid Accuſers, that the Fortreſs of the Valley of St. *Martin*, the which about twenty years before was razed by the Frenchmen, ſhould be built again, and that therein ſhould be placed a perpetual Garriſon, and that the People ſhould make ſo plain and wide the rugged ways, that Horſemen might eaſily paſs; with divers ſuch other things. And all this to be done at the coſts and charges of thoſe that would not ſubmit themſelves to the Obedience of the Roman Church.

False complaints brought to the Duke againſt the Waldoys.

K.Hen. 8.

What cruel reports do.

This Commiſſion being ſealed, the Gentlemen cauſed the Fortreſs to be built again, and put therein a Garriſon, and proclaimed the Commiſſion. The poor people being thereat amazed, withſtood the Commiſſioners, and ſent certain to the Duke: and immediately after the Commiſſionners returned to the Dukes Count, being at *Nice*, to inflame his anger more againſt them. But God ſoon prevented this miſchief: For the *Truchets* being at *Nice*, went to the Sea with divers Noblemen, and immediatly they were taken Priſoners by the Turks, put into the Gallies, ſore beaten with Ropes, and ſo cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their Nobility, were ſent home, having paid 400 Crowns for their ranſom. Some ſay, that the Duke himſelf was almoſt taken. But it is ſure that he fell ſick ſoon after. In the month of *April* next following, the Lord of *Raconis* was preſent at a Sermon, in a place near unto *Angrogne*. The Sermon being ended, he talked with the Miniſters: and having diſcourſed as well of the Duke's ſickneſs, as alſo of his clemency and gentleneſs, he declared to them, that the Perſecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the Commiſſion ſhould have been ſo rigorouſly executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought beſt to appeaſe the Duke's wrath: they anſwered, that the People ought not to be moved to ſeek by any means how to pleaſe and appeaſe the Duke, which might diſpleaſe God. But the beſt way they knew, was the ſame wherewith the ancient Servants of God uſed to appeaſe the Pagan Princes and Emperors in the time of the great perſecutions of the Church; that is to ſay, to give out and ſend unto them in writing the Confeſſion of their Faith, and defence of the Religion which they profeſſed, truſting that, foraſmuch as the fury of divers prophane and Ethnicke Emperors and Princes hath been heretofore appeaſed by ſuch means, the Duke being endued with ſuch ſingular Vertues as they ſaid he was, would alſo be pacified by the like means. And for that cauſe the poor People had before ſent a Supplication, with a Confeſſion of their Faith unto the Duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no: wherefore they deſired him to preſent the ſame unto the ſaid Duke himſelf. Whereunto he agreed, and promiſed ſo to do. Whereupon they ſent three Supplications, one to the Duke, the ſecond to the Dutcheſs and the third to the Duke's Council: wherein they briefly declared what their Religion was, and the Points thereof, which they and their Anceſtors had of a long time obſerved, being wholly grounded upon the pure Word of God: and if by the ſame Word it would be proved that they were in error, they ſhould not be obſtinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the Truth. After this the Perſecution ſeemed to be ſomewhat aſſwaged for a little while.

The Waldoys reſtored to their Houſes.

The Angrognians ſend forth three Supplications.

The juſt judgment of God upon the Truchets, for cruelly vexing, ſpoiling, and accuſing of the poor Waldoys.

By what means the Chriſtians in times paſt have appeaſed the fury of Pagan Princes.

In the end of *June* next following, the Lord of *Raconis* and the Lord of *Trinity*, came to *Angrogne*, there to qualify (as they ſaid) the ſore Perſecution, and cauſed the chief Rulers and Miniſters to aſſemble together, propounding divers Points of Religion concerning Doctrine, the calling of Miniſters, the Maſs, and obedience towards Princes and Rulers: and furthermore declared unto them, that their Confeſſion was ſent unto *Rome* by the Duke, and daily they looked for anſwer. To all theſe Points the Miniſters anſwered. After this they demanded of the chief Rulers, if that the Duke ſhould curſe Maſs to be ſung in their Pariſhes, whether they would withſtand the ſame or no? They anſwered ſimply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, if that the Duke would appoint them Preachers, whether they would receive them? They anſwered, that if they preached the Word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, If that they were content that in the mean time their Miniſters ſhould ceaſe, and if they which ſhould be ſent preached not the Word of God ſincerely, then their Miniſters to preach again. If they would agree to this, they were promiſed that the Perſecution ſhould ceaſe, and the Priſoners ſhould be reſtored again. To this queſtion, after they had conferred with the People, they

Whether it be lawful for the perſecuted people of Chriſt to ſtand to their own defence.

The Confeſſion of the Angrognians ſent to the Pope.

Demands put to the Angrognians.

K.Hen.8. anſwered, that they could by no means ſuffer that their Miniſters ſhould forbear preaching,

The two Lords not contented with this Anſwer, commanded in the Duke's Name, that all the Miniſters which were ſtrangers, ſhould out of hand be baniſhed the Country; ſaying, that the Duke would not ſuffer them to dwell within his Dominion for that they were his Enemies. Demanding alſo whether they would foſter and maintain the Princes Enemies within his own Land againſt his own Decree and expreſs Commandment? To the which anſwer was made by the chief Rulers, That they could by no means baniſh them, unleſs they were afore convicted of ſome Hereſie or other Crime; for their part they had always found them to be Men of pure and ſound Doctrine, and alſo of godly life and Converſation.

The Angrognians deny to put away their Miniſters.

The Monks of Pignerol cruel againſt the Angrognians.

The Miniſter of St. Germain betrayed and taken.

Barbarous cruelty ſhewed againſt the good Miniſter of St. Germain.

The Angrognians ſend to Anthony de Foſſan, Governour of Piedmont.

Two Women compelled to carry Fagots to burn their Paſtor.

The Miniſter ſolicited by the Monks.

The Monks ſolicited by the Miniſter.

The Miniſter ſolicited by the Monks.

The Miniſter ſolicited by the Monks.

The Miniſter ſolicited by the Monks

traiterously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal Enemy, following therein the Decree of the Counsel of *Constance*, which is, That no promise is to be kept with Hereticks. But God, knowing how to succour his in their necessity, prevented this danger; for one of them had intelligence of the Commanders coming, and so they all fled. Thereupon they wrote to the Lord of *Raconis*, declaring unto him the proceedings of the Commander, and that he neither would nor could shew or prove any thing by the Word of God, as he had promised, but threatned them great Wrongs and Injuries, and would not suffer their Ministers to reply or say any thing for the defence of their Cause. And therefore they desired him to signifie the same to the Dukes Grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they perfisted still in their Religion, seeing it was not proved unto them by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

Nothing proved by the Word of God against the Waldoys.

After this, there were many Commandments and Injunctions given out through all the Country, to banish these poor *Waldoys*, with the Doctrine of the Gospel, if it were possible, out of the Mountains and Valleys of *Piedmont*: but the poor people still declared that according to that which they had so often before protested by Word and Writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his Word: simply obeying their Lord and Prince always and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the Cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

In the end of *October* next following, the rumor went that an Army was levying, to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain Bands levyed, ready to march at an hours warning. Furthermore, those Malefactors which heretofore were fled or banished for any Offence or Crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their Weapons, and go to destroy the *Waldoys*. The Ministers and chief Rulers of the Valleys of *Luserne* and *Angrongne*, thereupon assembled together oftentimes to take advice what in such an extremity were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general Fast, and the Sunday after, a Communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of Arms, but that every one should withdraw himself to the high Mountains, and every one to carry away such Goods as they were able to bear; and if their Enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and Counsel as it pleased God to give them. This Article of not defending themselves seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the Cause being so just. But yet every one began to carry their Goods and Victuals into the Mountains, and for the space of eight days all the Ways were filled with comers and goers to the Mountains, like unto Ants in Summer, which provide for Winter. All this did they in this great Perplexity and Danger, with a wonderful Courage and Cheerfulness, praising of God, and singing of Psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you should not have seen any which grudged to leave their houses, and fair Possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

Farthbis delivered, Christ purified.

D liberation among the Waldoys, how to defend, and four not to defend themselves.

A few days after, certain other Ministers hearing what they of *Angrongne* and *Luserne* had concluded, wrote unto them, that this Resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the Violence of their Enemies, alledging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being so just, that is, for the defence of true Religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their Wives and Children, knowing that it was the Pope and his Ministers which were the cause of all these Troubles and cruel Wars, and not the Duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by their Inftigations. Wherefore they might well and with good Conscience withstand such furious and outragious Violence. For the Proof hereof they also alledged certain Examples.

Whether Subjects for Religion may bend in self-own defence?

During this season the Lord of *Angrongne* named *Charles de Comptes* of *Luserne*, laboured earnestly by all means possible to cause them of *Angrongne* to condescend to the Duke's pleasure, and sollicited them to send away their Ministers, promising that he would cause a Mass to be sung at *Angrongne*, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat, hoping that by that means the Duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of *Angrongne* thereupon were assembled and made this Answer; That if the Duke would permit them to chuse other Ministers, they were content to send away their foreign Ministers and Strangers. But as touching the Mass, his Highness might well cause it to be sung in their Parishes, but they for their part could not with safe Consciences be present at the same, nor yet give their consent unto it. K. Hen. 8

The Angrongnians refuse to hear Mass

The two and twentieth of *October* the said Lord of *Angrongne* went from *Luserne* to *Mondevis*, where he was then Governour for the Duke, and sent for the chief Rulers of *Angrongne* at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were invironed, the Army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the Army. They of *Angrongne* answered, That they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their Assembly, had put in writing. With this Answer he seemed at that present to be content. The next day the rumor was, That they of *Angrongne* had submitted themselves to the Duke. On the morrow, which was Sunday, you should have seen nothing but weeping and mourning in *Angrongne*. The Sermon being ended, the Rulers were called before the Ministers and the People, the which affirmed, that they wholly cleaved unto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the Notary for the Copy of that which was passed in the Counsel-house at their last Assembly before the Lord *de Comptes*, in which was comprised, That *Angrongne* had wholly submitted her self to the good pleasure of the Duke. The People hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And hereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant (albeit it were very late) certain should be sent to the Lord of *Angrongne* to signifie unto him, that the determination of the Council was fallified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to *Angrongne* to hear the voices of the People, not only of the Men, but also of the Women and Children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the Uprore, but put thither the Judge of that place. Then that which had been fallified was duly corrected; the Judg laying all the blame upon the Notary.

The determination and arsiver of the Angrongnians was fallified.

Behold the policy of this poor people.

During this time the Adversaries cried out through all the Country of *Piedmont*; To the fire with them, to the fire with them. The Thursday after *Angrongne*, by Proclamations set up in every place, was exposed to the Fire and Sword. On Friday after, being the fecond of *November*, the Army approached to the borders of the Valley of *Luserne*, and certain Horse-men came to a place called St. *John*, a little beneath *Angrongne*. Then the people retired into the Mountains. Certain of St. *John* perceiving that the Horse-men not only spoiled their Goods, but also took their Fellows Prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of their Enemies were there slain; but suddenly they retired to *Bubiane*, where their Camp then was, and not one of them of St. *John* was slain or hurt. It hapned at the same time, that two of the aforesaid Horsemen, being fore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the Army, being ready to march towards *Angrongne*, crying, They come, they come. At whose cry the whole Army was so astonished, that every Man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the Captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and yet no Creature followed them.

Gods holy help in time of need.

open Proclamation against Angrongne.

On the Saturday in the Morning the Army mustered in the Meadow-ground of St. *John*, near to *Angrongne*. They of *Angrongne* had sent certain to keep the Paffages, and stop the Army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired into the Meadow of *Tourre*, and little thought of the coming of the Army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden Assault; for they were yet carrying of Victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the Paffages. Now they which kept the Straits, perceiving that their Enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their Prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to look

God sheweth judgment in helping him, and punishing his Enemies.

Senacherib flieth from the face of Ifrael.

look upon their sins, but to the Cause which they maintained, to turn the hearts of their Enemies, and so to work, that there might be no effusion of Blood: and if it were his Will to take them, with their Wives and Infants out of this World, that he would then mercifully receive them into his Kingdom. In this sort moft fervent Prayers were made of all those that kept the Paffages, with Exhortation that they should all together cry unto God, and crave his succour and assistance in this great distress. All this the Lord of *Trinity* and the Army did well perceive.

A Prayer of the Angrongnians.

Their Prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their Enemies coming towards them through the Vines to win the top of the Mountain of *Angrongne*. In the mean time the Prior of St. *John* and *Jacomel* were within the Temple of *Angrongne*, and communed with the Rulers touching an Agreement. These were sent thither by the Lord of *Trinity* to keep the People occupied. To be short, the Combat began in divers places, and indured for a long space in the Paffages of *Angrongne*. The poor *Waldoys* being but few in number, and some of them having but Slings and Cross-bows, were fore pressed with the multitude of their Enemies. At length they retired to the top of the Mountain, where they defended themselves until Night.

A Combat between the L. of Trinity and the Waldoys.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their Enemies still pursuing them, they returned themselves, and slew divers of them, and hurt many. When the Evening came, the Enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves, there to sup and lodge all night. Which thing when the *Angrongnians* perceived, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them, but the Enemies flouted them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a Drum into a little Valley hard by. And as they were making their Prayers unto God, and the Drum sounded in the Valley, the Lord of *Trinity* caused his Souldiers, which were about to encamp themselves, to remove thence; which was a great vantage unto the poor People, which now were sore wearied with travel, all wet with sweating, and very thirsty, and in great peril, if God had not given them some little breathing-time. Many of the Enemies that day were slain, and many hurt, of the which very few escaped; insomuch that they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these Wars. Of the *Angrongnians* that day there were but three slain, and one hurt, which afterwards was well healed again. This Combat gave great courage to the *Waldoys*, and sore astonished the Adversaries. The same time the Army retiring, burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, destroying also the Wines which were in the Presses.

God gloreth victory to his Servants

The Town of Villars assaulted.

The said Lord of *Trinity* with his Army camped in a Village beyond *Tourre*, in the Valley of *Luserne*, at the foot of the hill, between *Angrongne* and the other Towns of the Valley of *Luserne*, which professed the Gospel. They of the said Village were always fore against the *Waldoys*, Haters of true Religion, and were glad of this Out-rage and Violence done against the Professors thereof: but they had their just Plague, for they were all destroyed. After this the said Lord of *Trinity* caused the Fortress to be built again, which the *Frenchmen* had razed, and placed there a Garrison, and after sent another to the Fort of *Villars*, which is of the Valley of *Luserne*; and another he sent to the Fortress of *Perouse*, and a fourth Garrison he placed in the Castle of St. *Martin*. They of *Angrongne* (seeing themselves to be now, as it were, in a Sea of Troubles) after they had recommended themselves unto God by Prayer, and committed their cause unto him, sent to them of *Perouse*, St. *Martin*, and of *Pragela*, for aid and succour; which sent them all the help they were able.

The crafty Meffage of the L. of Trinity to the Angrongnians.

The next day following there came Letters to *Angrongne* from the Lord of *Trinity*: the effect whereof was this; That he was sorry for that which was done the day before, and that he came not thither to make War against them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a Fort therein to serve the Duke. Furthermore, that his Souldiers seeing the People assembled, as it were to defie them, upon that occasion only were stirred up to give assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their Goods, and such hurt done

The Angrongnians answer to the Meffage.

The Dutchess great fa vourer of the Angrongnians.

Gaftaut a falfe Brother; deep diffimulation in a crafty Papift.

The Lord of *Trinity* had received the Letters of the *Angrongnians*, he sent unto them his Secretary, named *Christopher Gaftaut*, (which said himself, that he favoured the Verity of the Gospel) accompanied with a Gentleman of the said Valley; whose charge was to cause the chief Rulers to send certain to commune with the same Lord of *Trinity*, saying, that he had good tidings to declare unto them; and moreover, that he would deliver them a safe Conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four unto him, whom he intreated very courteously, and rehearsed unto them, how the Duke at his Departure from the Court, told him, that altho the Pope, the Princes and Cities of *Italy*, yea, his own Council were, fully resolved, that of necessity they of the said Religion should be destroyed, yet notwithstanding, God otherwise put into his mind, and that he had taken Counsel of God what he should do in this matter; that he would use them gently. Furthermore, he declared unto them, that the Dutches bear them good affection, and favoured them very much, and that she had commended their Cause unto the Duke, perswading with him to have regard to that poor People, and that their Religion was ancient and old, with many such other things. Moreover, they had, said he, great Friends in the Duke's Court, not doubting

ing but if they ſhould ſend certain to the Court with a Supplication, they ſhould obtain more than they themſelves would require; and he for his part would imploy himſelf in their Affairs to the uttermoſt of his power: and ſo he promiſed that he would retire himſelf with his Army. This he ſeemed to ſpeak unfeignedly. The People deſiring but to live peaceably in their Religion, and under the Obedience of their lawful Prince, were content to follow his Counſel.

About this ſeaſon they of *Angrongne* perceived that a part of the Army aſcended the Hill of *Tailleret*, (which is the half way betweed *Angrongne* and thoſe of the Valley of *Luſerne*) and the other part had already gotten away, which led to the Meadow of *Toure* by the which they of *Angrongne* might eaſily have been incloſed. Therefore they ſent certain immediately to keep the Way, who ſoon after encountred with their Enemies and obtained the Victory, purſuing and chaſing them to their Camp, not without great loſs of their Men. The number of their Enemies ſlain, was not known; for their cuſtom was immediately to carry away thoſe which were ſlain. Not one of *Angrongne* periſhed that day, nor yet was hurt. It was feared that this Combat would have hindred the Agreement; but the Lord of *Trinity* could well diſſemble the matter, and excuſed that days Journey, putting the fault upon them of *Tailleret*, whom he charged to have ſlain certain of his Men in the High-way, and amongſt other his Barbar.

A Combat between the Angrongnians and the Perſecutors.

The crafty diſſimulation of the Lord of Trinity.

On Saturday following, being the ninth of *November*, the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent again for them of *Angrongne*, to conſult with them touching the Agreement, uſing the like Communication as before; and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they ſhould carry their Armour into two of the Houſes of the chief Rulers, not fearing, but it ſhould be ſafe; for it ſhould remain in their own keeping, and if need were, they ſhould receive it again. Alſo, that he upon Sunday (which was the next day) would cauſe a Maſs to be ſung within the Temple of St. *Laurance* in *Angrongne*, accompanied with a very few, and thereby the Duke's wrath would be aſſwaged.

The next morning he went into the Temple (whereat they were ſore agrieved, albeit they could not withſtand him) his Army marching afore him: and having cauſed a Maſs to be ſung, he deſired to ſee the Meadow of *Toure*, ſo much ſpoken of, that thereof he might make a true Report unto the Duke; and thither the Rulers with a great Troop of his own Men went, the reſidue of his Company remained behind; the which ſpoiled certain Houſes, and ſeized the Armour which they had delivered up before; but they found no great ſtore, for the People had taken away the greateſt Part thereof. The ſaid Lord being entred into the Meadow of *Toure*, the People began to make a Commotion; whereof he having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he ſhewed himſelf very courteous to all whom he met.

The People in this mean time perceived themſelves to be in great danger, and were ſore moved at the ſight of the Army, the Spoil of the Souldiers, the taking away of their Armour, but eſpecially becauſe the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* had viewed the Meadow of *Toure*, foreſeeing his traiterous meaning and purpoſe. A few days after the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent his Secretary *Gaſſaut* to *Angrongne* to talk with them concerning the Agreement, and to make a full Reſolution thereof: which was read in the Aſſembly by the Secretary; the Sum whereof was this: That the People of *Angrongne* ſubmitted themſelves to render all Honour and Reverence to God according to his holy Word, and all due obedience to the Duke their Soveraign Prince, to whom they ſhould ſend certain Men to demand Pardon of him, concerning their bearing Armour in their extreme neceſſity, and humbly to beſeech him that he would ſuffer them to live peaceably in their Religion, which was according to the Word of God, not compelling them to do any thing againſt their Conſcience; as it appeareth more amply in the Supplication, which after this the *Angrongnians* made, and cauſed to be read before the Secretary in the open Aſſembly, the which here enſueth.

Behold the double dealing and diſſimulation of the Papiſts to bring their wicked purpoſe to paſs

To the moſt excellent and worthy Prince, the Duke of Savoy, *&c. our Soveraign Lord and natural Prince*

K. Hen. 8.

The Supplication of the Angrongnians to their Duke.

'MOſt Noble and Renowned Prince, we have ſent certain of our Men unto your Highneſs, to give teſtimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned Obedience unto the ſame, and with all ſubmiſſion deſire Pardon touching the bearing of Armour by certain of our People in their extreme neceſſity, and for all other our Treſpaſſes, for the which your Soveraign Grace might conceive any offence againſt us.

A lawful requeſt of the Angrongnians to live after Gods Word.

Secondly, To deſire in moſt humble wiſe your ſaid Highneſs, in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that it would pleaſe the ſame, to ſuffer us to live with freedom of Conſcience in our Religion, which alſo is the Religion of our Anceſtors, obſerved for certain hundred years paſt. And we are perſwaded, that it is the pure Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus, the only Verity, the Word of Life and Salvation, which we profeſs. Alſo, that it may pleaſe your moſt gracious Clemency not to take in ill part, if we, fearing to offend and diſpleaſe God, cannot conſent unto certain Traditions and Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, and herein to have pity upon our poor Souls, and the Souls of our Children, to the end that your Highneſs be not in any wiſe charged in the juſt Judgment of God for the ſame, where all Men muſt appear to anſwer for their doings.

'On our part, we proteſt that we will ſeek nothing but to be the true Servants of God, to ſerve him according to his holy Word; and alſo to be true and loyal Subjects to your Highneſs, and more obedient than any other, being always ready to give our Goods, our Bodies, our Lives, and the Lives of our Children, for your Noble Grace, as alſo our Religion teacheth us to do: only we deſire that our Souls may be left at liberty to ſerve God according to his holy Word.

'And we your poor humble Subjects ſhall moſt heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long Proſperity of your Highneſs, for the moſt vertuous Lady your Wife, and for the Noble Houſe of *Savoy*.

To this Supplication they of St. *John*, of *Roccapiata*, of St. *Bartholomew*, and of *Perouſe*, with thoſe of the Valley of *Luſerne*, did agree. For it was concluded, that the Agreement made ſhould extend to all the Confederates of the ſame Religion. Whiles they were treating of this Agreement, the Lord of *Trinity* vexed cruelly them of *Tailleret*, under this pretence, becauſe they had not preſented themſelves to treat of this Agreement: He tormented them after this ſort; firſt he commanded that all their Armour ſhould be brought before him, and then they on their knees, ſhould ask him pardon, becauſe they came of not to treat of the Agreement with the reſt; which notwithſtanding the moſt part of them did. Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to inrol all the Names of thoſe which would be of the foreſaid Agreement.

The wretched dealing of the L. of Trinity againſt them of Tailleret.

Whereupon the next morning the chief of the Houſholders went to the Village named *Bouvets*, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a Sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their Names. The inrolling of their Names not being fully ended, word was brought, that the Souldiers had gotten the top of the Mountain, and had taken all the Paſſages; whereat they of *Tailleret* were ſore amazed, and ran with all ſpeed to defend their Wives and Children. Some they ſaved, the moſt part with their Goods, were in their Enemies hands already. At this time with packing, ſpoiling and burning, they did much miſchief.

A wicked ſpectator killed with ſtones.

The Papiſts falſe breakers of promiſe made.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* ſent word to them which were fled, that, if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the moſt part, truſting on his promiſe, returned to *Bouvets*, and yet the next morning the Souldiers came thither to apprehend them and their Miniſters, and beſet the place on every ſide. Such as were ſwift of foot, and could ſhift beſt, eſcaped, but very hardly: The reſt were all hurt or taken, and yet they all eſcaped by a marvellous means: for it happened that there was an old Man which could not run faſt, to whom one of the Souldiers came with a naked Sword in his hand to have ſlain him. The old Man ſeeing the imminent danger, caught

Examples of Gods marvellous protection for his Servants in time of need.

K. Hen. 8

caught the Souldier by the Legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The Souldier cried out, Help, help, this Villain will kill me. His Fellows hearing him cry, made haſte to reſcue him; but in the mean time the old Man eſcaped. The reſt ſeeing what the old Man had done, took heart of Grace, and albeit their Armour and Weapons were taken from them, yet with Stones and Slings they ſo beat and diſcomfited their Enemies, that for that preſent time they carried no Priſoners away.

The day following the Souldiers returning to the ſaid *Taillerets*, robbed, ſpoiled, and carried away all that they could finde, and ſo continued three days together; which was very eaſie for them to do, becauſe the poor Men, fearing left they ſhould be charged with violating the Agreement, made no reſiſtance, but retired towards *Villars*.

The village of Taillaret facked and ſpoiled.

The fourth day the ſaid Lord of *Trinity*, to torment the poor *Taillerets* yet more cruelly, ſent his Army again before day to the Mountain, and into the ſame place, and becauſe the People of the ſaid Village were retired towards *Villars*, and ſcattered about the Borders thereof in the high Mountains, the Souldiers not yet ſatisfied with the ſpoiling and facking the reſt that they found in the ſaid *Taillerets*, ranging about the Confines thereof, ravened and made havock on every ſide of whatſoever they could lay hands on, taking Priſoners both Men and Women, which were loaden with carriage.

The cruelty of Papiſts.

The poor Priſoners were cruelly handled. Amongſt other there was one, whoſe Ear a Souldier of *Mondevis*, other in a raging fury, bit clean off, with theſe words, I will carry, ſaid he, the fleſh of theſe wicked Hereticks with me into my Country. They of *Villars* alſo complained of the great Cruelty that was ſhewed unto them, during the time of the Agreement.

The which when the Lord of *Trinity* underſtood, to make a ſhew that he was offended therewith, he came to his Souldiers (which were ſo weary that they could ſcantly go, not with fighting, but becauſe they were ſo heavily loaden with ſpoil, that they were not able to carry it) and pretending to be in great choler, ſome he beat, and ſome things alſo of a ſmall value he cauſed to be reſtored, but all the reſt was kept back and carried away. The ſame day two Women, the Mother and the Daughter, were found in a Cave in the Mountain, wounded to death by the Souldiers, and died immediately after. So likewiſe a blind Man, an hundred years of age, which was fled into a Cave with his Son's Daughter being eighteen years old, which fed him, was ſlain by the Enemies, and as they would have forced the Maiden, the eſcaped from them, and fell from the top of the Mountain, and died.

Two Women the Mother and the Daughter, Martyrs. The Grandfather and his Niece died Martyrs.

At that time alſo a great Company of Women of *Taillaret* and *Villars* were taken as they fled, with their Goods, and brought to the Camp, and ſent away empty. There was at the ſame time a certain Souldier which promiſed the Lord of *Trinity* to find out the Miniſter of *Taillerets*, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpoſe to paſs, he never ceaſed until he had found him, and after that he purſued him a long time. But as he was purſuing and chaſing him, certain at unawars coming out of the Mountain, refused the poor Miniſter, and killed the Souldier with ſtones.

But this eſpecially is to be noted, that during theſe troubles divers of the Papiſts had ſent their Daughters into the Mountains unto the *Waldoys* to be kept, fearing left they ſhould have been ravithed by the Souldiers, being wholly given over as to all Cruelty and Rapine, ſo to all Villany and Abomination, by whom they were before threatned to be ſo abuſed.

The poor Waldoys preſſed at fixteen thouſand Crowns.

All this being done, the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* cauſed the head Officers and chiefeſt of the People to aſſemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the Army was a great charge to the Duke, and that it was meet that they ſhould bear the one half of the Charges. For this cauſe he demanded of them twenty thouſand Crowns. But by the means of the Secretary *Gaſſaut*, who was promiſed a hundred Crowns for his Wine (that is to ſay, for a Bribe) four thouſand of thoſe twenty were abated, ſo that they granted unto him ſixteen thouſand, of the which Sum the Duke releaſed the one half. Then the Lord of *Trinity* preſſed this poor People to deliver the eight thouſand out of hand, to pay the Souldiers their Wages (as he ſaid) and ſo withdrew his Army. The year before Corn was exceeding dear, for a Sack was commonly ſold for ſix Crowns, yea, and ſome for eight Crowns, and alſo they had very little Corn growing upon their Mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of Money. But they being in this perplexity, and deſiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietneſs, went about to ſell their Cattel to pay this Money. But the Lord of *Trinity* had given out a Commandment, that none ſhould buy any Cattel of the *Waldoys* without his Licence. Then Licence was given out to certain to buy great ſtore of Cattel, and that for a ſmall price: and the common bruit was, that he had part of the Gain. When the Money was paid, yet the Army not withſtanding retired not.

The Papiſts falſe of promiſe.

After this the Lord of *Trinity* commanded the *Waldoys* to ſurrender up all their Armour, to furniſh the Duke's Forts, otherwiſe he threatned to ſend his Souldiers among them, and indeed he conſtrained many ſo to do. Then he demanded moreover the eight thouſand Crowns, which the Duke had remitted, and conſtrained them to promiſe the payment thereof. After that, he commanded that the Miniſters ſhould be ſent away, until the matter were determined before the Duke, otherwiſe he would ſend his Souldiers to diſlodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common aſſent and accord, they determined that their Miniſters ſhould withdraw themſelves for a ſpace, until the Army were retired; which was not done without marvellous Sighs, and Lamentation and Tears. At that ſeaſon there fell ſuch abundance of Snow, that the like had not been ſeen of a long time before: ſo that the People were conſtrained to make a Way with great travel and pain, through the top of the Mountain of St. *Martin*, for their Miniſters to paſs. Now thought the Lord of *Trinity* ſo to have incloſed them, he keeping the plain, and the Mountains being covered ſo thick with Snow, that by no means they ſhould have eſcaped his hands. But the People cauſed them to paſs the top of the Mountain, and at their Departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the Village of *Boby*, and came together in a ſecret place there, called *le Puis*, not without great Grief and Sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, that their Miniſters ſhould be ſo taken from them, and they now left as Lambs amongſt Wolves.

The care of the Waldoys for their Miniſters.

The Army was advertiſed that the Miniſters were aſſembled together, and inconſinent a great Troop of Harquebuſſes were at hand, which fought them even to the very top of the Mountain, inſomuch that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time for certain days after they did nothing but range about in all places, ſeeking for the Miniſters, and there was no Houſe, Chamber, Cave, nor ſecret Corner into which they did not enter, under pretence to ſeek for the Miniſters. There was neither Cheſt, nor any thing elſe ſo ſtrong, but they brake it open, ſaying, that the Miniſters were hidden therein, and by that means they took, ſpoiled, and carried away whatſoever they would.

Gods Providence for his Miniſters.

The Lord of *Trinity* promiſed oftentimes, that altho it were forbidden to all the Miniſters to preach, yet the Miniſter of *Angrongne* ſhould be excepted: and furthermore, ſent the ſaid Miniſter word, that if he would demand any thing of the Duke, it ſhould be granted him. Whereupon the ſaid Miniſter made this Requeſt, That the poor People might live peaceably in their Religion. A while after, he ſent for the ſame Miniſter to confer with him privately upon certain Points of Religion. The Miniſter went unto him, having thereto the conſent of the People. The Lord of *Trinity* propounded unto him three Points: The firſt concerning the Supremacy of the Pope; the other concerning Tranſubſtantiation. Of the which two Points the Miniſter then immediately declared his Opinion, and he ſeemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the ſame in Writing. The laſt (which was his whole drift) was to perſwade the Miniſter to go to the Duke's Court, and there he to defend the Cauſe of the People, alledging certain Reaſons to perſwade him ſo to do. Whereunto the Miniſter anſwered, that he was bound to God and his Church, and if it ſeemed convenient to the Miniſters and People that he ſhould go, he would be content to do the ſame, and thereof he promiſed to ſend him anſwer immediately, with the which anſwer he ſeemed to be contented,

Mark here the fair pretence, and traiterous meaning of the L. of Trinity, which by and by after diſcovereth the death of this good Miniſter.

Shortly after, the forefaid Lord, and tarrying for an anſwer, ſent his Army to the Temple of St. *Lawrence* in *Angrogne*, pretending to ſing a Maſs there, and ſuddenly the Souldiers beſieged the Miniſter's houſe. The Miniſter being warned thereof, aſſayed to eſcape. The Souldiers attempted nothing by force, but uſed gentle perſwaſions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the Miniſter puſhed on further, and the Souldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the People, durſt go no further. The Miniſter withdrew himſelf into the Rocks upon the Mountain, accompanied with five other. The Army was by and by at his Heels, and ſought a good while in the Houſes and Cottages on every ſide, cruelly handling the People whom they took, to make them confeſs where their Miniſter was, ſpoiling their Houſes, taking ſome Priſoners, and beating other ſome: but yet they could not learn of them where their Miniſter was. At the length they eſpied him among the Rocks, where they thought to have incloſed him, and ſo they purſued him in the Rocks, all covered with Snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and ſpoiled his Houſe, and diligently ſearched out all his Books and Writings, and carried them to the Lord of *Trinity* in a Sack, who cauſed them all to be burnt in his preſence; ſuppoſing (as it well appeared) that the Letters which he had ſent to *Angrogne*, touching the Agreement, ſhould be with the reſt burnt: for he did not the like in the other Miniſters Houſes. That day they ſpoiled forty Houſes in *Angrogne*, broke their Mills, and carried away all the Corn and Meal that they found.

The Miniſter of Angrogne purſued by the Souldiers.

The Miniſters houſe ſpoiled.

40 houſes in Angrogne ſpoiled.

About midnight the Souldiers returned with Torch-light to the Miniſter's Houſe to ſeek him, and ſearched every Corner. The next morning Commandment was given to the Rulers of *Angrogne*, that within twenty four hours they ſhould deliver their Miniſter, or elſe *Angrogne* ſhould be put to the Fire and Sword. The Rulers anſwered, that they could not ſo do, for they knew not where he was, and the Souldiers had chaſed him over the Mountain. After certain days, when the Souldiers had burned Houſes, ſpoiled the People, broken their Mills, and done what miſchief they could, the Army retired. Notwithſtanding the Lord of *Trinity* left Garriſons in the forenamed Fortreſſes, but all at the coſts and charges of the *Waldoys*: the which Garriſons, not contented with their Wages, ſpoiled continually. Upon a night five Souldiers went with Torches to a rich Man's Houſe of *Angrogne*, and ſpoiled the ſame. The good Man of the Houſe hardly eſcaped with life by the top of the Houſe, for there were twelve Pellets ſhot off at him. Whereof one touched his Face, and ſtrook his Hat from his Head, without any further hurt.

God's holy protection in ſaving his Servants.

The Rulers of *Angrogne*, which were gone to the Fortreſs to carry thither Victuals and Mony, were by the Souldiers retained, and in deſpight of them and the People cauſed a Maſs to be ſing before them, and forced them to be preſent at it: and becauſe they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almoſt to death. The one of them was ſent again for more mony; the other with great peril of his life leap'd over the Walls, and being purſued to *Angrogne*, eſcaped.

Two Rulers of Angrogne beaten almoſt to death for not kneeling to the Maſs.

Certain days after a certain company of Souldiers came unto the midſt of *Angrogne*, as tho they would have paſſed through, and called for Meat and Drink. The poor Men brought that they had unto them in a cloſe Court. When they had eaten and drunken, they cauſed the Women to avoid, and then bound fourteen of thoſe which had brought them Victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their Wives and Children perceiving this, ſo fiercely purſued them with ſtones, that they were fain to let go ten of their Priſoners for haſte, and had much ado to ſave themſelves. The other four they led away to the Fortreſs; of the which two were ranſomed: the other two were hanged up by the Feet and the Hands; and having tormented them almoſt to death, they releaſed them for a great ſum of mony. The one of the which died the next night; the other lay ſick without hope of life a long time after, and his fleſh fell from his hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame, and after that his fingers fell off alſo.

Cruelty ſhewed for kindneſs.

Note how God did bleſs his Servants ſtanding in their own defence. Two Martyrs of Angrogne.

In like manner did the other Garriſons entreat the Villages adjoining unto them.

The Garriſon of *Toure* and of *Villars*, being aſſembled together in a night, went to *Taillere*, to the place called *Bouvert*, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houſes, breaking open the doors, ſacking and ſpoiling all that they could lay hands of, took alſo 14 Priſoners, and bound them two and two together by the Arms, and ſo led them to the Fortreſs of *Toure*. But two which were eſcaped, whilſt the Souldiers were taking others, ſet upon them which led the Priſoners, and ſo valiantly aſſaulted and beat them with ſtones, that they forced them to let go 12 of the Priſoners, the which tumbling and rolling themſelves down the Mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and faſtned two and two together by the arms, were contented rather ſo to die, than to be carried to the Fortreſs; and yet in the end they eſcaped. The other two which were led to the Fortreſs, were cruelly tormented, and in the end, the one of them the Captain ſtrangled with his own hands, who was very young, and but a Child: The other which was about threeſcore years of age, whoſe name was *Odul Gemet*, ſuffered a ſtrange and cruel death: for when they had bound him, they took a kind of Beaſts which live in Horſe-dung, called in French *Eſcarbotz*, and put them unto his Navel, covering them with a diſh, the which within ſhort ſpace pierced into his Belly, and killed him. Theſe and the like, more than barbarous cruelties, have been revealed by the Souldiers themſelves.

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Note again how God bleſſeth his people, handing to their defence againſt the bloody Paſſports.

Two Martyrs.

A barbarous kind of torment uſed againſt a Martyr of the Lord called Odoſt Gemet, by the cruel Papiſts.

The poor *Waldoys* were yet in great Captivity and diſtreſs, but eſpecially becauſe they had not the preaching of God's Word amongſt them as they were wont to have, and therefore taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit ſecretly, for two principal cauſes: The one for fear of moving the Duke, and hindering the voyage of their Meſſengers, having yet ſome hope of good ſucceſs. The other, that no occaſion might be given to the Souldiers of further trouble and courage, for that was it which they eſpecially deſired. Alſo they of *Angrogne* were fully determined, as ſoon as their Meſſengers were returned from the Duke, to preach openly, what News ſoever they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be Contributaries to the finding of the Garriſon, neither yet to ſuffer the ſame to enter into *Angrogne*.

Be wiſe like Serpents.

The Meſſengers of the Angrongnians cruelly entreated.

The Meſſengers which were ſent to the Duke, being at *Verſale*, were there detained ſix weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the Popiſh Doctors, and were conſtrained by force and violence to promiſe to return to the Maſs. Furthermore, they would have conſtrained them to promiſe the ſame in the behalf of the reſt, but they would not. After they were preſented to the Duke, the Secretary *Gaſtant*, took the Supplication of the *Waldoys* out of the Meſſenger's hands, and delivered another. After they had preſented themſelves to the Duke, and aſked pardon for bearing of Armour; they were conſtrained alſo to crave pardon of the Pope's Legat; which at the beginning they would in no caſe do. Now when theſe Meſſengers were returned, bringing theſe woful News, and the People underſtood that there was a new Commandment given out, that they ſhould return to the Maſs: alſo that the Popiſh Preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

Images and Altars caſt down in the Church of Villars.

A new commandment to the Angrogniars to go to Maſs.

God giveth victory to his Servants.

Another Combat between the Waldoys and their Enemies.

Hereupon, they of the Valley of *Luſerne* and of *Boby*, being aſſembled together, by one aſſent ſent two Miniſters, with certain other of the People, to the Churches of *Pragela* (which be in the Country of *Dolphine*) to ſignify unto them the pitious eſtate of the poor Churches of the Valleis of *Piedmont*, to have their counſel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand if it were poſſible. For this cauſe they fell all to prayer, and after they had long called upon God deſiring his Grace, and the ſpirit of diſcretion and counſel, well to conſider of thoſe weighty and urgent Affairs wherewith they were oppreſſed; in the end it was concluded, that all the People dwelling in the ſaid Valleys and Mountains of *Piedmont*, and thoſe of *Dolphine* ſhould join in a league together. Whereupon they all promiſed by God's Grace and Aſſiſtance, to maintain the pure preaching of the Goſpel, and adminiſtration of the holy Sacraments; the one to aid and aſſiſt the other, and to render all obedience to their Superiors, ſo far as they were commanded by the Word of God. Moreover, that it ſhould be lawful for

The juſt hand of God upon his Enemies.

God's aſſiſtance in time of need.

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for none of the ſaid Vallies to promiſe or conclude any thing touching the eſtate of Religion, without the conſent of the reſt of the Vallies. And for more ſure confirmation of the ſaid League, certain of the Miniſters and Elders of the Churches of *Dolphine* were ſent to the Valley of *Luſerne*, to underſtand if they would give their conſent hereunto, and ratify the ſame.

These Meſſengers, the Miniſters and others of *Dolphine*, being arrived in the Evening at the Village of *Boby*, and the People being there aſſembled, word was brought that the next day every Houſholder ſhould appear in the Council-Houſe, to know whether they would receive to the Maſs or no: and that they which would receive the Maſs, ſhould quietly enjoy their Houſes; and they which would not, ſhould be delivered to the Juſtices, and condemned to be burned, or ſent to the Gallies. Wherefore the People was brought to this extremity, either to die, or flee, or elſe to renounce God. To flee ſeemed to them beſt, if the great Snow had not let them; wherefore ſeeing themſelves in ſuch diſtreſs, they moſt gladly conſented to the League. After this they exhorted one another, ſaying: Foraſmuch as we ſhall be all called for to morrow, to renounce and forſake our God, and revolt again to Idolatry, let us now make ſolemn proteſtation, that we will utterly forſake the falſe Religion of the Pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confeſſion of God's holy Word. Let us all go to morrow into the Temple, to hear the Word of God, and after let us caſt down to the ground all the Idols and Altars. To this every Man agreed, ſaying, Let us ſo do, yea, and that very ſame hour in the which they have appointed us to be at the Council-houſe.

The People of Piedmont brought into great diſtreſs.

Note how the Miniſters of the Goſpel promiſe to their Enemies and perform doing good for evil.

The Fortreſs gotten by the Angrongnians.

God compelleth his Servants to defend their Religion by force.

The next day after they aſſembled themſelves in the Church of *Boby*, and as ſoon as they came into the Temple, without any further delay, they beat down the Images, and caſt down the Altars. After the Sermon, they went to *Villars* to do the like there. By the way they encountred with a Band of Souldiers, which were going to ſpoil a Village named *Le Vall Guichard*, and to take the poor Inhabitants Priſoners. The Souldiers, ſeeing them ſo ill appointed, mocked them, and diſcharged their Hand-guns upon them, thinking at the firſt brunt to have put them to flight. But they valiantly defended themſelves, and with ſtones chaſed them even to the Fortreſs. When they came to *Villars*, they beat down their Images and Altars, and afterwards beſieged the Fortreſs, and demanded the Priſoners which were there detained.

Images and Altars broken down in the Church of Boby.

The ſame day the Judg of *Luſerne*, called *Podeſta*, went to the Council-houſe, to enroll the Names of thoſe which would return to the Maſs; but ſeeing what was done, he was ſore afraid, and deſired the People to ſuffer him to return quietly, which they willingly granted unto him. Divers Gentlemen alſo of the Valley came thither with the Judg, to make their poor Tenants to forſake God; but ſeeing the Tumult, they were fain to flee into the Caſtle, where they and the Garriſon were beſieged ten days together, not without great danger of their Lives. The ſecond day of the Siege, the Captain of *Toure* went with a Company of Souldiers, thinking to raiſe the Siege; but they were by thoſe that kept the Paſſages either ſlain or diſcomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three Bands, and with the Garriſon of *Toure*, which cauſed a furious Combat, wherein many of the Enemies were ſlain, and a great number hurt, and yet of thoſe that beſieged the Fort there was not one Man hurt.

Another Combat between the Lord of Trinity and the Angrongnians.

God giveth victory againſt his People.

In the time of this Siege they attempted divers means to take the ſaid Fortreſs, but without Ordnance it was impoſſible ſo to do; wherefore they were now paſt all hope of winning it. Moreover, the Lord of *Trinity*, returning with his Army, was come to the Valley of *Luſerne*, and the next day after might eaſily have raiſed the Siege. Wherefore when the Garriſon (not knowing that the Lord of *Trinity* was ſo near) deſired that they might depart with Bag and Baggage, they granted their requeſt. In this Siege half of the Souldiers were ſlain, and many were hurt, as well with Harquebuſſes as with Stones. During this Siege, the Souldiers for lack of water were conſtrained to make their Bread with Wine, which tormented their Stomachs, and cauſed great Diſeaſes. Here is not to be forgotten, that the Souldiers, which a while before did ſo cruelly perſecute the poor Miniſters, ſeeking by all means poſſible to deſtroy them, were now fain to pray them to ſave their Lives, and to promiſe them that they ſhould have no hurt, and alſo to ſafe-conduct them into a ſure place; neither would they depart until they had promiſed them ſo to do. Which the Miniſters did promiſe, and alſo perform very willingly. Then the Souldiers ſeeing themſelves much beholden to the Miniſters ſo gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promiſed them in recompence thereof all the pleaſure that they could ſhew them. The ſame night the Fortreſs was razed.

A notable Miracle of God in keeping the Temples of the Godly from burning.

The ſecond day of *February* the Lord of *Trinity* camped at *Luſerne*, and placed a Garriſon in the Priory of St. *John*, a Village of the *Waldois* between *Luſerne* and *Angrongne*. The next day in the morning the ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent word unto them of *Angrongne*, that if they would not take part with the reſt, they ſhould be gently handled. All the week before they were ſollicited by him to conſent to the ſame, but they would give no anſwer. The ſame day they of *Angrongne*, and the reſt of the Vallies, fully agreed and determined to defend their Religion by force, and that the one ſhould aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the conſent of the reſt. About noon the Lord of *Trinity* marched with his Army by St. *John*, to enter into the Borders of *Angrogne* by a place called *La Sonvillette*, where they had fought before. The People had made certain Bulwarks of Earth and Stone, not paſt three foot high, where they defended themſelves valiantly againſt their Enemies, which aſſailed them divers ways. When the Enemies were ſo weary that they could fight no longer, they put freſh Souldiers into their places; ſo that the Combat endured until night, and all that day the Army could not enter into the Borders of *Angrongne*. Many of the Enemies were ſlain, and a great number hurt: and but two of *Angrongne* ſlain, of whom the one was ſlain by his own folly, becauſe he was too greedy upon the ſpoil. The Army, being now well beaten and tired, reſted a while, to make themſelves ſtronger for a further miſchief.

Note again the ſecret Work of God.

Unkindneſs to Parents ſlightly regarded.

The Meadow of Toure defended.

The Friday following, which was the ſeventh of *February*, at the break of the day, the Army marched towards *Angrongne* by five ſeveral places. The People of *Angrongne* were not yet aſſembled, and none there were to reſiſt, but only a few which kept the Watch; the which ſeeing their Enemies coming upon them in ſo many places, and perceiving that they went about to incloſe them, after they had valiantly fought for a ſpace, they recoiled by little and little to a high place called *La Caſſe*, where the Combat was renewed with a greater fierceneſs than before. But the Lord of *Trinity* ſeeing the loſs of his Men, and above all, that one of great credit and authority in the Duke's Court, was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and defended to *Angrongne*, (the People being fled to the Meadow of *Toure*) and there ſpoiled and burnt all the Wines, Victuals, and the reſt of the Goods that he could find; ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he had burned about a thouſand Houſes of *Angrongne*.

Another Fight between the Lord of Trinity and the Angrongnians.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes ſet fire upon the two Temples of *Angrongne*, where the Word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they alſo to the Miniſter's Houſe, which notwithſtanding remained whole, the Houſes round about being all conſumed with fire. This day none of *Angrongne* was ſlain or hurt, ſaving only one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all *Angrongne* but two that were Enemies to the Word of God, which that ſame day were ſlain by the Souldiers not in the Combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. The one of them was a very covetous Wretch, and had great ſtore of Gold and Silver, and would ſpend nothing, either to help himſelf, or ſuccour others, no not his poor Parents. All this was ſpoiled by the Souldiers, with a hundred or two hundred Crowns beſides, which he had about him. Beſides theſe two there was not one of *Angrongne* ſlain that day. All the reſt of the People retired to the Meadow of *Toure*, the ſituation whereof we will here declare, for the better underſtanding of that which followeth.

Toure is a little Valley upon the Borders of *Angrongne*, inviron'd about with Mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both ſides, and in the midſt thereof, there be about two hundred ſmall Houſes and Cottages; alſo Meadows, Paſtures for Cattel, Ground for Tillage, and goodly Fountains. On the South-ſide and the North the Mountains are ſo high, that no Man can that way approach unto the ſaid Valley. On the other coaſts a Man

may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not past two miles from *Angrongne*; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by because of the Hills which be on both sides. There is also a River hard by, but very small, but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The People had carried thither very few Victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the Army.

The Enemies again driven back.

In the mean time the Lord of *Trinity*, after he had now twice assaulted *Angrongne*, sent certain to burn *Rosa*, and to discover the ways which led to the Valley of *Luserne*; but the Souldiers were driven back four days together by those which kept the Passages. Whereupon he sent his whole Army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of *Luserne* sent new Aid. During this Combat, an Ambushment of Souldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no Man would have suspected it. The poor People, seeing themselves so environed of their Enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their Enemies, and other some into the Rocks.

The poor Christians run through the Pikes.

The Enemies being entred into *Rosa*, consumed all with Fire and Sword. The residue of the People fled by the secret way leading to the Valley of *Luserne*, and wandred all that night upon the Mountains full of Snow, loaden with their stuff, carrying their little Infants in their arms, and leading the other by the hands, with great pain and travel. When they of the Valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor People were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor Infants which cried out for cold.

The Angrognians with their young Infants flee into the Mountains.

A few days after the Lord of *Trinity* entred into the Valley of *Luserne* by three several ways, that is to say, by *Rosa*, by the Plains, and by the sides of *Taillaret*. They which kept the Passages, at the first resisted their Enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to *Villars*, and there defended themselves awhile. But because they saw that their Enemies had already passed the Plain, and gotten above *Villars* towards *Boby*, they gave over, and left *Villars*, and fled into the Mountains. The Souldiers being entred, burned Houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor People which were fled into the Mountains, seeing the Village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, that had made them worthy to suffer for his Name, and for his Cause; and also they were glad to see the Village on fire, lest that their Enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the Souldiers in great rage mounted the Hills on every side, pursuing the poor People in great fury; but a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their Enemies to *Villars*. This done, the Army retired.

The Waldoys again assaulted by the Lord of Trinity.

Few days after the Meadow of *Toure* was assaulted by three several ways on the East side. The Combat endured a long season, where divers of the Enemies were hurt, and many slain. But none of this poor People were slain that day, only two were hurt, which were soon healed again. But to declare the Conflicts, Assaults, Skirmishes, and Alarms, which were at *Angrongne* and other places thereabouts, it were too long; for brevities sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the 14*th* day of *February*, the People which were in the uppermost part of the Meadow of *Toure*, perceived that a Company of Souldiers were ascended up the Hill to *Angrongne*, and burning the rest of the Houses there: they doubted that it was a policy of their Enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the Meadow of *Toure* from them. Therefore they sent only six Harquebusses against those Souldiers; the which having the higher ground, and not espied of their Enemies, discharged all their Guns together. Whereupon incontinent the Souldiers fled, albeit no Man pursued them; whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.

The wicked fleeth when no Man pursueth him.

Shortly after they of the Ward of the Meadow of *Toure*, which were in the Watch on the top of the Mountain, (because every morning there was a Sermon made, whereunto the People resorted, and they might see afar off round about them) espied a Troop of Souldiers marching on that side of the Hill which is between the East and the North, and soon after that discovered another Company, which marched on the North side towards the said Troop. The first were ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the Mountain called *Melese*, but they were soon discomfited: and because they could not run fast by means of the deep Snow, and difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilst they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them their Drum, behold, there came certain unto them, crying out that the other Troop was entred into the Meadow of *Toure*, by means whereof they gave over the chase, or else not one of their Enemies had escaped, as they which were there reported for a truth. Not one of *Angrongne* was slain or hurt.

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The Persecutors pursued.

The other Troop which came by the North side, took a high Hill in the top of the Mountain, the which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the Snow and Ice which was there. The chiefest of this Company were *Ladowick* of *Monteil*, (which had been before Master of the Camp in the King's Wars) and *Charles Truchet*. When they were come to the top of the Hill, they caused seven Souldiers to go down the Hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the Troop might descend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the Houses. They sent also other to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the Hill and the Rocks. In the mean time the Ministers, and the People which were in the midst of the Valley of the Meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith; wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation and tears even until night.

God's People fight prayer.

The seven Spies which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their Captain *Truchet*, *Come down, come down, Seignior* Charles, *this day* Angrongne *shall be taken.* The other cried to them again, *Ascend, ascend, and return, or else you shall be slain every one of you.* Immediatly issued out five against these Spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five which set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a Fork of Fire. Soon after eight of *Angrongne* issued out against the whole Troop, which was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the other, to discover the Enemies, and carried a great Staff, which they call a Rancon, as is somewhat bigger than an Halbert: the other followed by two and two together, with Harquebusses. These eight went from Rock to Rock, from Hill to Hill, about the Mountain, and chased their Enemies valiantly. Then came twelve other, the which joyning with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their Enemies. Soon after there came from the Valley of *Luserne* an hundred Harquebusses, with one of their Ministers, according to their manner, which were wont to send out a Minister withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the People in order, that they exceed not measure, as it came to pass that day.

The courage of God's People against their Enemies.

At the length they saw them also coming which returned from the discomfiture of the former Troop, making a great noise, and having a Drum sounding afore them, which they had taken from their Enemies; which joined with them of the Valley of *Luserne*, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediatly they came to succour the other that now were encountring valiantly with their Enemies. Then the Enemies seeing such a Company marching against them, with such courage and boldness, after the other had once called upon God, their Hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the other began to pray, they began also to flee: But because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice, and fought, and some in the mean time fled.

A Conflict between the Angrognians and their Enemies.

The marvelous Works of the Lord.

He that carried the Rancon, and discovered the Enemies, was but a very young and a simple Man, and was esteemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say in their language) handle *La Sape*, that is to say, a Hatchet, and kept Cattel: and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the Enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great Rancon with laying load upon them; and

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and after that he broke also four of their own Swords in pursuing of them. There was a Boy of eighteen years of Age, and of small stature, which alone slew the Lord of *Monteil*, Master of the Camp (as is said) to the King; wherewith the Enemies were marvellously astonished and discouraged. Another simple Man, who, a Man would have thought, durst not once have looked *Charles Truchet* in the face (because he was a very big Man, strong and puissant, and one of the chiefest Captains of the whole Army) threw down the said *Truchet* with the stroke of a Stone. Then a young Man leapt upon him, and slew him with his own Sword, which was four fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

David with his sling killeth Goliah.

The cruelty of this wretched Truchet against this poor People appeareth before in this Story.

The Truchets was one of the principal Authors of this War, and one of the chiefest Enemies of true Religion, and of the poor *Waldoys*, that could then be found. It was said also, that he vaunted and promised before to the said Lord of *Trinity*, that he would deliver into his hands the Medow of *Toure*. But God soon brought his proud brags to naught. And for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor People, he lay spoiled and naked like a Beast in the wild Mountain of *Angrogne*. Two of the chiefest among them offered to pay a great sum of Crowns for their Ransom, but they could not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance, and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

God fighteth for his People.

The Minister, when he saw the great effusion of Blood, and the Enemies to flee, cried to the People, saying, that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They which heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer: but they which were further off, and heard him not, chased their Enemies till dark night. Insomuch, that if the rest had done the like, very few of their Enemies had escaped. That day they had spoiled their Enemies of a great part of their Armour and Munition. So God restored in this Combat, and in others, to the poor *Waldoys*, the Armour which the Lord of *Trinity* had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place: and every Man cried, Who is he which feeth not that God fighteth for us? This Victory gave great courage to the poor *Waldoys*, and greatly astonished the Enemies.

Pharaoh's heart yet remaineth indurate.

The 18*th* of *February*, The Lord of *Trinity* not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of *Villars*, returned to burn all the little Villages round about, which pertain to the same, and especially to pursue the poor People, which were fled up into the Mountains, and dividing his Army into three parts, he entred by three several ways above mentioned. The two first Companies joined together between *Villars* and *Boby*, having a great Company of Horsemen. From thence they went to seek the People which were in the Mountain of *Combe*, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no Warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the Warders which were next, seeing their Enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them, and calling upon God for his aid and succour, they set themselves against their Enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their Bulwarks, that is to say, certain Houses which at that time served them for that purpose, albeit they were not made to that use. Many of the Enemies were slain at those two Combats, and not one of the other side. The Lord of *Trinity*, seeing his Men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his Army, which were esteemed to be 15 hundred Men. There came also about an hundred to succour the Warders. The Combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor People were assaulted so vehemently, that they were fain to forsake their Bulwarks, losing two of their Men. Then the Enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their Trumpets, triumphing that they had put the People to flight. But the People, retiring not past a stones cast, took courage, and crying altogether to the Lord for succour, they turned themselves to the face of their Enemies, and with great fore and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

The Waldoys again drive their Enemies back.

The Persecutors put to flight.

After this the Enemies rested themselves a while, and by and by after they gave a furious assault, but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the Enemies rested, and in the mean time the People fell to Prayer, calling upon God altogether, with their faces lifted up towards Heaven; which fraied the Enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea, God here shewed his great Power, even in the little Children also, which fervently called upon God, threw stones at their Enemies, and gave courage also unto the Men. So did also the Women, and the vulgar sort, that is to say those which were meet for no feats of War, remaining upon the Mountain; and beholding these furious Combats, kneeled upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards Heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, *Lord help us.* Who heard their Prayers.

The enemies retire.

After that these three Assaults were given, there came one unto them crying; Be of good courage, God hath sent those of *Angrongne* to succour us. He meant, that they of *Angrogne* were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards *Taillaret*, where the third part of the Army was. The People perceiving that they of *Angrogne* were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of *Angrogne* be here to succour us. The Enemies hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a Retreat, and retired into the Plain.

The Angrognians help their Fellows.

That Troop which was gone towards *Taillaret*, divided themselves into three Companies. The first marched by the side of the Mountain, burning many Houses, and joined with the main Army. The second Company, which was of seven score, marched higher, thinking to take the People at unawares. But they were by seven Men strongly resisted and driven back. The third Company attained the top of the Mountain, thinking to include the People; but as God would, they of *Angrogne*, which came to succour them, encountred with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of *Villars*, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little Bread and Wine, (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day) chased their Enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the Master of the Camp was fain to send to the Lord of *Trinity* (which was at *Toure*) for succour, or else all would have been lost. Which he did; and immediatly he rode with all speed to *Luserne* to save himself, hearing the Alarm which was given at St. *John* by those of *Angrogne*, and fearing left the way should have been stopped. The Army retired with great difficulty (notwithstanding the new Aid which was sent them) and with great loss of Men. One of their Captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the Valley of *Luserne*.

The Persecutors put to flight.

On *Monday*, being the 17*th* of *March* next following, the Lord of *Trinity*, to be revenged of those of the Medow of *Toure*, assembled all the Force that he could make with the Gentlemen of the Country. Insomuch that whereas before his Army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly in the night season he encamped with part of his Army in the midst of *Angrogne*, from whence the poor Inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the Sermon and Prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the Army to be encamped at the foot of the Mountain of *Angrogne* on the East side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the Army coasted the Hills side, the one towards the other, being (by a multitude) so glittering in their Harnels, and marching in such array, that the poor People at the first were astonished thereat. Notwithstanding, the Assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, Help us, O Lord; beseeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy Name, to stay the effusion of Blood, if it were his good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their Enemies to the truth of his holy Gospel. These two parts of the Army joined together near to the Bulwarks of the Medow of *Toure*, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the Bands mounted secretly by the Rocks, thinking to have included the People in their Bulwarks. But as soon as they which kept the Bulwark below had espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the Aid which was sent unto them from the Valley of *Luserne*, very luckily, and coming as it were from Heaven: which joining together, soon discomfited their Enemies with Stones and

The Angrognians fall to prayer.

Harquebusses. They purſued them fiercely in the Rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, becauſe the Rocks are ſo ſteep that no Man can aſcend or deſcend without great pain and difficulty. The Captain of this Band was named *Boſſan* of *Virgil*, a Man very expert in the Affairs of War. He at his going out of his Lodging,threatned that he would do great and terrible things that day. His Hoſteſs hearing that, ſaid unto him. Monſieur, if our Religion be better than theirs, you ſhall have the Victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you ſhall not prevail. Shortly after the Captain was brought again into his Inn, ſo wounded and ſo feeble, that he was not like to live. Then ſaid his Hoſteſs unto him, Monſieur, it is now well ſeen that their Religion is better than ours.

The proud threats of Haman.

There was alſo another Band which kept the top of the Hill, to aſſault the Bulwarks from thence. The middlemoſt Bulwark was then aſſaulted, in the which were very few to defend the ſame: the which ſeeing the number of their Enemies, retired back, leaving therein five only to defend it. There was a huge Rock not far from the foreſaid Bulwark, behind the ſame a great number of the Enemies were hid. And anon there iſſued out two Enſigns, aſſuring themſelves to win the Bulwark; but immediatly one of their Enſign-bearers was wounded to death. Whereupon many reculed back; the other ſet up his Enſign upon the Bulwark. They which were within, had neither Halberd, nor any other long Weapon, but only one Pike, and the ſame without any Iron; the which one of the five took, and threw down the Enſign, and manfully beat back the Scalers, and threw them down to the ground. Divers of the Enemies were entred into the Bulwark by a Dore below, and ſlew one of the five which kept the middle part of the Bulwark. The other four looked to be deſtroyed out of hand. Then one of the four chaſed away thoſe which had entred below, with ſtones: and the other three leaving their Hand-guns, defended themſelves likewiſe with great ſtones: and perceiving the Band which was on the Rocks to flee, they took courage, and withſtood then Enemies valiantly till their Companions were returned from the chaſe.

The Bulwarks manfully defended.

In the mean time the Bulwark which was upon the ſide of the Mountain, was furiouſly aſſailed by the one half of the Army. Thoſe that were within ſuffered then Enemies to approach near to the Bulwark, without any Gunſhot or other defence; whereat the Enemies much marvelled: but when they were even at hand, they fell upon them, ſome with throwing of ſtones, ſome with rolling down mighty ſtones, and ſome with Harquebuſſes. There was a huge ſtone rolled down which paſſed throughout the whole Army,and flew divers. The Souldiers at that time had won a little Cottage near to the ſaid Bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor Men. But among them one deviſed to roll down a great huge ſtone againſt the Cottage, which ſo ſhook it, and amazed the Souldiers, that they thought they had been all deſtroyed, and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.

Behold the Artillery of this ſimple People, and wit what Weapons they fought.

Then the Souldiers made certain Fences of wood, five foot long, three foot broad, and of the thickneſs of three boards,but they were ſo fore vexed with the ſhot of the Harquebuſſes, that they were fain to lay all thoſe Fences aſide. The Miners alſo made others of earth for the Souldiers. But all theſe Policies of the Enemies availed them nothing: for the ſlaughter was ſo great, that in divers places you might have ſeen three lying dead one upon another. God ſo wrought with the poor Chriſtians,that the ſhot of two Harquebuſſes ſlew four Men. It was ſaid for a certain, that the ſhot of an Hurquebuſs came ſo near the Lord of *Trinity*'s head, that it brake a Wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire ſixſcore paces backward; and ſeeing his Souldiers in ſuch great numbers murthered and wounded on every ſide, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the reſt of his Army. That day he thought aſſuredly to have entred into the Medow of *Toure*.Moreover,he was determined, if that days journey had not ſucceeded, to incamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the Aſſault. Many Gentlemen and others came thither to ſee the diſcomfiture of the poor *Waldoys*: and likewiſe thoſe of the Plain looked for nothing, but to hear the piteous ruin and deſolation of this poor People. But God diſpoſed it otherwiſe; for the Lord of *Trinity* had much ado to ſave himſelf and his: and ſeeing the miſchief which they intended to do unto others, was fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully aſtoniſhed. They of the Plain alſo, when they ſaw the number of the dead Bodies and the Wounded to be ſo great (for from noon until the evening they ceaſed not to carry them away) were likewiſe exceedingly diſmaied. Albeit they carried not away all; for there were many that lay near to the Bulwarks, which the People covered with winding-ſheets the next morning. The Souldiers themſelves confeſſed to them of the Medow of *Toure*, that if they had purſued them, they had been all ſlain, they were ſo tired and clean out of heart.

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The Papiſts aſtoniſhed and diſmayd on every ſide by the wonderful Judgment of God.

Many marvelled why the People did not follow the Army, but eſpecially the Souldiers. ſeeing the great diſcomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten ſuch vantage of them already, but this was done for two cauſes. The one was, becauſe they had already determined not to follow the Army being once retired, to avoid the effuſion of blood, meaning only to defend themſelves. The other cauſe was, for that they were weary, and had ſpent all their Munition: For many of them had ſhot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty,ſpending great ſtore both of Pellets and Hail-ſhot. The reſt of the Army retired, crying with a loud voice, *God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong.*

God's People avoid the ſhedding of Blood.

The next day one of the principal Captains of the Army ſurrendred his Charge to the Lord of *Trinity*, ſaying unto him, that he would never fight againſt this People any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual Memory, that in that Combate there were but two of the *Waldoys* ſlain, and two hurt. Through the whole Country of *Piedmont*, every Man ſaid, God fighteth for them. One of the Captaines confeſſed, that he had been at many fierce Aſſaults and Combats, and ſundry Battels well fought, but yet he never ſaw Souldiers ſo fainthearted and amazed: yea, the Souldiers themſelves told him, they were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they could not ſtrike. Moreover,they ſaid,that this People never ſhot,but they hurt or killed ſome of the Souldiers. Some others ſaid, That the Miniſters by their Prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight: and indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the Judgments of God,that notwithſtanding ſo many Combats and Conflicts, ſo great Aſſaults and Adventures, ſo much and ſo terrible ſhot, continually made againſt this poor People,yet all in a manner came to no effect: ſo mightily God's Holy Power wrought for his People.

God fighteth for his People.

Inſomuch that, for all the ſaid Combats, Skirmiſhes, and ſo many Conflicts of all the *Angrognians* there were but nine only that miſcarried, and the whole number of thoſe that were ſlain were but only fourteen Perſons. Where alſo is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and thoſe alſo but poor ſilly Shepherds and Neatherds, to incounter with ſuch a mighty Power, of ſo ſtrong and brave Souldiers coming againſt them with Weapons and Armour, being ſo well furniſhed and appointed with Munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary ſide being warned, and unprovided of all habilliment of War,having for their defence for the moſt part nothing elſe but Slings and Stones, and a few Harquebuſſes.

Only 14 of all the Waldoys ſlain in all theſe Conflicts.

The laſt dealing of the Angrognians.

The *5th* of *March* there was a hot Skirmiſh at *Angrogne*. For three Companies of Souldiers went to *Angrogne*, to burn and ſpoil all that remained, and to deſtroy the Wives which were hidden in the ground. Where, amongſt themſelves, they mocked and flouted the poor People, ſaying, Theſe *Lutheran Waldoys* are valiant Fellows behind their Bulwarks: but if they had been in the plain Field, they had been well canvaſſed. After this it chanced that thirty of the *Waldoys* went and aſſailed theſe foreſaid Companies in the plain Field. They fought a long ſeaſon, and that ſo near, that ſome of them fought hand to hand. In this Conflict one of thoſe of *Angrogne*, wreſtled with a Captain of the Enemies, ſtrong and mighty, and caſt him down upon the ground. Many of the Souldiers were ſlain, and many hurt. But of the *Angrognians* there was but one ſlain, and another hurt a little, which notwithſtanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the Souldiers, ſeeing the loſs of their Men, retired ſuddenly.

Another skirmiſh between the Enemies and the Angrognians.

After that, the Lord of *Trinity* ſent two Gentlemen of the Valley of *Luſerne* to them of *Angrogne*, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom anſwer was made, that they would ſtand to their firſt Anſwer. From that time he ſent very often to intreat of the Agreement: but what his meaning was, it might well appear. For when the poor People hoped for ſome agreement, they were moſt furiouſly aſſaulted. Upon this, there was a day aſſigned in the Valley of *Luſerne*, to confer touching the Agreement with certain Men pertaining to the Lord of *Raconis*, and a ſafe Conduct was promiſed and granted.

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Note the practice of Papiſts.

Behold how this miniſtrom Trinity, whilſt he pretendeth an Agreement, goeth about to deſtroy theſe poor Men.

The night before the Miniſters and Rulers of *Angrogne* ſhould take their Journey, they perceived a Company of Souldiers going up a Hill, by the which they of *Angrogne* ſhould paſs, and hid them in Houſes on the ways ſide, thinking to take at unwares them of *Angrogne*,which were ſent to treat of the Agreement. But they, having intelligence of this conſpiracy, watched and warded. It was an eaſy matter, as divers thought, that night to have taken the Lord of *Trinity*, and have ſpoiled his whole Camp. But they of *Angrogne* and *Luſerne* would not executе this enterprize, leſt thereby they ſhould offend God, and paſs the bounds of their Vocation, taking upon them no more but to defend themſelves.

David ſpares King Saul.

At that time a pittiful caſe happened in the Medow of *Toure*. The Lord of *Raconis*, ſeeming to be ſorry for this War, ſent into the Medow of *Toure* an honeſt Man of *Briqueras*, named *Francis* of *Gilles*, to take advice what means were beſt to further the Agreement. Who, having conſulted with the Miniſters and Rulers, returned homeward that day according to his Maſter's Commandment, and having ſent back one which conducted him, was murdered ſoon after at the foot of *Angrogne*, by two of *Angrogne* which otherwiſe ſeemed to be honeſt, and of good Parentage. Soon after, one of the two,which had committed this Fact, entred into the Medow of *Toure*, and was immediatly apprehended and bound. He confeſſed the Fact without any further delay. Immediatly the other alſo was taken.

The *Waldoys* were marvelloully troubled and aggrieved with this Fact,and wrote to the Lord of *Raconis*, declaring unto him the whole Circumſtance of the Fact, and that they had the Offenders in Ward, and that if it would pleaſe him to ſend certain to examine the matter, they for their part would ſo execute juſtice in the puniſhment of them, that their innocency to all Men ſhould appear. The Lord of *Raconis* wrote unto them that they ſhould deliver unto him the Offenders, and that he would do ſuch juſtice upon them, as the Caſe required. To the which they of *Angrogne* anſwered, That upon three Conditions they ſhould be delivered according to his requeſt. Firſt, That the Priſoners ſhould be compelled to do nothing againſt their Conſciences; and as touching Religion,nothing ſhould be ſpoken unto them, but out of the Word of God. Secondly, That ſpeedy and ſharp juſtice ſhould be executed upon them; and that hereafter this ſhould be no prejudice to the Liberties and Privileges of the People of *Angrogne*. The third, That the execution of them ſhould be upon the Borders of *Angrogne*,for an example to all other. This being accorded with one aſſent (yea without contradiction of their Parents)they ſent them Priſoners, accompanied with ſixty Gunners,to the Confines of *Luſerne*, and there delivered them into the hands of the Lord of *Raconis*. This redounded to the great commendation of them of *Angrogne*.

After this, the Lord of *Trinity*, having left certain Garriſons about *Angrogne* and the Valley of *Luſerne*, went to *Perouſe* near to the Valley of St. *Martin*, to ſuccour the Garriſon there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of *Angrogne*, and the Valley of *Luſerne* lived in more quietneſs than afore: but yet they were much afflicted, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Victuals which ſore preſſed them, and namely thoſe of the Medow of *Toure*, for they were ſpoiled of their Victuals. This poor People lived with Milk and with Herbs, having very little Bread. But afterwards, when they were even like to be famiſhed, God of his goodneſs ſent them better ſucceour,both of Corn and Bread than they had before. The Enemies thought to have taken the Medow of *Toure* by Famine; for they took away the Victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every Houſhold was ſuffered to have no more than ſhould ſuſtain them that day, and that alſo was very little; to the end that they ſhould not ſuccour this poor People.

Scarceneſs of Victuals among the Angrognians God ſhewing towards his People.

After that the Lord of *Trinity*, being returned from *Perouſe* to *Luſerne*, ſent certain to intreat of an Agreement, and required to commune with ſome of the People. Then they began to conſult and deviſe by all means, how they might come to ſome good Agreement. But on *Monday*, being the *17th* of *April*, by break of day, he ſent certain Bands of *Spaniards*, which he had there, with the Garriſon of *Toure*, to the Mountain of *Tailleret*, by the way which leadeth to the Medow of *Toure* on the South ſide: They murdered Men, Women, and Children of *Tailleret*, whom they found in their Beds. Then they marched on along upon the Mountain, towards the Medow of *Toure*. Anon after, the People perceived two other Companies of Souldiers, marching by *Angrogne* by two ſeveral ways, to aſſault the Medow of *Toure*. In the morning as ſoon as they roſe, they blew their Horns, for they ſaw the *Spaniards* already entred. When they had made their Prayers, every Man ran to meet the Enemies; ſome on the Eaſt ſide, and the other on the South. They which firſt reliſted the *Spaniards* (who were already paſt the Bulwarks) were in the beginning but twelve Gunners, and a few other,whom they cauſed to go up to the Hill, and roll down great ſtones. Theſe twelve, having found a fit place for their purpoſe to ſtay the *Spaniards*, began to ſhoot off their Harquebuſſes at them. The *Spaniards* ſeeing themſelves ſo ſore aſſaulted both above and beneath,and the place ſo narrow & ſo ſtrait, recoiled back, and retired as faſt as they could by the ſame way by the which they came. If they had tarried a little longer,they had been incloſed between the two Mountains: which place was ſo ſtrait, that they could not have eſcaped. The People chaſed them unto their Camp, which was at *Toure*. As they fled,they found often ſome Forts, where they did reſiſt for a little while,but they were always beaten out. In this Combat,God gave victory to the poor *Waldoys*, and great ſlaughter of the *Spaniards*, where alſo very many of them were ſore hurt and wounded.

Note how this bloody wretch pretending agreement, peace and quietneſs, immediatly ſeeketh the deſtruction of this poor people.

The people of Tailleret cruelly murdered of the Spaniards.

The Trumpets of the Waldoys.

The Spaniards beaten back.

God giveth victory to the Waldoys againſt the Spaniards.

The ſaid Lord of *Trinity* ſent into the *Spaniards*, that they ſhould not faint and give over, but ſtick to it like Men, and he would ſhortly ſend them ſuccour: but they would not. Thoſe of the Valley of *Luſerne*, hearing of this conflict, came in the mean time to help their Neighbours. Amongſt others, there was one ſlain in that battel, for whom the Lord of *Trinity* much lamented; ſaying, that he would rather have loſt a whole Band than that Man. The other two Companies which marched by *Angrogne*, perceiving the *Spaniards* to be ſo beaten and put to-flight, and ſeeing alſo thoſe of the Medow of *Toure* coming to encounter with them,retired in haſte. Upon that the L. of *Trinity* went to *Cavors*, three miles from *Luſerne*, being in a great perplexity; and as he was about to ſend ſuccour to the *Spaniards*, he heard the ſound of a Drum above *Luſerne*, and ſuſpected that there was an Army of the *Waldoys* coming againſt him. Upon this divers of the Souldiers fled away by the Plain, crying that all was loſt. It was certainly reported, that if the *Waldoys* had purſued the Army,as they might eaſily have done, the Camp had that day been chaſed out of *Luſerne*. The poor people lacked no courage ſo to do; for albeit they had neither eat nor drank all the day before, and had ſo fore travelled and fought, yet they ſaid, that if they had but a little refreſhed themſelves with a morſel of Bread, and a glaſs of Wine, they durſt take upon them to enter into the Camp of their Enemies.

God taketh the hearts from his Enemies.

God giveth courage to the poor Waldoys.

Within a few days after, they of *Angrogne* were adverſtiſed by the Lord of *Trinity*'s Letters, that he fully determined to cut down their Trees and Vines, and deſtroy their Corn being on the ground. And furthermore, that two Forts ſhould be built at *Angrogne*. The day was aſſigned, and Horſemen appointed,with all ſpeed to execute this miſchievous enterprize. The poor people thought that they ſhould be affailed as fore as ever they were,and fight as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night afore that this ſhould be executed, the Lord of *Trinity* received certain Letters from the Duke, which ſtaid this enterprize. They of the Medow of *Toure* being advertiſed that the Lord of *Trinity* did now intend to ſend Ordnance to beat down the Bulwarks which were made of Stones, they made a Bulwark of Earth, which was in compaſs about 500 paces, which they might eaſily ſee from *Luſerne*. They in the Medow of *Toure* told the Lord of *Trinity*'s Men,that if they brought any Artillery,they ſhould not

The miſchievous purpoſe of Trinity fruſted by the providence of God.

not so soon carry it away again; and shortly the Ordnance was sent back again.

The Waldoys send a Supplication to the Dutchess.

About this season, the chief Rulers and Ministers of the *Waldoys*, requested earnestly the Lord of *Raconis* to present a Supplication which they had made to the Dutchess of *Savoy*: for they had intelligence, that she was sore offended that her Subjects were so cruelly handled. In which Supplication they declared the equity of their Cause, protesting all due obedience to the Duke their Soveraign Lord, and if it might be proved by the pure Word of God that they held any Error, they would with all humble submission receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beseeching her Grace to appease the displeasure which the Duke had conceived against them, by the untrue surmises of their Adversaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious Pardon.

The Waldoys offer to be judged by the Word of God.

The Lord of Trinity fore sick.

About this time the Lord of *Trinity*, by sickness, was in great danger of his Life. Soon after the Supplication was delivered, the Dutchess sent an Answer to the *Waldoys*, by the said Lord of *Raconis*. The effect thereof was, That she had obtained of the Duke's Grace all that they demanded in their Supplication, upon such conditions as the said Lord *Raconis* would propound unto them. But when they understood that the said Conditions were very rigorous, they sent another Supplication unto the Dutchess, wherein they humbly besought her Grace to be a means that the said Conditions and Articles might be moderated; which Articles here follow.

Another Supplication sent to the Dutchess.

First, *That they should banish their Ministers.*

Secondly, *That they should receive the Mass, and other Ceremonies of the Romish Church.*

Thirdly, *That they should pay a Ransom to the Souldiers for certain of their Men which they had taken.*

Fourthly, *That they should assemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.*

Fifthly, *That the Duke would make Fortresses at his pleasure in all that Country, with other like things.*

The Supplication of the Dutchess.

The People made humble request in this their last Supplication, That it would please the said Dutchess to give the Duke her Husband to understand, how that these Conditions were strange and rigorous. And as for their parts, altho they had good trial of their Ministers, that they were good Men and fearing God, of sound Doctrine, of good Life, and honest Conversation; yet nevertheless they were contented so to do, if he would give leave to some of them to remain: requesting this, that it might be permitted unto them to chuse some other good Ministers in their places before they departed, lest that their Churches should remain without Pastors.

The Conditions whereunto the Waldoys did agree and consent.

Concerning the Mass, and other Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, if the Duke should cause them to be ministred in their Parishes, they neither would nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those that should minister them, or be present thereat: notwithstanding they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministration thereof, or to pay any thing to the maintenance of the same, or else to yield either favour or consent thereunto.

As touching the Ransom which was demanded of them for their Prisoners, considering the extream Poverty that they were in, and the great Calamities and Damages which they had suffered, it was to them a thing unpossible. Yea, if his Highness were truly informed what loss they had sustained, by burning, spoiling, and sacking of their Houses and Goods, without all mercy or pitty, he would not only not require of them any such thing, but as a gracious and merciful Prince, he would succour and support them, that they might be able to maintain their poor Families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the Service of God, and of their said Lord and Prince: and therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor Brethren remaining in Captivity and Prison, and such as were sent to the Gallies for the profession of their Religion, might speedily be delivered and set at liberty. K.Hen.8

As for their Assemblies and Preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only amongst themselves, in their accustomed Places, and in other Valleys aforesaid, where any Assembly of the Faithful should be, which were desirous to hear the preaching of the Gospel.

Touching the Fortresses, foralmuch as by those which were already made, they had suffered great molestations and troubles, as well concerning their Goods, as also their Religion: they were assured, that if he should build up new Forts, they should never be able to abide the Troubles, Miseries, and Calamities that would follow thereupon; and therefore they most humbly desired the said Dutchess to be so good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of the Duke, that he would accept their Persons in the stead of Forts; and that, seeing those Places were by Nature and of themselves strong and well fortified, it might please their said Lord the Duke to receive them into his protection and safeguard: and by the Grace and Assistance of God they would serve him themselves for such Walls and Forts, that he should not need to build any other. And because many of these which dwelt near about them had robbed and spoiled them, not only of their houshold Goods and such other things, but also driven away their Cattel; that it might please him to give them leave to recover the said Goods by way of Justice, and to buy again that which the Souldiers had sold, and that for the same price for the which it was sold.

Briefly, they also besought their said Lord, that it may please him to be so gracious unto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their Franchises, Immunities, and Privileges, as well general as particular, given unto them as well by him as by his Predecessors: and likewise of those which as well they as their Ancestors had bought of their Lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient Subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

And because in time past, in the stead of good and speedy Justice, all iniquity was committed by those that had the administration of Justice in their Valleys, and forsomuch as their Purses were emptied and punished rather than the Malefactors, that it might please him to give order that such Justice might be done amongst them; whereby the Wicked might be punished with all severity, and the Innocent defended and maintained in their right.

Finally, forasmuch as divers of this poor People (being astonished at the coming of the Army, and fearing lest they should not only be spoiled of all their Good, but also they with their Wives and Children be utterly destroyed) made promise against their Consciences, to live according to the Traditions of the Church of *Rome*; they were marvelously troubled and tormented in spirit; and did nothing but languish in that distress. Wherefore they humbly besought the said Dutchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their Conscience; and moreover, that it might please the Duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of Conscience; also, that all their poor Brethren, banished for the Cause of Religion, might return home to their Houses; and that all Confiscations and Penalties made against them, might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honour to God and his Holy Word, and to be true and faithful Subjects unto their Lord and Prince. Yea, more than any other. Underneath the said Supplication there was written:

Torment of Conscience in fliding from the Truth.

> *Your faithful and humble Subjects, the poor afflicted of the Vallies of* Luserne, Angrogne, *St.* Martin, *and* Perouse, *and generally all the People of the* Waldoys, *which inhabit the Country of* Piedmont.

After that this Supplication was viewed and read of the said Dutchess, she so perswaded with the Duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these Articles following.

Conclusions

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Conclusions and Articles lastly agreed upon between the right honourable Lord of Raconis *on the part of the Duke's Highness, and them of the Valleys of* Piedmont, *called the* Waldoys.

The composition and agreement upon conditions between the Duke and the Waldoys.

THat there shall shortly be made Letters Patents by the Duke's Highness, by the which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the Valleys of *Angrogne*, *Boby*, *Villars*, *Valquichard*, *Rora*, *Taillere*, *La Rua de Bonet* (bordering upon *Toure*) St. *Martin*, *Perouse*, *Roccapiata*, St. *Bartholomew*, and all such as have aided them; of all such Faults as they have committed, as well in bearing Armour against his Highness, as against the Lords and certain other Gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

That it shall be lawful for them of *Angrogne*, *Boby*, *Villars*, *Valquichard*, *Rora*, (Members of the Valley of *Luserne*) and for them of *Rodoret*, *Marcele*, *Manaillan*, and *Salsa*, Members of the Valley of St. *Martin*, to have their Congregations, Sermons, and other Ministeries of their Religion in places accustomed.

Sermons and Congregation permitted.

The Parish of Villars.

That it shall be lawful for them of *Villars* (Members of the Valley of *Luserne*) to have the same, but that only until the time that his Highness doth build a Fort in the same place. But whilst the said Fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their Preachings and Assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, where they shall think good, on that side towards *Boby*. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their Ministers to come within the Precinct aforesaid, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their Religion, so that they preach not, nor make any Assembly there.

The Parish of Taillaret, La Rua de Bonet.

It shall also be permitted to them of *Taillaret*, *La Rua de Bonet*, bordering upon *Toure*, to have their Sermons and Assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the Confines of *Toure*.

The Valleys of Luserne & S. Martin.

That it shall not be lawful for the said Members of the Valleys of *Luserne* and St. *Martin*, to come to the rest of their Borders, nor any other of his Highness Dominions: nor to have their Preachings, Assemblies, or Disputations, out of their own Borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their Faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in Body or Goods.

The Parish of Perouse.

The like shall be lawful for them of the parish of *Perouse*, which at this present are fled because of the said Religion, and were wont to have their Assemblies and Preachings, and other Ministeries according to their Religion, at the place called *le Puie*: so that they come not to other places and borders of the said Parish.

The Parish of Pinachia.

It shall be permitted to them of the Parish of *Pinachia*, of the Valley of *Perouse*, which at this present be fled because of the said Religion, and were wont to go to Sermons and Assemblies, and other Ministeries of that Religion, to have the like, only at the place called *le Grandonbion*.

The Parish of S. Germain

It shall be permitted to them of the Parish of S. *Germain*, of the Valley of *Perouse*, and to them of *Roccapiata*, which at this present are fled because of the said Religion, and continue in the same, to have one only Minister, which may the one day preach at St. *Germain*, at the place called *le Adormilleux*, and the other day at *Roccapiata*, at the place called *Vandini* only.

Order for Villages being far from the Parish Church.

It shall be permitted to all them of the Towns and Villages of the said Valleys, which at this present are fled, and continue in the said Religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this War against the said Religion, to repair and return to their Houses with their Households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the Sermons and Assemblies which shall be made by their Ministers in the places above specified, so that they obey that which is above-said.

And because that many of the said Towns and Villages dwell out of the Precinct of the Preaching, having need to be visited, and of other things according to their said Religion, their Ministers, which dwell within the Precinct, shall be suffered, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid them of such Ministeries as shall be necessary for them, so that they make no Sermons or Assemblies.

The Parish of Meane, and St. Bartholomew.

By especial Grace it shall be permitted to all them of the Valley of *Meane*, and them of St. *Bartholomew*, Neighbours to *Roccapiata*, and are fled and continue in the said Religion, peaceably to enjoy the Grace and Liberties granted in the next Article before, so that they observe all which they before promise to observe.

The Goods of the Waldoys refused.

The Goods already seized as forfeit, shall be restored to all the Inhabitants of the said Valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the said Religion, as well of them of the said Valleys, as of *Roccapiata*, St. *Bartholomew*, and of *Meane*, so that they be not seized for any other cause than for the said Religion, and for the War present and lately past.

It shall be lawful for them aforesaid to recover by way of Justice, of their Neighbours, their moveable Goods and Cattel, so it be not of Souldiers: and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by way of Justice, so that they restore the price for which it hath been sold. Their Neighbours shall have the like against them.

The Liberties restored

All the Franchises, Freedoms, and Privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his Highness Predecessors, as by himself, and obtained of other inferior Lords, whereof they shall make proof by publick writing, shall be confirmed unto them.

The said Valleys shall be provided for, to have good Justice ministred unto them, whereby they may know they are kept in safe guard by his Highness, as well as all his other Subjects.

The Inhabitants of the said Valleys, shall make a Roll of all the Names and Surnames of all them of the said Valleys, which are fled for Religion, as well such as have abjured as others, to the end they may be restored and maintained in their Goods and Houtholds, and enjoy such Grace and Benefits as their Prince and Lord hath bestowed on them.

And insomuch as it is known to every Man, that the Prince may build Fortresses in his Country, where it shall please him without contradiction, nevertheless to take all suspition out of the minds of the aforesaid *Waldoys*, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his Highness will make a Fort of *Villars*, the Inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the Charges, but only as they shall think good, lovingly to aid their Prince. Which Fort being builded (by God's Aid) a Governor and Captain shall therein be appointed, which shall attempt nothing but the service of his Highness, without offence of the Inhabitants, either in their Goods or Consciences.

M. Martin de Pragela, Minister of the Waldoys.

It shall be lawful for them, before the discharging of their Ministers, such as it shall please his Highness to have discharged, to chuse and call other in their steads: so that they chuse not Mr. *Martin de Pragela*, nor change not from one place to another of the said Valleys, any of them which be discharged.

Mass set up, but not compelled, to come to it.

The Mass, and other Service after the usage of *Rome*, shall be kept in all the Parishes of the said Valleys, where the Sermons, Assemblies, and other Ministeries of their Religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present thereat, nor to minister aid or favour to such as shall use that Service.

All the Expences and Charges born by his Highness in this War, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever: also the 8000 Crowns wherein the Inhabitants of the said Valleys were behind, as part of 16000 Crowns which they had promised in the War passed. And his Highness will command that the Writings for that cause made, shall be annulled and cancelled.

Their Prisoners restored by ransom reasonable.

All the Prisoners shall be rendered and restored which shall be found to be in the hands of the Souldiers, paying Ransom reasonable, according to their Goods, as they shall be taxed: and those which shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ranfom.

The Captives in Gallies returned.

Likewise all they of the said Valleys, which for Religion, and not for other Causes, are detained in the Gallies, shall be released without Ranfom.

Finally, It shall be lawful for all them of the said Valleys, them of *Meane*, *Roccapiata*, and St. *Bartholomew*, of what degree, estate, and condition soever they be

be (except Ministers) to accompany and dwell, and to be in daily converſation with the reſt of his Highneſs's Subjects, and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his Highneſs's Country, to ſell and buy, and uſe all Trades of Merchandize, in all places in his Highneſs's Country, as before is ſaid, ſo that they preach not, nor make any Aſſemblies or Diſputations, as we have before ſaid: And that they which be of the Limits dwell not out of them: and they which be of the Towns and Villages of the ſaid Vallies, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: And in ſo doing they ſhall not be moleſted by any means, and ſhall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but ſhall remain under the protection and ſafe-guard of his Highneſs.

The liberty of Traffick granted.

Furthermore, his Highneſs ſhall ſet order to ſtay all troubles, inconveniencies, ſecret conſpiracies of wicked Perſons, after ſuch fort, that they ſhall remain quietly in their Religion. For obſervation whereof, *George Monaſtier*, one of the Elders of *Angrongne*; *Conſtantion Dialeſtini*, otherwiſe called *Rembaldo*, one of the Elders of *Villars*; *Pirrone Arduino*, ſent from the Communalty of *Boby*; *Michael Ramondet*, ſent from the Communalty of *Tailleret*, and of *La Rua de Bouet*, bordering upon *Toure*; *John Malenote*, ſent from certain Perſons of *St. John*; *Peter Paſchall*, ſent from the Communalty of the Valley of *St. Martin*; *Thomas Romam* of *St. Germaine*, ſent from the Communalty of the ſame place, and of all the Valley of *Perouſe*, promiſe for them and their Communalties ſeverally, that the Contents of theſe Concluſions aforeſaid ſhall be inviolably kept, and for breach thereof do ſubmit themſelves to ſuch puniſhment as ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs; promiſing likewiſe to cauſe the chief of the Families or the Communalties to allow and confirm the ſaid Promiſe.

The Elders of the Vallies of Piedmont.

The honourable Lord of *Raconis* doth promiſe, that the Duke's Highneſs ſhall confirm and allow the foreſaid Concluſions to them, both generally and particularly, at the interceſſion and ſpecial favour of the noble Lady the Princeſs.

The Lord of Raconis.

The Lady Princeſs Interceſſor for the Waldoys.

In teſtimony whereof, the foreſaid Lord of *Raconis* hath confirmed theſe preſent Concluſions with his own hand; and the Miniſters have likewiſe ſubſcribed in the name of all the ſaid Vallies; and they which can write, in the name of all their Communalties.

At Cavor, *the 5th day of* June, *1561.*

Philip de Savoye
Francis Vallee, Miniſter of Cavor.
Claudine Pagnine, Miniſter of Villars.
George de Rochet, &c.
Others ſubſcribed.

And yet to ſee this more manifeſtly, and that every Man may take profit thereof, it ſhall be good to underſtand what this poor People did whilſt they were in theſe Combats and Conflicts. So ſoon as they ſaw the Army of their Enemies approach, they cried all together for aid and ſuccour to the Lord; and before they came to defend themſelves, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up their hearts, and fighed to the Lord. As long as the Enemies were at reſt, every one of theſe poor People on their knees called upon God. When the Combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the comfort and ſuccour which they had felt. In the mean time the reſt of the People, with their Miniſters, made their hearty prayer unto God, with ſighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they aſſembled again together: They which had fought, rehearſed the wonderful aid and ſuccour which God had ſent them, and ſo all together rendred thanks unto him for his fatherly goodneſs. Always he changed their ſorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all ſides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cauſe of rejoycing and comfort.

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The behavior of their good Men in their Perſecution.

War and famine two Enemies againſt theſe Men.

This poor People had two terrible Enemies, War and Famine, which kept them under in ſuch fort, that a Man would have thought they had been utterly loſt and deſtroyed: But God of his endleſs mercy delivered them from ſuch dangers, and reſtored them to their houſes, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietneſs; and all they which had declared themſelves to be their open Enemies, were brought to confuſion, as well thoſe which fought to get their goods, as thoſe which only deſired to ſhed their blood. For proof whereof, the only example of two Gentlemen of the Valley of *Luſerne* ſhall ſuffice. Theſe not only moved cruel War againſt their poor Tenants and others, but moſt ſhamefully ſpoiled them, and took intolerable Fines of all thoſe that diſobeyed their Edicts to keep a good Conſcience.

Beſides this, they went about to ſeize all their Goods as forfeit, waiting to have the whole forfeiture thereof themſelves. And for this cauſe they did not only inceníe the Duke with falſe reports, and with grievous complaints and accuſations againſt theſe poor *Waldoys*, but alſo purſued the ſame ſo long, and with ſuch charges, that they were fain to ſell their Inheritance, in hope to bring their purroſe to

Example of Gods favour towards his Servants, and confuſion toward their Perſecutors.

K.Hen.8.

Wherein this thou haſt moreover, for thy more learning, to note and conſider with thy ſelf, beſides many other memorable things in this Story contained, how unwilling this People were at firſt, and what remorſe of Conſcience they had for their obedience towards their Magiſtrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being ſlain and cruſly murthered, as willingly offering their Throats without any reſiſtance to the cruel hands of their Enemies, the reſt were compelled to fly into the Mountains, being ſpoiled of Houſe, Victual, and Weapon, only to ſave their poor lives with flying (which otherwiſe they would not with reſiſting) in Rocks and Caves, thinking there rather to periſh by Famine, than to uſe that defence for themſelves, which Nature giveth to every brute Beaſt to help it ſelf, as it may, againſt violence and injury. Yet theſe poor *Waldoys* refuſing all reſiſtance, and laying down their own Weapons (for obedience ſake) yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only uſed the poor ſhift of flying from their Enemies, till at length the rage of thoſe bloody Perſecutors, ſatisfied with no Blood, nor contented with any reaſon, ceaſed not ſtill moſt furiouſly to inſeſt them, yea, to take alſo the Mountains from them, which had taken from them their Houſes before; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild Beaſts in the Deſert, which could not live in their Towns at home, till at length, by extream neceſſity, the Providence of God ſo working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take thoſe Weapons, which the ground gave unto their hands. And with theſe ſtones ſo marvelouſly the God of Hoſts wrought for his People, that they beat, vanquiſhed, and overthrew their Adverſaries, they confounded their Pride, they abated their Malice, and at laſt ſtayed the intollerable rage of their Perſecution. So mercifully and victoriouſly the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his People, or rather for his People, they but turning almoſt their faces to their Enemies, no otherwiſe than he fought in times paſt with *Joſhua* againſt the Heathen, with the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Philiſtines*, with the *Macchabees* againſt *Antiochus* and the *Syrians*.

Then they which are in Jewry, let them fly to the Mountains. Luke 21.

The Turks of Conſtantinople.

The Waldoys compelled to defend themſelves.

Note how the Lord tuſhed the Waldoys, ſtanding to their own defence.

This Hiſtory carrying with it a true narration of things done in the ſaid Country of *Piedmont*, and written as it ſeemeth by certain of the Miniſters which were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and ſimplicity we have collected, partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French Tongue: for in both Languages it is written, altho in the French Tongue it is much more largely diſcourſed, which Book moſt principally herein we have followed; the Title whereof thus beginneth, *Hiſtoire des perſecutiones & Guerres faits contre le people appelle Vaudoys*, &c.

Ex Hiſt. Gallic. & Italic.

Now that we have finiſhed theſe Foreign Hiſtories, concerning ſuch Matters as have been paſſed in other Realms and Nations, of *Germany*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Savoy*: conſequently it remaineth, after this digreſs, to return and reduce our ſtory again to our own Country Matters, here done and paſſed at Home, after that firſt we ſhall have added one foreign Story more concerning the martyrdom of a Chriſtian Jew, which ſuffered about theſe years in *Conſtantinople* among the Turks, in this wiſe as followeth.

The ſtory of a Chriſtian Jew in Conſtantinople, *martyred by the Turks.*

A Jew chriſtened and martyred at Conſtantinople. *Anno* 1528.

TO theſe Foreign Martyrs aforeſaid we will adjoin the Hiſtory of a certain Jew, who in the year of our Lord 1528, dwelling in the City of *Conſtantinople*, and there receiving the Sacrament of Baptiſm, was converted, and became a good Chriſtian. When the Turks underſtood hereof, they were vehemently exaſperated againſt him, that he forſaking his Jewiſhneſs, ſhould be regenerate to the Faith of Chriſt: and fearing leſt his Converſation ſhould be a detriment to their Mahometical Law, they ſought means how to put him to death; which in ſhort time after they accompliſhed. And for the greater infamy to be done to the Man, they caſt his dead Corps into the ſtreets, commanding that no Man ſhould be ſo hardy as to bury the ſame.

Anno 1528.

A Chriſtian Jew Martyr.

Wherein the marvellous Glory and Power of Chriſt appeared. For the dead Corps lying ſo by the ſpace of nine days in the midſt of the ſtreets, retained ſo his native colour, and was ſo freſh, without any kind of filthineſs or corruption, and alſo not without a certain pleaſant and delectable ſcent or odour, as if it had been lately ſlain, or rather not ſlain at all. Which when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvelouſly aſtonied; and being greatly afraid, they themſelves took it up, and carried it to a place near without the Town, and buried it.

The Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Jew.

The

The Conclusion.

The Contents of the Book following.

HAving thus comprehended the Troubles and Persecutions of such godly Saints, and blessed Martyrs, which have suffered in other Forreign Nations above mentioned: here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth Book, we are, God willing, to return again to our own Matters, and to prosecute such Acts and Records, as to our own Countrey of England do appertain. In the process whereof, among many other things, may appear the marvellous Work of God's Power and Mercy in suppressing and abolishing out of this Realm, the long usurped Supremacy of the Pope: also in subverting and overthrowing the Houses of Monks and Friers, with divers other matters appertaining to the Reformation of Christ's true Church and Religion. All which things as they have been long wished, and greatly groaned for in times past of many godly learned Men: so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of Reformation which God hath given us. If John Husse, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliff before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; If Zisca with all the Company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Reymundus, with all the Tholosians; if the Waldoys, or the Albigenses, with infinite other, had been either in these our Times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the Pope, and revealing of Antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispended unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lord our God: who by his mighty Power, and the brightness of his Word, hath revealed this great Enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all Men, who before was hid in the Church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, the Bishop of Rome (commonly received and believed, almost of all Men, to be the Vicar and Vicegerent of Christ here in Earth) to be Antichrist, and the great Adversary of God, whom St. Paul so expressly propheseth of in these latter days to be revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all Men now for the most part may see it is come to pass? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of Lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

Antichrist long hid, and now revealed.

The End of the Seventh Book.

KING Hen.8.

THE EIGHTH BOOK,

CONTINUING

The History of *English* matters appertaining to both States, as well *Ecclesiastical*, as *Civil* and *Temporal*.

Martyrs of Coventry.

Mist. Smith R. Hatcher, Archer, Hawkins, Thom. Bond, Wrigsham, Landsadle, Martyrs.

The Lords Prayer in English forbidden of the Papists.

Persecutors.	*Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*
	Mistress Smith, *Widow.* Robert Hatches *a Shoomaker.* Archer *a Shoomaker.* Hawkins *a Shoomaker.* Thomas Bond *a Shoomaker,* Wrigsham *a Glover.* Landsadle *a Hosier.* *At* Coventry Anno 1519.
Simon Mourton, *the Bishops Sumner.*	THe principal cause of the apprehension of these persons was, for teaching their Children and Family the Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments in English, for which they were upon *Ashwednesday* taken and put in prison, some in places under ground, some in Chambers and other places about, till *Friday* following.
The Bishop of Coventry.	Then they were sent to a Monastery called *Mackstock* Abby, Six miles from *Coventry*. During which time their Children were sent for to *Gray-Friers* in *Coventry*, before the Warden of the said Friers, called Frier *Stafford*: who straitly examining them of their Belief, and what Heresies their Fathers had taught them; charged them upon pain of suffering such death as their Fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.
Frier Stafford *Warden.*	When done, upon *Palm-Sunday* the Fathers of these Children were brought back again to *Coventry*, and there the Week next before *Easter* were condemned for relapse (because most of them had born Fagots in the same City before) to be burned. Only Mistress *Smith* was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And

Seuen godly Martyrs burned in Couentry.

because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, the foresaid *Simon Mourton* the Sumner offered himself to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the Arm, and heard the rating of a Scrol within her Sleeve; Yea, saith he, what have ye here? And

Persecutors. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Mast. Smith condemned for having the Lords Prayer in English. Anno 1521. Zeb. Silkeb. Martyris.

so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lords Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. Which when the wretched Sumner understood; *Ah Sirrha*, said he, *Come, as good now as another time*; and so brought her back again to the Bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six Men before named, the Fourth of *April*, in a place thereby called the little Park, *Anno* 1519.

Robert Silkeb.
At Coventry Anno 1521.

In the same number of these Country Men above rehearsed was also *Robert Silkeb*, who at the apprehension of these, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said City of *Coventry*, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the Thirteenth day of *January, Anno* 1521.

Thus, when these were dispatched, immediately the Sheriffs went to their Houses, and took all their Goods and Cattel to their own use, not leaving their Wives and Children any parcel thereof to help themselves withal. And forsomuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty shewed, and at the unjust death of these innocent Martyrs, the Bishop, with his Officers and Priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their Tenants, Servants, and Farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lords Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat Flesh on *Fridays* and other Fast days. Which could not be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this History be yet alive, which both saw them and knew them. Of whom one is by name Mother *Hall*, dwelling now in *Bagington*, two miles from *Coventry*. By whom also this is testified of them, that they above all other in *Coventry* pretended most shew of worship and devotion at the holding up of the Sacrament, whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not known. This is certain, that in godliness of life they differed from all the rest of the City: Neither in their occupying would they use any Oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

Testimony of the Story.

Note how these Martyrs holding with the Popish Sacraments, yet were burned of the Papists only for a few Scriptures in English.

James Beton Archbishop of Saint *Andrews.* Ann. 1527

Patrick Hamelton, At St. *Andrews in Scotland, Anno* 1527.

The Story of M. Patrick Hamelton, in *Scotland.*

M. *Hew Spens*, Dean of Divinity in the University of St. *Andrew.*

Patrick Hamelton a *Scottish* Man born, of an high and Noble Stock, and of the Kings blood, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towardness, of twenty three years, called *Abbot of Ferme*, first coming out of his Country with three companions, to seek godly learning, went to the University of *Marpurge* in *Germany*, which University was then newly Erected by *Philip Lantgrave* of *Hess*, where he using

Persecutors. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.* | KING Henr. 8.

M. *John Weddel*, Rector of the University.

conference and familiarity with learned men, namely with *Franciscus Lambertus*, so profited in knowledge, and mature judgment in matters of Religion, that he through the incitation of the said *Lambert* was the first in all that University of *Marpurge* which publickly did set up Conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning Faith and Works: arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same. What these propolitions and conclusions were, partly in his Treatise hereafter following, called *Patricks* Places, may appear.

Of this Philip Lantgrave of Hesse, read before.

James Simpson, Official.

Of the University of *Marpurge* read before.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned *Patrick* increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to revolve with himself touching his return into his Country, being desirous to impart unto his Country-men, some fruit of understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three which he brought out of *Scotland*, and so return home without any longer delay. Where he not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindnels of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuses, was first accused of Heresie, and afterward constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrel of Gods Gospel, against the High-Priest and Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, named *James Beton*, was cited to appear before him and his College of Priests, the First day of *March, An.* 1527. But he being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in Spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for, and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppressed: and so the Sentence of Condemnation being given against him, the same day after Dinner, in all the hot haste, he was had away to the Fire, and there Burned; the King being yet but a Child, which thing made the Bishops more bold. And thus was this Noble *Hamelton*, the blessed Servant of God, without all just cause, made away be cruel Adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the Church of Christ; for the grave testimony of his blood left the verity and truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be plukt away: insomuch that divers afterward, standing in his quarel, sustained also the like Martyrdom, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear, as place and time shall require.

Allane Meldrum, Canon.

The godly zeal of M. *Hamelton* towards his Country.

John Gryson, principal of the *Black-Friers.*

John Dilliaff, Warden of the *Gray-Friers.*

Mart. Balbur Lawyer. John Spens, Lawyer.

The Martyrdom and suffering of M. Patrick *Hamelton.*

Alex. Tong, Bachelor of Divinity, Canon.

Frier *Alex. Chambel*, Prior of the *Black-Friers*, &c.

In the mean season we think good to express here his Articles, and Order of his Process, as we received them from *Scotland*, out of the Registers.

The

KING Hen. 8.

The Articles and Opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamelton, *by* James Beton *Archbishop of Saint* Andrews.

Articles out of the Registers.

THat Man hath no Free-will.
That there is no Purgatory.
That the Holy Patriarks were in Heaven before Christs passion.
That the Pope hath no power to loose and bind: Neither any Pope had that power after Saint *Peter*.
That the Pope is *Antichrist*, and that every Priest hath the power that the Pope hath.
That Master *Patrick Hamelton* was a Bishop.
That it is not necessary to obtain any Bulls from any Bishop.
That the Vow of the Popes Religion is a Vow of Wickedness.
That the Popes Laws be of no strength.
That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be in the state of Grace.
That none be saved, but they are before Predestinate.
Whosoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.
That God is the cause of sin, in this sense, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from Men, whereby they sin.
That it is divelish Doctrine, to enjoyn to any sinner actual penance for sin.
That the said Master *Patrick* himself doubteth whether all Children, departing incontinent after their Baptism, are saved or condemned.
That Auricular Confession is not necessary to Salvation.

¶ These Articles above written were given in, and laid against M. *Hamelton*, and inserted in their Registers, for the which also he was condemned, by them which hated him to death. But other learned Men, which communed and reasoned with him, do testifie, that these Articles following were the very Articles, for the which he suffered.

His Articles otherwise more truly collected.

1. Man hath no Free-will.
2. A Man is only justified by Faith in Christ.
3. A Man so long as he liveth, is not without sin.
4. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, which believeth not that he is in grace.
5. A good Man doth good Works: good Works do not make a good Man.
6. An evil Man bringeth forth evil Works: evil Works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil Man.
7. Faith, Hope, and Charity be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one Man in this Life.

And as touching the other Articles, whereupon the Doctors gave their Judgments, as divers do report, he was not accused of them before the Bishop. Albeit in private disputation he affirmed and defended the most of them.

Here followeth the Sentence Pronounced against him.

The sentence against M. Patrick Hamelton.

CHristi nomine invocato: *We* James, *by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Saint* Andrews, *Primate of* Scotland, *with the Council, Decree, and Authority of the Most reverend Fathers in God, and Lords, Abbots, Doctors, of Theology, Professors of the Holy Scripture, and Masters of the Universty, assising us for the time, sitting in Judgment within our Metropolitan Church of Saint* Andrews, *in the cause of Heretical pravity, against Master* Patrick Hamelton, *Abbot or Pensionary of* Ferme, *being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain Articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful Inquisition made in* Lent *last past: We have found the same Master* Patrick *many ways infamed with Heresie, disputing, holding and maintaining divers Heresies of* Martin Luther, *and his Followers, repugnant to our Faith, and which are already * condemned by general Councils, and most famous Universities. And be being under the same Infamy, we decerning before him to be summoned and accused upon the Premisses, be of evil mind (as may be presumed) passed to other parts forth of the Realm, suspected and noted of Heresie. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without license or priviledge, hath presumed to preach wicked Heresie.*

* Condemned by Counsells and Universities but here is no mention of the Scripture.

We have found also that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers Opinions of Luther, *and wicked Heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our Council: That Man hath no Free-will: That Man is in sin so long as he liveth: That Children, incontinent after their Baptism, are sinners: All Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: No man is justified by works, but by faith only: Good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: That Faith, Hope, and Charity are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest, &c. with divers other Heresies and detestable Opinions: and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel nor perswasion he may be drawn there-from to the way of our right faith.*

Note here that these Articles agree not with the Articles in the Register before mencioned.

All these premisses being considered, we having God and the integrity of our Faith before our eyes, and following the council and advice of the Professours of the holy Scripture, Men of Law, and other assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patrick Hamelton, *for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the foresaid Heresies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the Church, general Councils, and most famous Universities) to be an Heretick, and to have an evil opinion of the Faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished like as we condemn, and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all Dignities, Orders, Office, and Benefices of the Church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the secular Power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscate.*

Widnes in Lambeskinn.

M. Patrick given to the secular Power.

This our sentence definitive was given and read at our Metropolitan Church of St. Andrews, *the last day of the Month of* February, Anno 1527. *being present the Most reverend Fathers in Christ, and Lords,* Gawand, *Bishop of* Glasgow, George, *Bishop* Dunkelden, John *Bishop of* Brecham, William *Bishop of* Dunblane, Patrick *Prior of Saint* Andrews, David *Abbot of* Abirbrothoke, George *Abbot of* Dunfermeling, Alexander, *Abbot of* Caunbuskineth, Henry *Abbot of* Lendors, John *Prior of* Peterwerne, *the Dean and Subdean of* Glasgow, *M.* Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c. *In the presence of the Clergy and the People.*

After the condemnation and Martyrdom of this true Saint of God was dispatched by the Bishops and Doctors of *Scotland*, the Rulers and Doctors of the University of *Lovaine*, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent Blood, that for the abundance of heart they could not stay their Pen to utter condign thanks, applauding and triumphing in their Letters sent to the aforesaid Bishop of Saint *Andrews*, and Doctors of *Scotland*, at the worthy and famous deservings of their atchieved enterprise in that behalf; as by the Tenour of their said Letter may appear, which here followeth.

¶ The copy of a Letter congratulatory, sent from the Doctors of *Lovaine* to the Archbishop of Saint *Andrews* and Doctors of *Scotland*, commending them for the death of M. *Patrick Hamelton.*

A Letter of thanks, sent from Lovaine to them of Scotland for shedding the blood of Patrick Hamelton.

YOur excellent Vertue (most honourable Bishop) hath so deserved, that albeit we be far distant both by Sea and Land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whose works that true Faith, which not long ago was tainted with Heresie, not only remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our dear Friend Master

Master Alexander Galoway, Chanon of Aberden, *hath shewed us the presumption of the wicked Heretick* Patrick Hamelton, *which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut off them there was no hope of amendment*, &c.

What joy the Papists make in shedding the blood of Christians.

The which thing as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many States, as of the Clergy, Nobility, and vulgar People, not rashly, but most prudently, the Order of Law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and alway do approve the same, not doubting but that the Articles which be inferted are Erroneus: so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be effeemed an enemy to the Faith, and an adversary to the holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appear to be without Error, to them that will consider only the bare words as for example, Good Works make not a good Man, but a good Man worketh good Works; *yet there is no doubt but they contain a* Lutheran *sense, which in a manner they signifie, to wit, that Works done after faith and justification make not a Man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be among extern Nations which shall imitate the same*, &c.

Certainly ye have given us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your Universitie, which was founded according to the example of our Universitie of Lovaine, *to be equal to ours, or else above: and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds toward you. In the mean time let us labour with one consent, that the ravening Wolves may be expelled from the Sheepfold of Christ, while we have time. Let us study to Preach to the People more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have Inquisitors, and espiers of Books containing that Doctrine, especially that are brought in from far Countries, whether by Apostative Monks, or by Merchants, the most suspected kind of Men in these days. It is said, That since* Scotland *first embraced the Christian Faith, it was never defiled with any Heresie. Persevere therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of* England *your next Neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the Bishops, among the which* * Reffensis *hath shewed himself an Evangelical* Phœnix, *and partly of the King, declaring himself to be another* Matthias *of the New Law, pretermitting nothing that may defend the Law of his Realme. The which if your Most renowned King of* Scotland *will follow, he shall purchase to himself Eternal glory. Further as touching the condign commendation due for your part (Most reverend Bishop) in this behalf, it shall not be the leaste part of your praise, that these Heresies have been extinct sometimes in* Scotland, *you being Primate of* Scotland, *and principal Author thereof: albeit that they also which have assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise: as the reverend Bishop of* Glasgow, *of whose erudition we have here given us partly to understand, and also the reverend Bishop of* Aberden, *a stout Defender of the Faith, together with the rest of the Prelates, Abbots, Priors, and Professors of holy Scripture. Let your reverend Fatherhood take this little testificate of our duty toward you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.*

From *Lovain, Anno* 1528. *April* 21.

By the Masters and Professors of Theology in the Universitie of Lovaine.

Yours to command.

If we could shew to what place of the Scripture, we would gladly bear you. The University of St. Andrews was founded about the year of our Lord 1456 in the reign of King James the fifth, who brought into Scotland out of other Countries seven Doctors of Divinity, and eight Doctors of Decrees: with divers other. Hect. Boet. lib. 16. c. 17. * He means Elphinston B. of Rosse, who wrote against Erasmus and Luther, and at length was beheaded for Treason. King Henry the Eighth here a Matchiavel, when he makes with you, but soon he put down the Pope and his Abbots, when ye make him an Heretick.

IN this Epistle of the *Lovanian* Doctors I shall not need (gentle Reader) to note unto thee, what a pernitious thing in a Common-wealth is blind ignorance, when it falleth into cruel Hearts. Which may well be compared to a Sword put into the Hands of one that is both Blind and Mad. For as the blind Man, having no sense to see and judge, knoweth not whom he striketh: so the madman, being cruel and furious, hath no compassion in sparing any. Whereupon it happeneth many times with these Men, as it did with the Blind furious Pharisees, that as they having the Sword of Authority in their hands, in stead of Malefictors and false Prophets, slew the true Prophets of God, and at last Crucified the King of Glory: so these Catholick *Lovanians*, and followers of their *Messias* of *Rome*, take in their hands the Sword of Jurisdiction, who neither seeing what to spare, nor caring whom to smite, under the stile and pretence of Hereticks, murther and blaspheme, without mercy, the true Preachers of the Gospel, and the holy Anointed of the Lord.

{KING Hen. 8.}

But to return to the matter again of M. *Hamelton*; here is moreover to be observed, as a note worthy of memory, that in the year of our Lord 1564, in the which year this present History was Collected in *Scotland*, there were certain faithful Men of credit then alive, who being present the same time when M. *Patrick Hamelton* was in the Fire, heard him to cite and appeal the *Black-frier* called *Cambel*, that accused him to appear before the high God, as general Judge of all Men, to answer to the innocency of his death, and whether his accusation was just or not, between that and a certain day of the next Month, which he there named. Moreover, by the same witness it is testified, that the said *Frier* died immediately before the said day came, without remorse of conscience that he had perfecuted the innocent. By the example whereof divers of the people the same time much mused, and firmly believed the Doctrine of the foresaid Master *Hamelton* to be good and just.

A marvelous example of Gods just punishment upon the accuser of M. Hamelton.

A Treatise of M. Patrick Hamelton, called Patricks Places.

Hereunto I thought good to adjoyn a certain godly and profitable Treatise of the said M. *Patrick Hamelton*, written first by him in Latin, and afterward translated by *John Frith* into *English*; which he names *Patricks* places; not unprofitable in my mind, to be seen and read of all Men, for the pure and comfortable Doctrine contained in the same, as not only by the Treatise it self may appear, but also by the preface of the said *John Frith*, prefixed before, which also I thought not inconvenient to insert with the same, as here followeth.

A brief Treatise of M. *Patrick Hamelton*, called *Patricks* places, Translated into English by *John Frith*, with the Epistle of the said *Frith* prefixed before the same, as followeth.

John Frith unto the Christian Reader.

The Preface of John Frith before Patricks Places.

BLessed be God of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in these last days and perilous times hath stirred up in all Countries witnesses unto his Son, to testifie the truth unto the unfaithful, to save at the least some from the snares of Antichrist, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young Man, Patrick Hamelton, *born in* Scotland *of a noble Progeny: who to testifie the truth fought all means, and took upon him Priesthood (even as* Paul *circumcised* Timothy, *to win the weak* Jews) *that he might be admitted to Preach the pure Word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the Chamberlain and other Bishops of* Scotland *had perceived that the Light began to shine, which discloseth their falsehood that they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless, God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole World what a Man these Monsters have murthered) hath reserved a little Treatise, made by this* Patrick, *which if ye like, ye may call* Patricks Places: *for it treateth exactly of certain Common places, which known, ye have the pith of all Divinity. This Treatise I have turned into the* English-*Tongue, to the profit of my Nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espie the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting*, Amen.

The Doctrine of the Law.

Patricks Places. What the Law is.

THe Law is a Doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the Commandments do specifie here following.

The

{KING Hen. 8.}

The Ten Commandments of God.

A division of the Commandments. *Ex.* 20.

1. Thou shalt Worship but one God.
2. Thou shalt make thee no Image to worship it.
3. Thou shalt not swear by his Name in Vain.
4. Hold the Sabbath day Holy.
5. Honour thy Father and thy Mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy Neighbour.

All these Commandments are briefly comprised in these two here under ensuing.

The love of God. The love of our Neighbour. *Mat.* 22.

Love thy Lord God with all thine Heart, with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind, This is the first, and great Commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy Neighbour as thy self. On these two Commandments hangeth all the Law and the Prophets.

Certain General Propositions proved by the Scripture.

The first Proposition.

The first Proposition. Probation. 1 *Joh.* 4.

He that loveth God loveth his Neighbour.

This Proposition is proved 1 John 4.

If a Man say, I love God, and yet hateth his Brother, he is a lyer. He that loveth not his Brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

The second Proposition.

The second Proposition. *Mat.* 7. *Rom.* 13. *Gal.* 5.

He that loveth his Neighbour as himself, keepeth all the Commandments of God.

This Proposition is proved Mat. 7. Rom. 18. *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them. For this is the Law and the Prophets*, Matth. 7.

He that loveth his Neighbour, fulfilleth the Law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: Thou shalt not kill: Thou shalt not steal: Thou shalt not bear false witness: Thou shalt not desire, &c. *And if there be any other Commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thy self.* Rom. 13.

All the Law is fulfilled in one word, That is, Love thy Neighbour as thy self. Galathians 5.

¶ Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *He that loveth his Neighbour keepeth all the Commandments of God.* Romans 13.

Minor, Conclusion. *ba-* *He that loveth God, loveth his Neighbour.* 1 Joh. 4.

ra. Ergo, *he that loveth God keepeth all the Commandments of God.*

The fourth Proposition.

The third Proposition. Probation. *Joh.* 16.

He that hath Faith loveth God.

My Father loveth you, because ye love me, and believe that I come of God. John 16.

¶ Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *He that keepeth the Commandments of God hath the love of God.*

Minor. *ba-* *He that hath Faith keepeth all the Commandments of God.*

Conclusion. *ra.* Ergo, *he that hath Faith loveth God.*

The fourth Proposition.

The fourth Proposition. Probation. *Hebr.* 11.

He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth them all.

This Proposition is confirmed, Heb. 11. *It is impossible for a Man without Faith to please God, that is, To keep any one of Gods Commandments, as he should do. Than whosoever keepeth any one Commandment hath Faith.*

¶ Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *He that hath Faith keepeth all the Commandments of God.*

Minor. *ba-* *He that keepeth one Commandment of God hath Faith.*

Conclusion. *ra.* Ergo, *he that keepeth one Commandment, keepeth them all.*

The fifth Proposition.

The fifth Proposition. He that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.

Argument.

The Law requireth perfect obedience. Rambresme. *He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth all.*

Ergo, *he that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, keepeth not one of the.*

The sixth Proposition.

The sixth Proposition or assertion ¶ It is not in our power to keep any one of the Commandments of God.

Argument.

Major. *Bar-* *It is unpossible to keep any of the Commandments of God, without grace.*

Minor. *vo-* *It is not in our power to have Grace.*

Conclusion. *co.* Ergo, *it is not in our power to keep any of the Commandments of God.*

And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and Faith, forsomuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the Commandments of God, neither yet be they in our power to have. *Non est volentis neque currentis*, &c. Rom. 9.

The seventh Proposition.

The seventh Proposition. The Office of the Law. ¶ The Law was given us to shew our sin.

By the Law cometh the knowledge of sin; Rom. 3. *I knew not what sin meant, but through the Law: For I had not known what lust had meant, except the Law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the Law sin was dead, that is, It moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the Law*; Rom. 7. *Rom.* 7.

The eighth Proposition.

The eighth Proposition. ¶ The Law biddeth us do that thing which is impossible for us.

Argument.

Major. *Da-* *The keeping of the Commandments is to us unpossible.*

Minor. *ri-* *The Law commandeth to us the keeping of the Commandments.*

Conclusion. *i.* Ergo, *the Law commandeth unto us that is unpossible.*

Objection. *Objection.*

But thou wilt say; Wherefore doth God bid us do that is unpossible for us?

Answer. *Answer.*

The Law ordained to bring us to Christ. I answer, to make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand: and thou maiest seek remedy at some other: for the Law doth nothing else but command thee.

The Doctrine of the Gospel.

THe Gospel is as much to say in our Tongue, as good tydings; like as these be here-under following, and such other.

Luke 2. Christ is the Saviour of the World.
Luke 2. Christ is the Saviour.
Rom. 5. Christ died for us.
Rom. 4. Christ died for our sins.
1 *Pet.* 2. Christ bought us with his Blood.
Apoc. 1. Christ washt us with his Blood.
Gal. 1. Christ offered himself for us.
Esay 53. Christ bare our sins on his back.
1 *Tim.* 1. Christ came into this World to save Sinners.
1 *Joh.* 3. Christ came into this World to take away our sins.
1 *Tim.* 2. Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins.
Rom. 8. Christ was made Debtor for us.
Col. 2. Christ hath payed our Debt, for he died for us.
1 *Cor.* 7. Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins.
1 *Cor.* 1. Christ is our Righteousnes.
1 *Cor.* 1. Christ is our Sanctification.
Eph. 2. Christ is our Redemption.
Rom. 5. Christ is our Peace.
1 *Cor.* 2. Christ hath pacified the Father of Heaven for us.
Colos. 2. Christ is ours and all his.
1 *Joh.* 1. Christ hath delivered us from the Law, from the Devil, and from Hell.

The Father of Heaven hath forgiven us our sins, for Christs sake.

Or any such other like to the same, which declare unto us the mercy of God.

The Nature and Office of the Law and of the Gospel.

THe Law sheweth us our sin.
The Gospel sheweth us Remedy for it.
Rom. 3. The Law sheweth us our Condemnation.
Joh. 1. The Gospel sheweth us our Redemption.
Rom. 7. The Law is the word of Ire.
Col. 1. The Gospel is the word of Grace.
Rom. 4. The Gospel is the word of Comfort.
Act. 14. 20 *Deut.* 27. The Law is the word of Despair.
Luke 2. The Gospel is the Word of Comfort.
Rom. 7. The Law is the word of Unrest.
Eph. 6. The Gospel is the Word of Peace.

¶ *A Disputation between the Law and the Gospel; where is shewed the difference or contrariety between them both.*

The contrary operation of the Law, and of the Gospel.

THe Law saith, *Pay thy Debt.*
The Gospel saith, *Christ hath paid it.*
The Law saith, *Thou art a Sinner, desperate, and thou shalt be damned.*
The Gospel saith, *Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, for thou shalt be saved.*
The Law saith, *Make amends for thy sins.*
The Gospel saith, *Christ hath made it for thee.*
The Law saith, *The Father of Heaven is angry with thee.*
The Gospel saith, *Christ hath pacified him with his Blood.*
The Law saith, *Where is thy Righteousnes, Goodnes, and Satisfaction?*
The Gospel saith, *Christ is thy Righteousnes, thy Goodnes, Satisfaction.*
The Law saith, *Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the Devil, and to Hell.*
The Gospel saith, *Christ hath delivered thee from them all.*

The Doctrine of Faith.

The Doctrine of Faith.

FAith is to believe God, like as *Abraham* believed God, and it was imputed unto him for Righteousnes.
To believe God, is to believe his Word, and to recount it true that he saith.
He that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not God himself.

He that believeth not Gods Word counteth him false and a lyar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his Word, and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself. {KING Hen. 8.}

The ninth Proposition. The ninth Proposition

¶ Faith is the Gift of God.

Argument.

Da- *Every good thing is the Gift of God.* Major.
ri- *Faith is good.* Minor.
i. Ergo, *Faith is the Gift of God.* Conclusion.

The tenth Proposition. The tenth Proposition.

¶ Faith is not in our power.

Argument.

Da- *The Gift of God is not in our power.* Major.
ri- *Faith is the Gift of God.* Minor.
i. Ergo, *Faith is not in our power.* Conclusion.

The eleventh Proposition. The eleventh Proposition.

¶ He that lacketh Faith cannot please God.
Without Faith it is unpossible to please God, Rom. 14. *all that cometh not of Faith is sin; for without Faith can no man please God*, Heb. 11.

Induction. An argument called Inductive.

He that lacketh Faith trusteth not God, he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his Word; he that trusteth not his Word, holdeth him false and a lyar; he that holdeth him false and a lyar believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God.
Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, *he that lacketh Faith cannot please God.*
If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done, either of Men or Angels, yet being in this case it is impossible for him to please God.

The twelfth Proposition. The twelfth Proposition.

¶ All that is done in Faith pleaseth God.
Right is the Word of God, and all his Works in faith, Psal. 33.
Lord thine eyes look to Faith: That is as much to say, as, Lord thou delightest in Faith, Jer. 5.

The thirteenth Proposition. The thirteenth Proposition.

¶ He that hath Faith is just and good.

Argument.

Da- *He that is a good Tree bringing forth good fruit, is just and good.* Major.
ri- *He that hath Faith is a good Tree bringing forth good fruit.* Minor.
i. Ergo, *He that hath Faith is just and good.* Conclus.

The fourteenth Proposition. The fourteenth Proposition.

¶ He that hath Faith, and believeth God, cannot displease him.

Induction. Inductio.

He that hath Faith believeth God; he that believeth God believeth his Word; he that believeth his Word weeteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lye, knowing that he hath may and will fulfil his Word.
Ergo, a primo ad ultimum, *he that hath Faith cannot displease God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true.*

Objection.

{KING Hen. 8.} Objection.

Objection.

Thou wilt then say, That Theft, Murther, Adultery, and all Vices please God.

Answer.

Answer.

Nay verily, for they cannot be done in Faith: *For a good Tree beareth good fruit*, Mat. 7. 12.

The fifteenth Proposition.

The 15th Proposition

¶ Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

A definition of Faith. Heb. 11.

Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen, Hebrews 11.
The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the Children of God, Rom. 8. *Moreover, he that hath faith wotteth well that God will fulfil his Word. Whereby it appeareth, that Faith is a certainty or assuredness.*

A man is justified by Faith.

Justification by Faith.

A*Braham* believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousnes, *Rom.* 4.
We suppose therefore, that a man is justified by Faith, without the deeds of the Law, *Rom.* 3. *Gal.* 2.
He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousnes, *Rom.* 4.
The just liveth by his Faith, *Abac.* 2. *Rom.* 1.
We wot that a man is not justified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law, *Gal.* 2.

Faith in Christ what it is.

What is the Faith of Christ?

THe Faith of Christ is to believe in him; that is, to believe his Word, and believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.
Thou wilt ask me, *What Word?* I answer, *The Gospel.*
He that believeth in Christ shall be saved, Mark 16.
He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life, John 3.
Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me hath everlasting life, John 6.
This I write unto you, that you believe on the Son of God, that ye may know that you have eternal life, 1 John 5.
Thomas, *because thou hast seen me, therefore hast thou believed: Happy are they which have not seen, and yet have believed in me*, John 22.
All the Prophets to him bear witness, that whosoever believeth in him shall have remission of their sins, Acts 10.
What must I do that I may be saved? The Apostles answered, *Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved*, Acts 16.
If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believest with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe, Rom. 10.
He that believeth not in Christ shall be condemned.
He that believeth not the Son shall never see life, but the ire of God bideth upon him, John 3.
The Holy Ghost shall reprove the World of sin, because they believe not in me, John 16.
They that believe in Jesus Christ are the Sons of God.
Ye are all the Sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ, 1 John 3.
He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God is safe, John 1.
Peter said, *Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.* Jesus answered and said unto him, *Happy art thou* Simon *the Son of* Jonas, *for flesh and blood hath not opened to thee that, but my Father that is in Heaven*, Matth. 16.
We have believed and know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God.
I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the World, John 11.
These things are written that ye might believe, that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye in believing might have life, John 20.
I believe that Jesus is the Son of God, Acts 8.

The sixteenth Proposition. The sixteenth Proposition.

He that believeth the Gospel believeth God.

Argument.

Da- *He that believeth Gods Word believeth God.* Major.
ri- *The Gospel is Gods Word.* Minor.
i. Ergo, *He that believeth the Gospel believeth God.* Conclus.

To believe the Gospel is this, *That Christ is the Saviour of the World*, John 4.
Christ is our Saviour, Luke 2.
Christ bought us with his blood, Heb. 13. 1 Pet. 1. Apoc. 5.
Christ washed us with his Blood, Apoc. 1.
Christ offered himself for us, Heb. 9.
Christ bare our sins on his own back, &c. 1 Pet. 2.

The seventeenth Proposition. The seventeenth Proposition.

¶ He that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God.

Argument.

Fe- *He that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not God himself.* Major.
ri- *The Gospel is Gods Word.* Minor.
o. Ergo, *he that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God himself; and consequently he that believeth not those things above written, and such other, believeth not God.* Conclus.

The eighteenth Proposition. The eighteenth Proposition.

He that believeth the Gospel shall be fayed.
Go ye into all the World, and preach the Gospel unto every Creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned, Mark 16.

¶ *A Comparison between Faith and Incredulity.* A comparison between Faith and Incredulity.

FAith is the root of all good.
Incredulity is the root of all evil.
Faith maketh God and man good Friends.
Incredulity maketh them Foes.
Faith bringeth God and man together.
Incredulity sundreth them.
All that Faith doth, pleaseth God.
All that Incredulity doth, displeaseth God.
Faith only maketh a man good and righteous.
Incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.
Faith maketh a man a Member of Christ.
Incredulity maketh him a Member of the Devil.
Faith maketh him Inheritor of Heaven.
Incredulity maketh a man the Inheritor of Hell.
Faith maketh a man the Servant of God.
Incredulity maketh him the Servant of the Devil.
Faith sheweth us God to be a sweet Father.
Incredulity sheweth him a terrible Judge.
Faith holdeth stiff by the Word of God.
Incredulity wavereth here and there.
Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.
Incredulity holdeth him false and a lyar.
Faith knoweth God.
Incredulity knoweth him not.
Faith loveth both God and his Neighbour.
Incredulity loveth neither of them.
Faith only fayeth us.
Incredulity only condemneth us.

Faith

Faith extolleth God and his deeds.
Incredulity extolleth her self and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

What Hope is.

HOpe is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him.

We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.

IT is good to trust in God and not in man, *Psalm* 118.
He that trusteth in his own heart is a Fool, *Prov.* 28.
It is good to trust in God, and not in Princes, *Psal.* 118.
They shall be like unto the Images which they make, and all that trust in them, *Psal.* 115.
He that trusteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly, *Prov.* 12.
Cursed is he that trusteth in man, *Jer.* 17.
Bid the rich men of this World that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God, 1 *Tim.* 6.
It is had for them that trust in money to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, *Luke* 18.
Moreover we should trust in him only, that may help us, God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.
Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him, *Psal.* 2. *Jer.* 17.
Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust, *Psal.* 14. *Eccles.* 34.
He that trusteth in him shall understand the verity, *Sap.* 3.
They shall rejoyce that trust in thee: they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them, *Psal.* 5.

Of Charity.

The rule of Charity.

CHarity is the love of thy Neighbour. The rule of Charity is this; Do as thou wouldst be done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the Rich, the Poor, the Friend and the Foe, the Thankful and Unthankful, the Kinsman and Stranger.

A Comparison between Faith, Hope, and Charity.

A difference between Faith, Hope and Charity

FAith cometh of the Word of God, Hope cometh of Faith, and Charity springeth of them both.
Faith believeth the Word, Hope trusteth after that that is promised by the Word; Charity doth good unto her Neighbour, through the love that it hath to God, and gladness that is within her self.
Faith looketh to God and his Word; Hope looketh unto his Gift and Reward; Charity looketh on her Neighbours profit.
Faith receiveth God; Hope receiveth his Reward; Charity loveth her Neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.
Faith pertaineth to God only; Hope to his Reward, and Charity to her Neighbour.

The Doctrine of Works.

No manner of Works make us righteous.

What good Works do.

WE believe that a man shall be justified without Works, *Rom.* 3.
No man is justified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ that we may be justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law: for if righteousness come [by the Law, then died Christ in vain, *Gal.*
That no man is justified by the Law is manifest; for a *Acts* 17. righteous man liveth by his Faith, but the Law is not of Faith.
Moreover saith Christ the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the Treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them: therefore no Deeds or Works may make us righteous.

{KING Hen.8.} Works do not make us righteous.

No Works make us unrighteous.

Argumentum a contrario sensu.

IF any evil Works make us unrighteous; then the contrary Works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no Works can make us righteous: therefore no Works make us unrighteous.

Works makes us neither good nor evil.

Works make us neither good nor evil before God.

IT is proved that Works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: therefore no Works make us either good or evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.
Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.
Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: But a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.
A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.
A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit.

The good-ness of the tree goeth before his fruit.

¶ *Every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.*

Good fruits are signs of a good tree, but not the cause thereof.

EVery tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil, *Mat.* 12.
A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. *Ye shall know them by their fruit*; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.
Beware of the false Prophets, which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves: Ye shall know them by their fruits, Luke 7.

¶ *None of our Works either save us or condemn us.*

Objection.

IF works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, It maketh no matter what we do. I

Answer.

answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest Faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast Faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds.

¶ *The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.*

Faith maketh man good. A good man maketh good works.

FAith maketh the good tree, and Incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit, such a man, such works. For all things that are done in Faith please God, and are good works: and all that are done without Faith displease God, and are evil works.
Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and all things that pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mighest save thy self by thy works, or whereto should he die for thee, if any works might have saved thee?

To say that our Works do save us, is to deny that Christ is our Saviour.

What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily that thou shouldst have died perpetually; and Christ to deliver thee from death died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death, into his own death: for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

Now

{KING Hen.8.}

Now seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou pay it; but thou shouldst be damned if his blood were not. But sith he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.
Finally, he hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and delivereth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldst help other for his sake both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without Reward.
O how ready would we be to help other, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us, he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you, therefore follow his foottseps, whom all the World ought to praise and worship. *Amen.*

¶ *He that thinketh to be saved by his Works calleth himself Christ.*

No Saviour but Christ.

FOr he calleth himself the Saviour, which pertaineth to Christ only.
What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved my self, which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the World.

¶ *We should do no good Works for the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or remission of sin.*

No remission but in Christ.

FOr whosoever believeth to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin, through Works, he believeth not to get the same for Christs sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christs sake, they believe not the Gospel: for the Gospel saith, *You shall be saved for Christs sake, your sins are forgiven for Christs sake.*
He that believeth not the Gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that they which believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but recount him as a Lyar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

Objection.

Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?

Answer.

Good works excluded not to be left undone, but not to justifie us, when they are done.

I say not so, but I say we should do no good Works to the intent to get the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin. For if we believe to get the Inheritance of Heaven through good Works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get Remission of our Sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a Lyar. For God saith, *Thou shalt have the Inheritance of Heaven for my Sons sake. Thy sins are forgiven thee for my Sons sake*: and you say it is not so, *But I will win it through my Works.* Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil.

Not the doing of good works, but the trusting in good works condemned.

Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the Gifts of God, but as debt to thee, and maketh thy self Fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giveth all things, and is not the poorer?
Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him; it then we want ought, let us thank our selves.
Press not therefore to the Inheritance of Heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thy self holy and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as *Lucifer* fell for his pride.

FINIS.

¶ Certain brief Notes or Declarations upon the foresaid places of Master *Patrick.*

Notes.

THis little Treatise of *Master* Patricks *Places, albeit in quantity is be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large Volumes, declaring to us the true Doctrine of the Law, of the Gospel, of Faith, and of Works, with the nature and properties, and also the difference of the same. Which difference is thus to be understood, that in the cause of Salvation, in the office of justifying, these are to be removed and separated asunder, the Law from the Gospel, and Faith from Works: otherwise in the person that is justified, and also in order of Doctrine, they ought commonly to go necessarily together.*

The Law and the Gospel, how they are to be joyned, and how to be separated.

Therefore, whersoever any question, or doubt riseth of Salvation, or our justifying before God, there the Law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that Grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that Faith may stand alone, which Faith alone without Law or Works, worketh to every man particularly his Salvation, through meer promise, and the free Grace of God. This word particularly, I add, for the particular certifying of every mans heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the Body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole World in general: so is Faith the instrumental cause, by which every man applieth the said Body of Christ particularly to his own Salvation. So that in the action and office of Justification, both Law and Works here be utterly secluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our Redemption universally springeth only from the Body of the Son of God crucified, then is there nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this Body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forsomuch as neither the Law nor Works, but Faith only is the thing which apprehendeth the Body and Death of Christ, therefore Faith only is that matter which justifieth every Soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object only of our Faith is the Body of Christ, like as the brazen Serpent was the object only of the eyes of the Israelites looking, and not of their hands working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the Body of Christ, being the object of our Faith, fetcheth righteousness to our Souls, not through working, but believing only.

Grace free. Promise simple. Faith alone. Particularly.

The Body of Christ is the efficient cause of our Redemption in general. Faith is the instrumental cause of every mans particular Salvation.

Note the object of Faith. Faith with her object only saveth. A similitude between the brazen Serpent and Christs body.

Thus you see how Faith, being the only eye of our Soul, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying; but yet nevertheless, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the Eye, there be also Hands to work, Feet to walk, Ears to hear, and other Members more, every one convenient for the service of the Body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So in a Christian mans life, and in order of Doctrine, there is the Law, there is Repentance, there is Hope, Charity, and deeds of Charity; all which in Life and in Doctrine are joyned and necessarily do concur together, and yet in the action of justifying there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place but only Faith apprehending the Object, which is the Body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our Salvation, by Faith; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him according as it is written, John 1. Whosoever received him he gave them power to be made the Sons of God, even all such as believed in his Name, &c. *Also* Esay 53. And this just Servant of mine in the knowledge of him shall justifie many, &c.

Faith is only the eye of the Soul, which looketh unto Christ.

John 1. *And by the knowledge of him shall justifie many, &c. Esay* 53.

Argument.

As many as received him, to them he gave power, &c.

Da- Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God, *John* 1.
ti- Christ only is apprehended and received by Faith.
si. *Ergo*, Faith only maketh us justified before God.

Argument.

Argument.

Ba- Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ. *E∫ay* 53.
ro. The Law and Works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.
co. *Ergo*, the Law and Works pertain nothing to Justification.

Argument.

All our righteousnes, is as filthy cloaths *Ie-* *Eſay* 64. *re.* Nothing which is unjuſt of it ſelf can juſtifie us before God, or help any thing to our Juſtifying. Every work we do is unjuſt before God, *Eſay* 64. *Ergo*, no work that we do can juſtifie us before God, nor help any thing to our juſtifying.

Argument.

When ye have done all that is commanded you, ſay we are unprofitable Servants. *Luke* 17. *Without me ye can do nothing, John* 15. *Ca-* *me-* *ſtres.* If works could any thing further our Juſtification, then ſhould our works ſomething profit us before God. No works, do the beſt we can, do profit us before God, *Luke* 17. *Ergo*, no works that we do can any thing further our Juſtification.

Argument.

Ba- All that we can do with God, is only by Chriſt, *Joh.* 15.
ro- Our works and merits be not Chriſt, neither any part of him.
co- *Ergo*, our works and merits can do nothing with God.

Argument.

The Law worketh anger, *Rom.* 4. *Da-* *vi-* *i.* That which is the cauſe of condemnation, cannot be the cauſe of juſtification. The Law is the cauſe of condemnation. *Rom.* 4. *Ergo*, it is not the cauſe of Juſtification.

A Conſequent.

Now are we quit and delivered from the Law, being dead to that wherein we were once holden. *Rom.* 7. We are quit and delivered from the Law, *Rom.* 7. *Ergo*, we are not quit and delivered by the Law.

‘ For ſomuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture in expreſs words, hath thus included our Salvation in Faith only, we are enforced neceſſarily to exclude all other cauſes and means in our Juſtification, and to make this difference between the Law and the Goſpel, between Faith and works, affirming, with Scripture and word of God, that the Law condemneth us, our works do not avail us, and that Faith in Chriſt only juſtifieth us. And this difference and diſtinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Chriſtians, eſpecially in conflict of conſcience between the Law and the Goſpel, Faith and Works, Grace and Merits, Promiſe and Condition, Gods free election and mans Free-will: ſo that the light of the free Grace of God in our Salvation may appear to all conſciences, to the immortal Glory of Gods holy Name. *Amen.*

The order and difference of places.

Antitheſis. The Law to be different from the Goſpel.

The Goſpel. { *Faith.* { *Promiſe.* *Gods free* *Grace.* *election.* }
The Law. { *Works.* { *Condition.* *Merits.* *Mans free-will.* }

‘ The difference and repugnance of theſe foreſaid places being well noted and expended, it ſhall give no ſmall light to every faithful Chriſtian, both to underſtand the Scriptures, to judge in caſes of Conſcience, and to reconcile ſuch places in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, as elſe may ſeem to repugn, according to the rule of S. *Auguſtine*, ſaying, *Diſtingue tempora, & conciliabis Scripturas, &c. Make diſtinction of times, and thou ſhalt reconcile the Scriptures, &c.* Contrariwiſe where men be not perfectly in theſe places inſtructed, to diſcern between the Law and the Goſpel, between faith and works, &c. So long they can never rightly eſtabliſh their minds in the free Promiſes of Gods Grace: but walk confidently without order, in all matters of Religion. Example whereof we have too much in the *Romiſh*-Church, who confounding theſe places together without diſtinction, following no method, have perverted the true order of Chriſtian Doctrine, and have obſcured the ſweet comfort and benefit of the Goſpel of Chriſt, not knowing what the true uſe of the Law nor of the Goſpel meaneth. The Ignorance and blindneſs of the Popes Church in confounding theſe places.

¶ *In the Doctrine of the Law three things to be noted.*

‘ In the Law therefore three things are to be conſidered. The firſt point to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law.
‘ Firſt, what is the true vigour and ſtrength of the Law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to reſtrain his outward actions, but alſo his inward motions, and inclinations of will and affection from the appetite of ſin. And therefore ſaith St. *Paul*, *The Law is ſpiritual, but I am carnal, &c.* Rom. 7. Whereupon riſeth this Propoſition, That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the Law. *Item*, the Law commandeth that which is to us impoſſible, &c. The ſtrength of the Law.
‘ 2. The ſecond thing to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law, is, to conſider the time and place of the Law, what they be, and how far they extend. For as the ſurging Seas have their banks and bars to keep them in; ſo the Law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to paſs. If Chriſt had not come and ſuffered, the time and dominion of the Law had been everlaſting. But now ſeeing Chriſt hath come, and hath died in his righteous Fleſh, the power of the Law againſt our ſinful fleſh doth ceaſe. *For the end of the Law is Chriſt*, Rom. 10. that is, the death of Chriſts Body is the death of the Law to all that believe in him: ſo that whoſoever repent of their ſins, and flee to the death and paſſion of Chriſt, the condemnation and time of the Law to them is expired. Wherefore this is to be underſtood as a perpetual rule in the Scripture, that the Law with all his Sentences and Judgments, wherefoever they are written, either in the *Old Teſtament* or in the *New*, do ever include a privy exception of repentance and belief in Chriſt, to the which always it giveth place, having there his end, and can proceed no further: according as St. *Paul* doth ſay, *The Law is our Schoolmaſter until Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by Faith*, Gal. 3. The ſecond thing to be noted in the Law. The due time and place of the Law. The death of Chriſt is the death of the Law, that is, of the condemnation of the Law. The time of the Law how long it laſteth, *Gal.* 3.
‘ Moreover, as the Law hath his time how long to reign, ſo alſo it hath his proper place, where to reign. By the reign of the Law here is meant the condemnation of the Law: for as the time of the Law ceaſeth when the Faith of Chriſt in a true repenting heart beginneth; ſo hath the Law no place in ſuch as be good and faithful; that is, in Sinners repenting and amending, but only in them which be evil and wicked. Evil men here I call ſuch, which walking in ſinful fleſh, are not yet driven by true and earneſt Repentance to flee to Chriſt for Succour. And therefore ſaith St. *Paul*, *To the juſt man there is no law ſet, but to the unjuſt and diſobedient, &c.* 1 Tim. 1. By the juſt man here is meant, not he which never had diſeaſe, but he who knowing his diſeaſe ſeeketh out the Phyſitian, and being cured, keepeth himſelf in health, as much as he may, from any more Surfeits. Notwithſtanding he ſhall never ſo keep himſelf, but that his health (that is, his new Obedience) ſhall always remain frail and unperfect, and ſhall continually need the Phyſitian. Where by the way theſe three things are to be noted; firſt, the ſickneſs it ſelf: ſecondly, the knowing of the ſickneſs: thirdly, the Phyſitian. The ſickneſs is ſin. The knowing of the ſickneſs is repentance, which the Law worketh. The Phyſitian is Chriſt. And therefore although in remiſſion of ſins, but only the worthineſs of Chriſt, whom faith only apprehendeth, no more than the feeling of the diſeaſe is the cauſe of health, but only the Phyſitian. For elſe when a man is caſt and condemned by the Law, it is not Repentance that can ſave or deſerve life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the Prince, and not his Repentance that ſaveth. The time of the Law how long it laſteth, *Gal.* 3. *Juſtus non eſt ſine peccato, ſed in juſtis, & inobſequentia.* 1 *Tim.* 1. The Law. Repentance. Faith. The Phyſitian. In remiſſion of ſins three things to be noted. 1. The diſeaſe. 2. The knowing of the diſeaſe. 3. The Phyſitian Repentance is joyned with Faith, yet is it no cauſe of Salvation.
‘ The third point to be conſidered in the Doctrine of the Law, is this, that we mark well the end and purpoſe why the Law is given which is not to bring us to Salvation, The third point to be noted in the Doctrine of the Law.

{KING} {Hen. 8.} ‘ tion, nor to work Gods favour, nor to make us good: ‘ but rather to declare and convict our wickedneſs, and to ‘ make us feel the danger thereof, to this end and purpoſe, ‘ that we ſeeing our condemnation, and being in our ſelves confounded, may be driven thereby to have our refuge to Chriſt the Son of God, and to ſubmit our ſelves to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this end of the Law diſcreetly ought to be pondered of all Chriſtians. Otherwiſe they that conſider not this end and purpoſe of the Law, fall into manifold Errors and Inconveniences. Firſt, they pervert all order of Doctrine. Secondly, they ſeek that in the Law which the Law cannot give. Thirdly, they are not able to comfort themſelves, nor other. Fourthly, they keep mens Souls in an uncertain doubt and dubitation of their Salvation. Fifthly, they obſcure the light of Gods Grace. Sixthly, they are unkind to Gods Benefits. Seventhly, they are injurious to Chriſts Paſſion, and Enemies to his Croſs. Eighthly, they ſtop Chriſtian liberty. Ninthly, they bereave the Church, the Spouſe of Chriſt, of her due comfort, as taking away the Sun out of the World. Tenthly, in all their doings they ſhoot at a wrong mark: for whereſe Chriſt only is ſet up to be apprehended by our Faith, and ſo freely to juſtifie us; they leaving this Juſtification by Faith, ſet up other marks, partly of the Law, partly of their own deviſing, for men to ſhoot at. And here cometh in the manifeſt and manifold Abſurdities of the Biſhop of *Romes* Doctrine, which (the Lord willing) we will rehearſe, as in a Catalogue here following. Inconveniences that riſe in not knowing the true end of the Law.

Errors and Abſurdities of the Papiſts, *touching the Doctrine of the Law and of the Goſpel.*

Errors in the Popes Doctrine concerning the Doctrine of the Law. 1. THey erroneouſly conceive opinion of Salvation in the Law, which only is to be ſought in the Faith of Chriſt, and in no other.
2. They erroneouſly do ſeek Gods favour by works of the Law: not knowing that the Law in this our corrupt nature worketh only the anger of God, *Rom.* 3.
This Article repugnath againſt this place of *John* 1. *The Law is given by Moſes, Grace and verity by Jeſus Chriſt.* What is the whole Service of God in the Popes Church, but only an hay of Ceremonies? This Article repugneth againſt this Scripture, *Go and preach the Goſpel to every Creature, He that believeth, &c.* But they preach as though Chriſt had ſaid, *Go and preach the Law to every Creature.* This Article is contrary to the place *Rom.* 8. *That which the Law could not perform in the behalf of our weak fleſh, &c.* This Article repugneth againſt the place *Gal.* 2. *For if righteouſneſs come by the Law, then Chriſt died in vain.* This Article ſavoureth of the pride of the Phariſee, which
3. They err alſo in this, that where the Office of the Law is divers and contrary from the Goſpel, they without any difference confound the one with the other, making the Goſpel to be a Law, and Chriſt to be a *Moſes*.
4. They err in dividing the Law unskilfully into three parts, into the Law-Natural, the Law-Moral, and the Law-Evangelical.
5. They err again in dividing the Law-Evangelical into Precepts and Counſels, making the Precepts to ſerve for all men, the Counſels only to ſerve for them that be perfect.
6. The chief ſubſtance of all their teaching and preaching reſteth upon the works of the Law, as may appear by their Religion, which wholly conſiſteth in mens Merits, Traditions, Laws, Canons, Decrees, and Ceremonies.
7. In the Doctrine of Salvation, of Remiſſion, and Juſtification, either they admit the Law equally with the Goſpel, or elſe, clean ſecluding the Goſpel, they teach and preach the Law, ſo that little mention is made of the Faith of Chriſt, or none at all.
8. They err in thinking, that the Law of God requireth nothing in us under pain of damnation, but only our obedience in extern actions: as for the inward affections and conſcience they ſeem but light matters.
9. They not knowing the true nature and ſtrength of the Law, do erroneouſly imagine that it is in mans power to fulfil it.
10. They err in thinking, that it is in mans power not only to keep the Law of God, but alſo to perform more perfect works than be in Gods Law commanded, and theſe they call the works of perfection. And hereof riſe the works of Supererogation, of Satisfaction, of Congruity and Condignity, to ſtore up the Treaſure-houſe the Popes Church, to be ſold out to the people for money.
11. They err in ſaying, that the State Monaſtical is more perfect for keeping the Counſels of the Goſpel, than other States be in keeping the Law of the Goſpel.
12. The Counſels of the Goſpel they call the vows of their religious men, as profound Humility, perfect Chaſtity, and wilful Poverty.
13. They err abominably, in equalling their Laws and Conſtitutions with Gods Law, and in ſaying, that mans Law bindeth under pain of damnation, no leſs than Gods Law. ſaid, *I am not like other Publicans.* This Article repugneth againſt this place. *They bind heavy burdens and grievous to bear, and lay them on mens ſhoulders. Matth.* 23. *Woe to you Scribes and Phariſees,* which *for the Traditions of men transgreſs the commandments of God* part of this Hiſtory.

¶ *Here follow three Cautions to be obſerved and avoided in the true underſtanding of the Law.*

The firſt Caution.

Three cautions to be avoided concerning the right underſtanding of the Law.

FIrſt, That we, through the miſ-underſtanding of the Scriptures, do not take the Law for the Goſpel, nor the Goſpel for the Law; but skilfully diſcern and diſtinguiſh the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many there be, which reading the Book of the *New Teſtament*, do take and underſtand whatſoever they ſee contained in the ſaid Book, to be only and meerly the voice of the Goſpel. And contrariwiſe, whatſoever is contained in the compaſs of the *Old Teſtament*; that is, within the *Law*, *Stories*, *Pſalms*, and *Prophets*, to be only and meerly the word and voice of the Law. Wherein they are deceived; for the preaching of the Law and of the Goſpel are mixed together in both the *Teſtaments*, as well the *Old* as the *New*. Neither is the order of theſe two Doctrines to be diſtinguiſhed by Books and leaves, but by the diverſity of Gods Spirit ſpeaking unto us. For ſometimes in the *Old Teſtament* God doth comfort as he comforted *Adam* with the voice of the Goſpel. Sometimes alſo in the *New Teſtament* he doth threaten and terrifie, as when Chriſt threatned the *Phariſees*. In ſome places again, *Moſes* and the Prophets play the *Evangeliſts*: inſomuch that *Hierome* doubted whether he ſhould call *Eſay* a Prophet or an Evangeliſt. In ſome places likewiſe Chriſt and the Apoſtles apply the part of *Moſes*: And as Chriſt himſelf until his death was under the Law (which Law he came not to break, but to fulfil) ſo his Sermons made to the *Jews*, run all for the moſt part upon the perfect Doctrine and Works of the Law, ſhewing and teaching what we ought to do by the right Law of Juſtice, and what danger enſueth in not performing the ſame. All which places though they be contained in the Book of the *New Teſtament*, yet are they to be referred to the Doctrine of the Law, ever having in them included a privy exception of Repentance and Faith in Chriſt Jeſus. As in example, where Chriſt thus preacheth, *Bleſſed be they that be pure of heart, for they ſhall ſee God, &c.* Mat. 5. Again, *Except ye be made like theſe Children ye ſhall not enter, &c. Mat.* 18. Item, *But he that doth the will of my Father ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, &c.* Matth. 7. *Item*, the Parable of the unkind Servant, juſtly caſt into priſon for not forgiving his Fellow, &c. *Mat.* 18. The *Mat.*18. caſting of the rich Glutton into Hell, &c. *Luke* 16. *Item*, *Luke* 16. *He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c.* Luke 12. With ſuch other places of like condition. All theſe (I ſay) pertaining to the Doctrine of the Law, do ever include in them a ſecret exception of earneſt Repentance and Faith in Chriſts pretious Blood. For elſe, *Peter* denied, and yet repented. Many *Publicans* and Sinners were unkind, unmercifull, and hard-hearted to their fellow Servants, and yet many of them repented, and by Faith were ſaved, &c. The Grace of Chriſt Jeſus work in us earneſt Repentance and Faith in him unfeigned. *Amen.* The voice of the Goſpel ſoundeth ſometimes in the Teſtament. The voice of the Law ſometimes is uſed in the New Teſtament. What places of the Scripture are to be referred to the Law, and what to the Goſpel. *Mat.* 5. *Mat.*18. *Mat.* 7.

Briefly, to know when the Law ſpeaketh, and when the Goſpel ſpeaketh, and to diſcern the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may ſerve for a note, That when there is any moral work commanded to be done,

done, either for eſchewing of puniſhment, or upon promiſe of any reward temporal or eternal, or elſe when any promiſe is made with condition of any work commanded in the Law, there is to be underſtood the voice of the Law. Contrary, where the promiſe of life and ſalvation is offered unto us freely, without all our merits, and ſimply without any condition annexed, of any Law, either Natural, Ceremonial, or Moral: all thoſe places, whether they be read in the *Old Teſtament* or in the *New*, are to be referred to the Voice and Doctrine of the Goſpel. And this promiſe of God freely made to us by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo long before propheſied to us in the *Old Teſtament*, and afterward exhibited in the *New Teſtament*, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the Voice of the Goſpel, and differeth from the voice of the Law in this, that it hath no condition adjoyned of our meriting, but only reſpecteth the Merits of Chriſt the Son of God; by whoſe Faith only we are promiſed of God to be ſaved and juſtified according as we read, *Rom. 3. The righteouſneſs of God cometh by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, in allband upon all that do believe, &c.*

The promiſe of the Goſpel is without condition. Free without merits. Simple without condition.

What is the Goſpel properly.

Rom. 3.

The ſecond caution.

The ſecond caution or danger to be avoided, is, that we now knowing how to diſcern rightly between the Law and the Goſpel, and having intelligence not to miſtake the one for the other, muſt take heed again that we break not the Order between theſe two, taking and applying the Law where the Goſpel is to be applied, either to our ſelves or toward other. For albeit the Law and the Goſpel many times are to be joyned together in order of Doctrine: the caſe may fall ſometimes, that the Law muſt be utterly ſequeſtred from the Goſpel. As when any perſon or perſons do feel themſelves with the Majeſty of the Law and Judgment of God ſo terrified and oppreſſed, and with the burthen of their ſins overweiged and thrown down into utter diſcomfort, and almoſt even to the pit of Hell, as happeneth many times to ſoft and timorous conſciences of Gods good Servants: when ſuch mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any ſuch example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the Law, let them think the ſame nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning-weed belongeth to a Marriage-Feaſt: and therefore removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the Law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only ſet before their eyes the Goſpel, the ſweet comforts of Gods promiſe, free forgiveneſs of ſins in Chriſt, Grace, Redemption, Liberty, rejoycing, Pſalms, Thanks, Singing, and a Paradiſe of Spiritual Jocundity, and nothing elſe; thinking thus with themſelves, that the Law hath done his office in them already, and now muſt needs give place to his better: that is, muſt needs give room to Chriſt the Son of God, who is the Lord and Maſter, the Fulfiller and alſo the Finiſher of the Law; for the end of the Law, is Chriſt, *Rom.* 10.

Who they be to whom the Goſpel only belongeth.

A Mourning Gown in a place of marriage doth not agree.

Chriſt the Fulfiller, and alſo the Finiſher of the Law.

The third caution. How to ſeparate the Law from the Goſpel.

The third danger to be avoided, is, that we do not uſe or apply: on the contrary ſide, the Goſpel in ſtead of the Law. For as the other before was even as much as to put on a Mourning-Gown in the Feaſt of a Marriage: ſo is this but even to caſt Pearls before Swine. Wherein is a great abuſe among many. For commonly it is ſeen that theſe worldly Epicures and ſecure Mammoniſts, to whom the Doctrine of the Law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themſelves moſt principally the ſweet Promiſes of the Goſpel: and contrariwiſe, the other contrite and bruiſed hearts, to whom belong only the joyful tidings of the Goſpel and not the Law, for the moſt part receive and retain to themſelves the terrible Voice and Sentences of the Law. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that many do rejoyce where they ſhould mourn; and on the other ſide many do fear and mourn where they need not. Wherefore to conclude, in private uſe of life, let every perſon diſcreetly diſcern between the Law and the Goſpel, and aptly apply to himſelf that which he ſeeth convenient.

How to joyn both the Law and the Goſpel.

And again, in publick order of Doctrine, let every diſcreet Preacher put a difference between the broken heart of the mourning Sinner, and the unrepentant Worldling, and ſo conjoyn both the Law with the Goſpel, and the Goſpel with the Law, that in throwing down the wicked ever he ſpare the weak-hearted; and again, ſo ſpare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly. And thus much concerning the conjunction and difference between the Law and the Goſpel, upon the occaſion of Mr. *Patricks* Places.

{KING H.8.}

Perſecutors. — *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

Henry Foreſt
At Saint *Andrews* in *Scotland.*

Henry Foreſt Martyr.

James Beton Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews.*

Within few years after the Martyrdom of Maſter *Patrick Hamelton*, one *Henry Foreſt*, a young man born in *Lithquow*, who a little before had received the Orders of *Bennet* and *Collet* (as they term them) affirmed, and ſaid, That Maſter *Patrick Hamelton* died a Martyr, and that his Articles were true: for the which he was apprehended, and put in priſon by *James Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*. Who, ſhortly after, cauſed a certain Frier, named *Walter Laing*, to hear his Confeſſion. To whom when *Henry Foreſt* in ſecret confeſſion had declared his conſcience, how he thought Maſter *Patrick* to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his Articles were true and not heretical, the Frier came and uttered to the Biſhop the confeſſion that he had heard, which before was not throughly known.

The Frier uttereth the Confeſſion of Henry Foreſt.

Frier Walter Laing, *bewrayer of the Confeſſion of this* Henry *Foreſt.*

Whereupon it followed, that his Confeſſion being brought as ſufficient probation againſt him, he was therefore convented before the Council of the Clergy and Doctors, and there concluded to be an Hereticke, equal in iniquity with Maſter *Patrick Hamelton*, and there decreed to be given to the ſecular Judges to ſuffer death.

Fie on falſe Friers.

When the day came of his death, and that he ſhould firſt be degraded, and was brought before the Clergy in a green place, being between the Caſtle of Saint *Andrews* and another place called *Menymaill*, aſſoon as he entred in at the door, and ſaw the face of the Clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, ſaying, *Fie on falſehood, Fie in falſe Friers, Revealers of Confeſſion: after this day let no man ever truſt any falſe Friers, Contemners of Gods Word, and Deceivers of men.* And ſo they proceeding to degrade him of his ſmall Orders of *Benner* and *Collet*, he ſaid with a loud voice, *Take from me not only your Orders, but alſo your own Baptiſm*; meaning thereby whatſoever is befides that which Chriſt himſelf inſtituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in Baptiſm. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as an Hereticke equal with Maſter *Patrick* aforeſaid: and ſo he ſuffered death for his faithful Teſtimony of the truth of Chriſt and of his Goſpel, at the North Church-ſtile of the Abbey-Church of Saint *Andrew*, to the intent that all the people of *Angus* might ſee the fire, and ſo might be the more feared from falling into the like Doctrine, which they term by the name of Hereſie. *Ex Scripto Teſtimonio Scotorum.*

James

{KING Hen.8.}

Perſecutors. — *Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*

James Hamelton, Katharine Hamelton his ſiſter. A Wife of Lieth certificated. David Straton, Mr. Norman Gurley Martyrs.

James Hamelton, Brother to Maſter *Patrick*.
Katharine Hamelton.
A Wife of *Lieth*.
David Straton.
Maſter *Norman Gurley.*

James Hay, *Biſhop of* Roſſe, *and Commiſſioner of* James.

Beton *Archbiſhop of St.* Andrews.

Within a year after the Martyrdom of *Henry Foreſt*, or thereabout was called *James Hamelton* of *Kyncliggow*, his Siſter *Katharine Hamelton*, the Spouſe of the Captain of *Dunbar*, alſo another honeſt Woman of *Lieth*, *David Straton* of the Houſe of *Laurriſtone*, and Maſter *Norman Gurley*. Theſe were called to the Abby Church of *Halyroodhouſe* in *Edinburgh* by *James Hay* Biſhop of *Roſſ*, Commiſſioner to *James Beton* Archbiſhop, in preſence of King *James* the fifth of that name; who, upon the day of their accuſation, was altogether clad in red apparel. *James Hamelton* was accuſed as one that maintained the opinion of Maſter *Patrick* his Brother. To whom the King gave counſel to depart, and not to appear; for in caſe he appeared, he could not help him; becauſe the Biſhops had perſwaded him, that the cauſe of Hereſie did in his wife appertain unto him. And ſo *James* fled, and was condemned as an Heretick, and all his Goods and Lands confiſcate, and diſpoſed unto others.

A great Hereſie in the Popes Church, that no works can ſave us but the works of Chriſt.

Katharine Hamelton his Siſter, appeared upon the Scaffold, and being accuſed of an horrible Hereſie, to wit, that her own works could not ſave her, ſhe granted the ſame; and after long reaſoning between her and Maſter *John Spens* the Lawyer, ſhe concluded in this manner, *Work here, Work there, what kind of working is all that? I know perfectly, that no kind of works can ſave me, but only the works of Chriſt my Lord and Saviour.* The King hearing theſe words, turned him about and laught, and called her unto him, and cauſed her to recant, becauſe ſhe was his Aunt, and ſhe eſcaped.

Maſter John Spens, Lawyer.

A great Hereſie to ſay Chriſt helps and not our Lady.

The Woman of *Lieth* was detected hereof, that when the Midwife in time of her labour, bad her ſay. *Our Lady help me*; ſhe cried, *Chriſt help me, Chriſt help me, in whoſe help I truſt.* She alſo was cauſed to recant, and ſo eſcaped without confiſcation of her goods, becauſe ſhe was married.

Againſt Purgatory.

Maſter *Norman Gurly*, for that he ſaid, *there was no ſuch thing as Purgatory*, and *that the Pope was not a Biſhop, but Antichriſt, and had no Juriſdiction in* Scotland.

Alſo *David Straton*, for that he ſaid *There was no Purgatory, but the Paſſion of Chriſt, and the tribulations of this World*; and becauſe that when Maſter *Robert Lawſon* Vicar of *Egleſgrig*, asked his Teſt-Firſt of him, he did caſt them to him out of the Boat, ſo that ſome of them fell into the Sea. Therefore he accuſed him, as one that ſhould have ſaid, that no Tithes ſhould be paid. Theſe two, becauſe after great ſolicitation made by the King, they refuſed to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the Biſhop of *Roſſ* as Hereticks, and were burned upon the Green ſide, between *Lieth* and *Edenburgh*, to the intent that the Inhabitants of *Fiffe* ſeeing the fire, might be ſtricken with terrour and fear, not to fall into the like. *Ex eodem ſcripto.*

¶ And thus much touching thoſe Martyrs of *Scotland* that ſuffered under *James Beton*, Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*. After whom ſucceeded *David Beton* in the ſaid Archbiſhoprick, under whom divers other were alſo martyred, as hereafter (God willing) in their order ſhall appear.

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Thomas Harding, *an aged Father, dwelling at* Chetham *in* Buckinghamſhire.

At Chetham *in* Buckinghamſhire, *Anno* 1553.

Thomas Harding dwelling at *Chetham* in the County of *Buckingham*, with *Alice* his Wife, was firſt abjured by *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Anno* 1506, with divers other more, which the ſame time, for ſpeaking againſt idolatry and ſuperſtition, were taken and compelled, ſome to bear Fagots, ſome were burned in the Cheeks with hot irons, ſome condemned to perpetual Priſon, ſome thruſt into Monaſteries, and ſpoiled clean of all their Goods, ſome compelled to make Pilgrimage to the great Block, otherwiſe called our Lady of *Lincoln*, ſome to *Walſingham*, ſome to Saint *Romuld* of *Buckingham*, ſome to the Rood of *Wendover*, ſome to Saint *John Sborne*, *&c.* Of whom mention is made in the Table before.

T. Harding Martyr.

John Longland *Biſhop of* Lincoln.

Rowland *Vicar of great* Wickam, *the Biſhops Chaplain.*

Of this *Thomas Harding* much rehearſal hath been made before.

Firſt, This *Thomas Harding*, with *Alice* his Wife, being abjured and enjoyned Penance, with divers other more, by *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, afterward by the ſaid Biſhop was releaſed again, in the year of our Lord 1515, of all ſuch Penance as was enjoyned him and his Wife at their Abjuration, except theſe three Articles following, and were diſcharged of their Badges, or ſigns of their Fagot, *&c.* Only this Penance following the Biſhop continued *ſub pœna relapſi.*

Firſt, *That neither of them during their life ſhould dwell out of the Pariſh* of Amerſham.

Item, *That either of them during their life ſhould faſt Bread and Ale every* Corpus Chriſti *Even.*

It was happy that they were not put to it the bread and waters.

Item, *That either of them ſhould during their lives, upon* Corpus Chriſti *day, every year go on Pilgrimage to* Alſheridge, *and there make their offerings, as other people did, but not to do Penance. Alſo they were licenſed by the ſaid Biſhop to do their Pilgrimage at* Alſheridge, *on* Corpus Chriſti *Even, or* Corpus Chriſti *day, or ſome other, upon any cauſe reaſonable.*

This Penance being to them enjoyned, *Anno* 1515, they obſerved till the year of our Lord 1522, ſave only in the laſt year the forefaid *Alice* his Wife omitted her Pilgrimage going to *Alſheridge* upon *Corpus Chriſti* day. Alſo the ſaid *Thomas Harding*, being put to his Oath to detect other, becauſe he contrary to his Oath diſſembled, and did not diſcloſe them, was therefore enjoyned, in Penance for his Perjury, to bear upon his right ſleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green Cloth, or Silk, embroidered like a Fagot, during his whole life, unleſs he ſhould be otherwiſe diſpenſed withal. And thus continued he from the year one thouſand five hundred twenty two, until the year 1532.

The raſing of T. Harding.

At laſt the ſaid *Harding* in the year abovefaid 1532, about *Eaſter* Holy days, when the other people went to the Church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the Woods, there ſo-

R litarily

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literally to worship the true living God, in spirit and truth: Where, as he was occupied in a Book of *English* Prayers, leaning or sitting upon a Stile by the Woods side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the Officers of the Town, declaring, that he had seen *Harding* in the Woods looking on a Book. Whereupon immediately a rude Rabble of them, like mad men, ran desperately to his house to search for Books, and in searching went so nigh, that under the Boords of his Floor they found certain *English* Books of holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly Father, with his Books, was brought before *John Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, then lying at *Woburn*. Who with his Chaplains, calling Father *Harding* to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes than with any sound arguments. *Thomas Harding*, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the Bishops Prison, called *little-ease*, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the Bishop, sitting in his Tribunal Seat like a Potestate, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his Martyrdom to *Rouland Messenger*, Vicar of great *Wickham*. Which *Rouland* at the day appointed, with a rabble of other like to himself, brought Father *Harding* to *Chesham* again. Where, the next day after his return, the said *Rouland* made a Sermon in *Chesham* Church, causing *Thomas Harding* to stand before him all the preaching time; which Sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the state of his Apostolical See, with the idolatry, fancys and traditions belonging unto the same. When the Sermon was ended, *Rouland* took him up to the high Altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the Bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christs natural Body born of the Virgin *Mary*. To this *Thomas Harding* answered, *The Articles of our Belief do teach us, That our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin* Mary, *and that he suffered death under* Pilate, *and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of his Father.*

Tho. Harding put in little-ease. The Bishops Prison.

Tho. Harding condemned.

The Faith and Confession of *Tho. Harding.*

Then was he brought into a mans house in the Town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the foresaid *Rouland* again, about ten of the Clock, with a company of Bills and Staves, to lead this godly Father to his burning. Whom a great number both of men and women did follow. Of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoyced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust in his hands a little Cross of wood, but no Idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the Stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his Spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to Heaven, saying, *Jesus, receive my spirit.*

The patient death and Martyrdom of *Tho. Harding.*

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a Billet at him, and dashed out his Brains; of what purpose he so did, it is not known; but as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the Proclamation was made at the burning of *William Tilsworth* above mentioned; whereas Proclamation was made the same time, *That whosoever did bring a Faget or a Stake to the burning of an Heretick, should have forty days of pardon.* Whereby many ignorant people called many of their children to bear Billets and Faggots to their burning.

40 days of pardon for bringing Fagots to burn good men.

In fine, when the Sacrifice and Burnt-offering of this godly Martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the *Dell*, going to *Botley*, at the North end of the Town of *Chesham*, *Rouland* the Ruler of the roft, commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away with an *Ita, missa est*, with a loud voice

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said to the people these words, not advising belike, what his Tongue did speak, *Good People, when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of an Heretick, but of a good true Christian man,* and so they departed to Dinner, *Rouland* with the Rabble of other Priests much rejoycing at the burning of this good man. After Dinner they went to Church to Evensong, because it was *Corpus Christi* Even, where they fell to singing and chanting, with ringing and piping of the Organs. Well was he that could reach the highest Note, so much did they rejoyce at this goods mans burning. He should have been burned on the *Ascension* Even, but the matter was deferred unto the Even of *Corpus Christi*, because they would honour their bready Messias with a bloudy Sacrifice. Thus *Thomas Harding* was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above. *Ex testimon. Scrip. Civium Amarshemensium.*

I find in the Records of *Lincoln*, about the same time, and in the said Country of *Buckinghamshire*, in the which the foresaid *Thomas Harding* did suffer, that divers other for the like Doctrine were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder followeth.

Mistress *Alice Doly.*

Elizabeth Wightbill.

Dr. London.

Elizabeth Wightbill being brought befor Doctor *London*, in the Parsonage at *Staunton Harecourt*, and there put to her Oath, depofed against Mistris *Alice Doly* her Mistris, That the said Mistris *Doly*, speaking of *John Hacker* of *Colemanstreet* in *London*, *Waterbearer*, said, *That he was very expert in the Gospels, and all other things belonging to Divine Service, and could expresse and declare it, and the* Pater noster in English, *as well as any Priest, and it would do one good to hear him*: saying moreover, *That she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man*; commanding moreover the said *Elizabeth*, that she should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the foresaid *Hacker* could tell of divers Prophecies, what should happen in the Realm.

Alice Doly accused.

Against Pilgrimage.

Over and besides, the forenamed *Elizabeth* deposed, That the said Mistris *Doly* her Mistris shewed unto her, that she had a Book which held against Pilgrimages; and after that, she called Sir *John Booth* Parson of *Brittwel*, to read upon a Book which he called *Legenda aurea*; and one Saints life he read which did speak against Pilgrimages. And after that was read, her Mistris said unto her, *Lo Daughter, now ye may hear as I told you, that this Book speaketh against Pilgrimages.*

Against Images.

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mistris *Doly* by the said *Elizabeth*, that she being at Sir *William Barentens* place, and seeing there in the Closet Images new gilded, said to the said *Elizabeth*, *Look here be my Lady* Barentens *Gods.* To whom the said *Elizabeth* answered again, *That they were set for remembrance of good Saints.* Then said she, *If I were in an house where no Images were, I could remember to pray unto Saints as well as if I did see the Images. Nay* (said the other) *Images do provoke devotion.*

Then

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Persecutors. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Then said her Mistris, *Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel.*

Item, The said Mistris *Doly* was reported by the said party to have a Book containing the 12 Articles of the Creed, covered with bords and red covering. Also another black Book, which she set most price by, which Book she kept ever in her Chamber, or in her Coffer, with divers other Books. And this was about the year of our Lord 1520. *Ex Registro Lincoln. Fol.* 300.

¶ Note here, good Reader, in this time, which was above 40 years ago, what good matter here was to accuse and molest good Women.

R. Hachman accused.

Roger Hachman, at *Northstoke* in *Oxfordshire*, Anno 1525.

Will. Smith, of Northstoke in Oxfordhire.

Tho. Ferrar.

Against this *Roger Hachman* it was laid by Depositions brought in, That he sitting at the Church-ale at *Norfolk*, said these words, *I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by Petition, as an Outlaw shall have his pardon of the King*; and said, That *if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.* Ex Regist. Lincoln.

Roger Weſt accused.

Robert Weſt, Priest of Saint *Andrew Undershaft*, at *London*, Anno 1529.

Dr. Wharton, *Chancellor* Tonstal *Bishop of* London.

Against this *Robert West* Priest, it was objected, That he had commended *Martin Luther*, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having Wife and Children, &c.

Item, For saying, *That whereas the Doctors of the Church have commanded Priests to say Mattens and Evensong, they had no authority so to do.* For the which he was abjured, and was enjoyned Penance. *Ex Regist.*

J. Ryburn accuſed.

John Ryburn, at *Rosliborough*, Anno 1530.

Dr. Morgan.

It was testified against *John Ryburn*, by his Sister *Elizabeth Ryburn*, being put to her Oath, That she coming to him upon the *Assumption* Even, found him at Supper with Butter and Eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat. To whom he said again, *That God never made such fasting days; but you* (quoth he) *are so far in* Limbo Patrum, *that you can never turn again.* And in further communication, when she said that she would go on Pilgrimage to the holy Cross at *Wendover*; he said again, that she did naught: *For there is never a step* (said he) *that you set in going on Pilgrimage, but you go to the Devil's and you go to Church to worship that the Priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the Mouse he will eat it*; and said, *that he would never believe that the Priest hath power to make his Lord.*

Item, It was testified by another

Persecutors. | *Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*

Sister named *Alice Ryburn*, That she, being with her Brother in a Close called *Brimers-Close*, heard him say these words, *That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made.* Whereunto she answering again, asked, *And what service shall we have then?* He said, *That Service that we have now.* Furthermore, the said *John Ryburn* was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the Church was naught, because it was not in *English*: *For*, said he, *if we had our* Pater noster in English, *we would say it nine times against once now*, &c. *Ex Registro Lincoln. Fol.* 300.

A Prophesy.

¶ Note here out of the Records of the Register, that in this Examination of *John Ryburn*, first his two Sisters, then his own Wife, and at last his own Father were called before *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and compelled by Oath to depose against him.

Sister against Brother, Wife against Husband.

John Eaton, *Cecily* his Wife, at *Rosliborough*, Anno 1530.

J. Eaton and Cicily his Wife.

John Longland *Bishop of* Lincoln.

John Eaton, and *Cicily* his Wife, of the Parish of *Spin*, were detected by *Richard Ryburn*, That they were marked of certain in the Parish on the *Sunday* then last past, in the sacring time, to hold down their heads, and would not look upon the Sacrament.

Item, In the Feast of *Exaltation of the holy Cross*, when the Bells did ring solemnly, between Mattens and high Mass, for saying in a Butchers house *What a Clappering of Bells is here?*

Richard Ryburn.

Item, The said *Robn Ryburn* was detected of *Richard* his Father, for saying these words, *The Priests do nought, for they should say their Service in* English, *that every man may know it.*

A Prophesy.

Item, For these words speaking to one of his Sisters, *The Sacrament of the Altar is not as they take it to be. But if is be, as I trust, we shall see none of them holden up, one of these days, over the Priests head*, &c.

Item, For saying, *That the bloud of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done, or should be done, and therefore it was no need to go on Pilgrimage.* It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, *That he had Jesus Gospels in* English, *and that he was present in the House of* John Taylor, *when one* John Simons *read to them a Lecture out of the Gospel of the Passion of Christ, the space of two hours.*

Item, For saying, *That Images were but Idols, and it was idolatry to pray to them.*

For saying moreover, *That at sacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the Sacrament.* Item, *That the Popes authority and pardon, cannot help mans soul, and it was but casting away money, that is given for pardons; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus, he will give us pardon every day.*

Thomas Lound Priest, who had been with *Luther* two years, being afterward cast into the *Fleet* at *London*, was a great instructer of this *John Ryburn.*

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*
	John Simonds.
	It was laid againſt *John Simonds*, for ſaying that men do walk all day in Purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to Hell or to Heaven. *Item*, He ſaid, *That Prieſts ſhould have Wives.* It was reported by the confeſſion of the ſaid *John Simonds*, That he converted to his Doctrine eight Prieſts, and had holpen two or three Friers out of their orders.
	William Wingrave. *Tho. Hawks* of *Hichenden.* *Robert Hawks* of *Weſtwicomb.* *John Taylor.* *John Hawks.* *Thomas Hern* of *Colſtil.* *Nicholas Field.* *Richard Dean.* *Thomas Clerk* the younger. *William Hawks* of *Cheſham.* Anno 1530.
John Long-land *Biſhop of* Lincoln.	Theſe perſons with other were examined, excommunicated and abjured, for being together in *John Taylor*'s Houſe at *Hichenden*, and there hearing *Nicholas Field* of *London*, to read a parcel of Scripture in *Engliſh* unto them, who there expounded to them many things; That they which went on Pilgrimage were accurſed; That it booted not to pray to Images, for they were but ſtocks made of Wood, and could not help a man; That God Almighty bidden us work, as well one day as another, ſaving the *Sunday*, for ſix days he wrought, and the ſeventh day he reſted; That they needed not to faſt ſo many faſting days, except the Embring days; for he was beyond the Sea in *Almany*, and there they uſed not ſo to faſt, nor to make ſuch Holidays.
	Item, That Offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was anſwered again by one, that they maintained Gods ſervice: *Nay*, ſaid *Nicholas, it maintaineth great Houſes*, as Abbys and other.
	Item, That men ſhould ſay their *Pater noſter*, and *Ave Maria* in *Engliſh*, with the *Creed*, and declared the ſame in *Engliſh*.
	Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar, was not as it was pretended, the fleſh, bloud and bone of Chriſt, but a Sacrament, that is a Typical ſignification of his holy body.
	To *William Wingrave* moreover it was objected, that he ſhould ſay, that there was no Purgatory; and if there were any Purgatory, and every Maſs that is ſaid ſhould deliver a ſoul out of Purgatory, there ſhould be never a ſoul there; for there be more Maſſes ſaid in a day than there be bodies buried in a Month.

Sy. Simonds deceaſed.

Ex Reiſh. Longlandſi.

Divers accuſed for hearing the Scriptures read in Engliſh.

Ex Acts. Reiſh. fol. 833.

Perſecutors.	*Martyrs, and the cauſes of their Martyrdom.*	KING Hen. 8.
	Simon Wiſdom of *Burford.*	
John Long-land *Biſhop of* Lincoln.	*Simon Wiſdom* of *Burford* was charged in judgment, for having 3 Books in *Engliſh*, one was the Goſpels in *Engliſh*, another was the Pſalter, the third was the ſumm of the holy Scripture in *Engliſh*.	Simon Wiſdom abjured
	James Algar of *Aiger*, Anno 1530.	James Algar abjured.
Dr. Prin, *Commiſſary to the Biſhop of* Lincoln.	It was articulated and objected to *James Aiger*, firſt, that he ſpeaking to a certain Dr. of Divinity, named *Aglonby*, ſaid, that every true Chriſtian man living after the laws of God, and obſerving his commandments, is a Prieſt as well as he, *&c.*	
	Item, That he ſaid, That he would not have his Executors to deal any penny for his ſoul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his Conſcience gave him, that the ſoul, ſo ſoon as it departeth out of the body, goeth ſtreight either to Heaven or Hell.	
	Item, When Dr. *Aglonby* aforeſaid had alledged to him the place of S. *Matthew*, the 16th. *Thou art Peter, &c.* he anſwered him again with that which followeth in the Goſpel after, *Get thee after me Satan, &c.*	
	Item, The ſaid *James*, hearing of a certain Church to be robbed, ſaid openly, it made no great force, for the Church hath enough already.	
	John French of *Longwitam.* At *Longwitam*, Anno 1530.	J. French abjured.
	Againſt *John French* likewiſe theſe three Articles were objected.	
	1. *That he believed not the body of Chriſt, fleſh, bloud and bone, to be in the Sacrament.*	
	2. *That he was not confeſſed to any Prieſt of long time.*	
	3. *That Prieſts had not power to abſolve from ſins*, &c.	
	For the which he likewiſe, with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled alſo with them to kneel down, and to aſk his holy Catholick Fathers and Mothers of *Rome* bleſſing.	

But what ſtand I here numbring the Sand? For if all the Regiſter Books were ſought, it would be an infinite thing, to recite all them which through all the other Dioceſſes of the Realm in theſe days, before and ſince, were troubled and purſued for theſe and ſuch like matters. But theſe I thought for examples fake here to ſpecifie, that it might appear what Doctrine it is, and how long it hath been in the Church, for the which the Prelates and Clergy of *Rome* have judged men Hereticks, and ſo wrongfully have moleſted poor ſimple Chriſtians.

Now, paſſing from the abjurations of thoſe poor men, we will ſomething ſpeak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary part, who were their perſecutors, and chief rulers then of the Church, to the intent that by thoſe rulers it may better be diſcerned and judged, what manner of Church that was, which then ſo perſecuted the true Doctrine of Chriſt, and Members of his Church.

A brief

KING Item. 8.

A brief Diſcourſe concerning the Story of Thomas Wolſey, *late Cardinal of* York, *by way of digreſſion; wherein is to be ſeen and noted the expreſs Image of the proud, vain-glorious Church of* Rome, *how far it differeth from the true Church of Chriſt Jeſus.*

Cardinal *Wolſey.*

ALTHOUGH it be not greatly pertinent unto this our Hiſtory, nor greatly requiſite, in theſe ſo weighty matters entreating of Chriſts holy Martyrs, to diſcourſe much of *Thomas Wolſey* Cardinal of *York*: Notwithſtanding forſomuch as there be many, which being carried away with a wrong opinion, and eſtimation of that falſe glittering Church of *Rome*, do think that Holineſs to be in it, which indeed is not: To the intent therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious Church, ſo far differing from all pure Chriſtianity and godlineſs, more notoriouſly may appear to all men, and partly alſo to refreſh the Reader with ſome variety of matter, I thought compendiouſly to expreſs the ridiculous and pompous qualities, and demeanor of this foreſaid *Thomas Wolſey*, Cardinal and Legat of *Rome*, in whom alone the image and life of all other ſuch like followers and profeſſors of the ſame Church, may be ſeen and obſerved. For like as the *Lacedemonians* in times paſt were acuſtomed to ſhew and demonſtrate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulneſs of that Vice, they might enflame them the more to the ſtudy and deſire of Sobriety; even ſo it ſhall not be hurtful ſometimes to ſet forth the examples which are not honeſt, that others might thereby gather the inſtructions of better and more upright dealing.

Example of the Lacedemonians.

Wherefore thou ſhalt note here (good Reader) in this Hiſtory, with all judgment, the great difference of life and converſation between this Church and the other true humble Martyrs and Servants of God, whom they have and do yet perſecute. And firſt to begin with the firſt meeting and coming in of this Cardinal, and his fellow Cardinal *Campeius* into *England*: It was about the time when Pope *Leo* intending to make War againſt the *Turks*, ſent three Legates together from *Rome*, whereof one went into *Germany*, another into *France*: *Laurentius Campeius* was appointed to come into *England*. When he was come to *Calis*, and that the Cardinal of *York* had underſtanding thereof, he ſent certain Biſhops and Doctors, with as much ſpeed as he could, to meet the Legat, and to ſhew him, that if he would have his Embaſſage effect, he ſhould ſend in Poſt to *Rome*, to have the ſaid Cardinal of *York* made Legat, and to be joyned with him in Commiſſion. Which thing he much affected, miſdoubting leſt his authority thereby might perhaps be diminiſhed through the coming of the Legat; and therefore required to be joyned with him in like degree of the Embaſſage. *Campeius* being a man light of belief, and ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, gave credit unto his words and ſent unto *Rome* with ſuch ſpeed, that within thirty days after the Bull was brought to *Calis*, wherein they were both equally joyned in Commiſſion; during which time the Cardinal of *York* ſent to the Legat at *Calis* red Cloth to cloath his Servants withal, which at their coming to *Calis* were but meanly apparelled.

Campeius ſent into England.

Cardinal *Wolſey* ſeeketh to be joyned in equal Commiſſion with Campeius.

Note the ſtate and pride of the Popes Clergy.

When all things were ready, *Campeius* paſſed the Seas and landed at *Dover*, and ſo kept forth his journey toward *London*. At every good Town as they paſſed, he was received with Proceſſion, accompanied with all the Lords and Gentlemen of *Kent*. And when he came to *Black-heath*, there met him the Duke of *Northfolk*, with a great number of Prelates, Knights and Gentlemen, all richly apparelled, and in the way he was brought into a rich Tent of Cloth of Gold, where he ſhifted himſelf into a Cardinals Robe furred with Ermines, and ſo took his Mule, riding toward *London*. Now mark the great humility in this Church of the Pope, and compare the ſame with the other Church of the Martyrs, and ſee which of them is more Goſpel-like.

The receiving of the Popes Legat into England.

This *Campeius* had eight Mules of his own, laden with diverſ Farthels and other preparations. The Cardinal of *York*, thinking them not ſufficient for his eſtate, the night before he came to *London*, ſent him twelve Mules more, with empty Coffers covered with red to furniſh his carriage withal. The next day theſe twenty Mules were led through the City, as though they had been laden with treaſures, apparel and other neceſſaries, to the great admiration of all men, that they ſhould receive a Legat as it were a God, with ſuch and ſo great treaſure and riches. For ſo the common people do always judge and eſteem the majeſty of the Clergy, by no other thing than by their outward ſhews and pomp; but in the midſt of this great admiration there happened a ridiculous ſpectacle, to the great deriſion of their pride and ambition. For as the Mules paſſed through *Cheapſide*, and the people were preſſing about them to behold and gaze (as the manner is) it happened that one of the Mules breaking his Collar that he was led in, ran upon the other Mules, whereby it happened, that they ſo running together, and their Girts being looſed, overthrew divers of their burthens, and ſo there appeared the Cardinals gay treaſure, not without great laughter and ſcorn of many, eſpecially of Boys and Girles, whereof ſome gathered up pieces of Meat, other ſome pieces of Bread and roſted Eggs, ſome found Horſe-ſhoes and old Boots, with ſuch other Baggage, crying out, *Behold here is my Lord Cardinals treaſure.* The Muliters being therewithal greatly aſhamed, gathered together their treaſure again as well as they could, and went forward.

Ambition and pomp in the Cardinal.

How God confoundeth the pride and pomp of men.

The Cardinals mules laden with roſted Eggs, and roaſted horſe-ſhoes, and ſuch other treaſure.

About three of the Clock at afternoon, the 29th day of *July*, the Cardinal himſelf was brought through the City, with great pomp and ſolemnity, unto *Paul*'s Church, where when he had bleſſed all men with the Biſhops bleſſing (as the manner is) he was guided forth unto the Cardinal of *York*'s Houſe; where he was received by the ſaid Cardinal, and by him on the next day, being *Sunday*, was conducted unto the King, to fulfil his Embaſſage againſt the *Turk*, which might have deſtroyed all *Hungary*, in the mean time whiles they were ſtudying with what ſolemnity to furniſh out their Embaſſage.

Ex Edvard. Hall.

When the Cardinal of *York* was thus a Legat, he ſet up a Court, and called it the Court of the Legat, and proved Teſtaments, and heard cauſes, to the great hinderance of all the Biſhops of the Realm. He viſited Biſhops, and all the Clergy, exempt, and not exempt; and under colour of Reformation, he got much treaſure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more miſchief; for by example of his pride, Prieſts and all ſpiritual perſons waxed ſo proud, that they ware Velvet and Silk, both in Gowns, Jackets Doublets and Shoes, kept open lechery, and ſo highly bare themſelves, by reaſon of his authorities and faculties, that no man durſt once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called Hereticks, and then they would make him ſtroke, or bear a Fagot. And the Cardinal himſelf was ſo elated, that he thought himſelf equal with the King; and when he had ſaid Maſs, he made Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine with Aſſay taken, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatories.

Further more, As he was Embaſſador ſent to the Emperor at *Bruſſels*, he had over with him the Great Seal of *England*, and was ſerved with his Servitors kneeling on their Knees, and many Noblemen of *England* waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the *Germans* that beheld it; ſuch was his monſtrous pomp and pride,

Ex Paralip. Ab. Urſp.

Ex Paralip. Ab. Urſp.

This glorious Cardinal in his tragical doings did exceed ſo far all meaſure of a good Subject, that he became more like a Prince than a Prieſt; for although the King bore the ſword, yet he bare the ſtroke, making (in a manner) the whole Realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his Pipe. Such practices and fetches he had, that when he had well ſtored his own Coffers, firſt he fetched the greateſt part of the Kings treaſure out of the Realm, in twelve great Barrels full of Gold and Silver, to ſerve the Popes Wars; and as his avaricious mind was never ſatisfied with getting, ſo his reſtleſs head was ſo buſie, ruffling in publick matters, that he never ceaſed before he had ſet both *England, France, Flanders, Spain* and *Italy* together by the ears.

The cloſing of Cardinal *Wolſey* a great cauſe of Wars.

Thus this Legate well following the steps of his Master the Pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their Religion, under the pretence of the Church practised great hypocrisie, and under the authority of the King he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every mans substance, so pilling the Commons and Merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the Church-men altogether free from the pillage and pollax, from the pilling and polling (I mean) of this Cardinal, who under his power Legantine gave by preventions all Benefices belonging to spiritual perſons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches, or hatred of the Spiritualty. So far his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress divers Abbys, Priories and Monasteries; and so he did, taking from them all their goods, moveables and unmoveables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houſes. By the said power Legantine he kept also general Visitations through the Realm, sending Doctor *John Alein* his Chaplain, riding in his Gown of Velvet, and with a great train, to visit all Religious Houſes, wheneat the Friers obſervants much grudged, and would in no wiſe condescend thereunto; wherefore they were openly accused at *Paules-Croſs*, by Friar *Forreſt* one of the same Order; so that the Cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all other. Against whom great disdain arose among the people, perceiving how he by Visitations, making of Abbots, Probats of Testaments, granting of Faculties, Licences, and other pollings in his Courts Legantine, had made his treasure equal with the Kings, and yet every year he sent great sums to *Rome*. And this was their daily talk against the Cardinal.

The pilling and polling of the Cardinal.

The Friers obſervants accused of the Cardinal. Of Friar *Forreſt*-*Pride inſues*. *Ex Halle, an.* 17. *Reg. Henric.* 8.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the Commons against the Cardinal, this was one, which much pinched them, for that the said Cardinal had sent out certain straight Commiſſions in the Kings name, *That every man ſhould pay the ſixth part of his goods*. Whereupon there followed great muttering amongſt the Commons, in such sort, that it had almoſt grown to some dangerous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of *Suffolk*, had not the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* with wiſdom and gentleneſs stept in and appeased the same.

Ex Halle, an. 19 *Reg. Henric.* 8.

Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the Cardinal was this, to see his inſolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the Kings chief Counſellor, to set a Reformation in the order of the Kings Houſhold, making and eſtablishing new Ordinances in the same. He likewise made new Officers in the Houſe of the Duke of *Richmond*, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a Council, and eſtablished another Houſhold for the Lady *Mary*, then being Princeſs; so that all things were done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with much more, took he upon him, making the King believe that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pain, inſomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him; whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

Hampton Court given to the King.

At this time, the Cardinal gave the King the Leaſe of the Mannor of *Hampton* Court, which he had of the Lord of *Saint Johns*, and on which he had done great coſt. Therefore the King again, of his gentle nature, licenſed him to lie in his Mannor of *Richmond*, and so he lay there certain times. But when the Common people, and eſpecially such as were King *Henry* the 7*th*'s servants, saw the Cardinal keep houſe in the Royal Manor of *Richmond*, which King *Henry* the Seventh so much esteemed, it was a marvel to hear how they grudged, saying, *See a Butchers Dog ly in the Mannor of* Richmond. These with many other opprobrious words were spoken against the Cardinal, whoſe pride was so high, that he regarded nothing; yet was he hated of all men.

The Cardinal ruffling in matters and Wars of Princes.

And now to expreſs some part of the ruffling practices and buſie intermeddlings of this Cardinal in Princes Wars, first here is to be noted, that after long Wars between *England* and *France*, 1524. (in the which Wars King *Henry*, taking the Emperors part against *Francis* the *French* King, had waged with his mony the Duke of *Bourbon*, and a great part of the Emperors Army, to invade and disturb certain parts of *France*) it hapned that the *French* King, coming with his Army toward *Millain* at the Siege of *Pavia*, was there taken by the Duke of *Bourbon*, and Viceroy of *Naples*, and so led Priſoner into *Spain*.

{KING Hen.8.}

Francis the *French* King taken Priſoner.

Where note by the way, that all this while the Cardinal held with the Emperor, hoping by him to be made Pope; but when that would not be, he went cleam from the Emperor to the *French* King, as, the Lord willing, you ſhall hear.

After this Victory gotten, and the *French* King being taken Priſoner, who remained in custody about a year and half; at length through great labour and ſolicitation, as well of other, as namely of the Cardinal and King *Henry*, an order was taken, and conditions propounded between the *French* King and the Emperor; among which conditions it was agreed, that they ſhould reſiſt the *Turks*, and oppreſs the *Lutherans*, and so was the King ſet at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldeſt Sons for pledges. But ſhortly after he revoked his Oath, being abſolved by the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſaid that he was forced to swear, or elſe he ſhould never have been delivered. Which was *Anno* 1526. Pope *Clement* the Seventh, seeing the *French* King reſtored to liberty, and misdoubting the puiſſance and domination of the Emperor in *Italy* ſo near under his Noſe, abſolveth the *French* King from his Oath: alſo joyneth together a Confederacy of *Venetians* and other Princes against the Emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that any thing favoured the Emperors part, eſpecially the Family of *Columna* in *Rome*, which Family was then Imperial; and therefore to ſhew his hatred against them, he ſaid to *Pompey*, Cardinal of the same Family, in threatning words, *That he would take away his Cardinals Hat*. To whom it was anſwered again of the Cardinal, *That if he ſo did, he would put on a Helmet to overthrow the Popes Triple Crown*. Whereby it may appear here by the way, what holineſs and vertue lieth in the Pope and Cardinals of that Catholick See of *Rome*.

The *French* K. Priſoner a year and a half.

The Duke of *Bourbon* wounded.

The Pope abſolveth the *French* K. from his Oath.

The Pope curſeth his enemies.

The Pope fleeth.

The Cardinals beliege.

The anſwer of the Cardinal to the Pope.

Thus the falſe Pope, under the lying Title of Holineſs, was the Father of much miſchief and of great Wars, which after enſued. For the Duke of *Bourbon*, and other of the Emperors Captains, having intelligence of the Popes purpoſe and confederacy, gathered their Army together, and after much bloudſhed and fighting, about *Millain*, *Hawd* and *Cremona*, at length they approached and bent their Siege against *Rome*, and after three ſharp aſſaults, obtained the City, with the whole ſpoil thereof; where alſo they beſieged the foreſaid Pope with his Cardinals, in the Mount of *Adrian*, and took him Priſoner *An.* 1527. As touching the cauſe of the beſieging of *Rome*, now you have heard; for the manner of the taking of *Rome*, and of the Pope, the order thereof is thus deſcribed in *Hall* and other.

The Pope diſtreth up Wars.

The Bulwark of the Romans beſieged and taken.

The Sacking of Rome, *and taking of Pope* CLEMENT.

The taking of *Rome*.

THE Emperors Army departing from *Florence* to the City of *Seynes*, where they loſt their Ordnance, took counſel there to go to *Rome*, and ſo much they travelled by night and day, commonly paſſing forty Miles day and night (their good will was ſuch) that the ſixth day of *May*, with Banners diſplayed they came before the City of *Rome*, being *Saturday*; the ſame day, and on *Sunday*, the *Romans* made Bulwarks, Rampiers, and other defences, and layed Ordnance on the Walls, and ſhot at them without, fiercely.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Urſp.

The Duke of *Bourbon* determined that it was not beſt to lie ſtill without, and be ſlain with Ordnance, conſidering that they were all naked people, and without great Ordnance; wherefore he determined to take the chance, and to give the aſſault, and ſo manfully they approached the Walls between the *Burgo Novo* and old *Rome*. But the *Romans* valiantly defended them with Hand-guns, Pikes, Stones, and other Weapons, ſo that the enemies were fain to retreat. Then the *Romans* were glad and ſet many fair Banners on their Towers and Bulwarks, and made great ſhouts; which the Duke of *Bourbon* ſeeing, cried

The Duke of *Bourbon*.

{KING Hen.8.} cried to a new Aſſault. Then the *Drumſlades* ſtrook and every man with a Ladder mounted; and at the firſt encounter, again the *Romans* put them a little back, which the Duke of *Bourbon* perceiving, cried *God and the Emperor*. Then every man manfully ſet on. There was a ſore fight, many an Arrow ſhot, and many a man felled; but at laſt the Emperors men got the Wall, and between every aſſault fell a Miſt, ſo that they within could not ſee what part they without would aſſail, which was profitable to the Emperors party. At the three aſſaults were ſlain three hundred *Switzers* of the Popes Guard. In this laſt aſſault was the Duke of *Bourbon* ſtrucken in the Thigh with a Hand-gun, of the which he ſhortly after died in a Chappel of *St. Siſt*, whither his Souldiers had brought him; and this chance notwithſtanding, the Army entred into *Rome*, and took the Popes Palace, and ſet up the Emperors Arms.

Three aſſaults againſt *Rome*.

The ſame day that theſe three aſſaults were made, Pope *Clement* paſſed little on the Emperors Army; for he had accurſed them on the *Saturday* before, and in his Curſe he called the *Almains Lutherans*, and the *Spaniards Murreins* or *Moors*; and when he was hearing of Maſs, ſuddenly the *Almains* entred into the Church, and flew his Guard and divers other. He, ſeeing that, fled in all haſte by a priviy way to the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*; and all they that followed him that way, and could not enter, were ſlain, and if he in that fury had been taken, he had been ſlain. The Cardinals and other Prelates fled to the Caſtle of St. *Angel*, over the Bridge, where many of the Common-people were overpreſſed and trodden down as they gave way to the Cardinals and other Eſtates, that paſſed toward the Caſtle for ſuccour.

The Cardinal of *Senes*, of *Seſarine*, of *Tudertine*, of *Jacobace* and of the *Valle*, tarried ſo long, that they could not get to the Caſtle for the multitude of the people; wherefore they were compelled to take another Houſe, called the Palace of Saint *George*, where they kept themſelves for a while as ſecretly as they might. You muſt underſtand, that through the City of *Rome* runneth a famous River called *Tyber*, and on the one ſide of the River ſtandeth the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, or the Borough of Saint *Angel*: and the other ſide is called *Burgo Novo*, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called the Bridge of *Sixte*, which lieth directly before the Caſtle. At the end of this Bridge was a wonderful ſtrong Bulwark, well ordinanced and well manned. The Emperors men, ſeeing that they could do nothing to the Pope, nor to that part of the City, but by the Bridge, determined to aſſault the Bulwark, and ſo, as men without fear, came on the Bridge, and the *Romans* ſo well defended themſelves, that they flew almoſt four thouſand men. That ſeeing, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marqueſs of *Gnaſto*, with all ſpeed gave aſſault, and notwithſtanding that the *Romans* ſhot great Ordnances, Hand-guns, Quarels, and all that might be ſhot; yet the Imperial perſons never ſtrunk, but manly entred the Bulwark and flew and threw down out of the Loops all the *Romans* that they found, and after raced the Bulwark to the ground. The Pope was in the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, and beheld this fight, and with him were four and twenty Cardinals, of which one called the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor*, or the Cardinal of *Pouch*, was ſlain, and with him were one thouſand Prelates and Prieſts, five hundred Gentlemen, five hundred Souldiers; wherefore immediately the Captains determined to lay Siege to the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, leſt they within might iſſue out, and turn them to damage; wherefore ſuddenly a Siege was planted round about the Caſtle. In the mean ſeaſon, the Soldiers fell to ſpoil. Never was *Rome* ſo pilled, either of the *Goths* or *Vandals*: for the Soldiers were not content with the Spoil of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake up the Houſes of cloſe religious perſons, and overthrew the Cloiſters, and ſpoiled Virgins, and raviſhed married Women. Men were tormented if they had not to give every new asker or demander; ſome were ſtrangled, ſome were puniſhed by the Privy Members, to cauſe them to confeſs their Treaſure. This woodneſs continued a great while, and ſome man might think, that when they had gotten ſo much, then they would ceaſe and be quiet, but that was not ſo, for they played continually at Dice, ſome five hundred, ſome a thouſand Ducats at a Caſt; and he that came to play laden with Plate, went again almoſt naked, and then fell to raiſſling again. Many of the Citizens, which could not patiently ſuffer that vexation, drowned themſelves in *Tyber*. The Soldiers daily, that lay at the Siege, made jeſts of the Pope. Sometime they had one riding like the Pope, with a Whore behind him, ſometime he bleſſed, and ſometime he curſed, and ſometime they would with one voice call him Antichriſt; and they went about to undermine the Caſtle, and to have thrown it down on his head, but the water, that environeth the Caſtle, diſappointed their purpoſe.

The Caſtle of St. *Angel* beliged.

Rome ſpoiled.

The Pope mocked and ſcorned openly in *Rome* before his own face.

In this ſeaſon the Duke of *Urbine*, with fifteen thouſand men, came to aid the Pope; but hearing that *Rome* was taken, he tarried forty Mile from *Rome*, till he heard other word. The Marqueſs of *Saluce*, and Sir *Frederico de Bodſo*, with fifteen thouſand footmen, and a thouſand Horſemen, were at *Vitarbe* the 10*th* day of *May*; where they hearing that the City of *Rome* was taken, alſo tarried. The Cardinal of *Colume* came with an Army of *Neapolitans* to help the Emperors men, but when he ſaw the cruelty of the Soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The Pope beliged and taken.

The Biſhop of *Rome* was thus beſieged till the 8th of the Ides of *July*; at which day he yielded himſelf for neceſſity and penury of all things in the Caſtle; and then he was reſtored to give Graces, and grant Bulls as he did before; but he tarried ſtill in the Caſtle of Saint *Angel*, and had a great number of *Almains* and *Spaniards* to keep him; but the *Spaniards* bare moſt rule in the Caſtle, for no man entred, nor came out of the Caſtle but by them. When the Month of *July* came, Corn began to fail in *Rome*, and the Peſtilence began to wax ſtrong; wherefore the great Army removed to a place called *Narvia* forty Miles from *Rome*, leaving behind them ſuch as kept the Biſhop of *Rome*.

War and Peſtilence in *Rome*.

When they were departed, the *Spaniards* never were contented till they had gotten the *Almains* out of the Caſtle of S. *Angel*, and ſo they had the whole cuſtody of the Pope. And thus much for the facking of *Rome*. *Ex Paralip. Abb. Urſper.*

The Cardinal beſtoweth him for the Pope.

When the Cardinal here in *England* heard how his Father of *Rome* was taken Priſoner, he began to ſtir for Coals, and hearing of his Captivity, he bibboured with the King all that he might, to ſtir him up to fight with the ſaid Pope againſt the Emperor, and to be a defender of the Church, which if he would do, the Cardinal perſwaded him that he ſhould receive great reward at Gods hand. To whom the King anſwered again, and ſaid in this manner, *My Lord, I more lament this evil chance, than my Tongue can tell; but where you ſay I am the defender of the Faith, I aſſure you, that this War between the Emperor and the Pope is not for the Faith, but for temporal Poſſeſſions and Dominions; and now ſith Pope* Clement *is taken by men of War, what ſhould I do? My perſon nor my people cannot reſcue him; but if my Treaſure may help him, take that which ſeemeth to you moſt convenient.*

The Pope ſigheth for temporal poſſeſſions.

Twelve thouſand pounds conveyed out of England, by the Cardinal.

Thus the Cardinal when he could not obtain at the Kings hands what he would, in ſtirring him up to mortal War, he made out of the Kings Treaſure twelveſcore thouſand pounds, which he carried over the Sea with him. After this, the Cardinal ſent his Commiſſion as Legate, to all the Biſhops, commanding Faſtings and ſolemn Proceſſions to be had, wherein they did ſing the Letany after this ſort, *Sancta Maria, ora pro Clemente Papa, Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente Papa*, and ſo forth all the Letany.

A new found Letany of the Lord Cardinals making.

This Cardinal, paſſing the Seas with the foreſaid ſums of mony, departed out of *Calis*, accompanied with *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, the Lord *Sands* the Kings Chamberlain, the Earl of *Darby*, Sir *Henry Guildford*, and Sir *Thomas More*, with many other Knights and Squires, to the number of twelve hundred Horſe, having in his carriage fourſcore Wagons, and threeſcore Mules and ſumpter Horſes.

It were long to diſcourſe in this place the manifold abuſes and Treaſons which he practiſed when he came to the *French* Court at *Amias*, converting the great ſums of mony which before you heard he had obtained of the King

War waged by the Cardinal.

King for the relief and ranſome of Pope *Clement*, which at that time was priſoner in the Emperors army, and beſtowing the ſame in the hiring of Soldiers, and furniſhing out the *French* Kings army; appointing alſo certain *Engliſh* Captains,in the King of *Englands* name, to go againſt the Emperor,to reſcue the Pope; all which army was paid with the King of *Englands* money.

Beſides that, he privily by his Letters cauſed *Clarentius* King at Armis, to joyn with the *French* Herauld, and openly to defie the Emperor; whereby there began great diſpleaſure to riſe between the Emperor and the King; but that the Emperor of his Politick nature would take no occaſion of diſpleaſure againſt the King of *England*.

Now again he uttered another of his practices: for upon the ſaid defiance, the Cardinal furniſhing and whiſpering in the Kings ear, that the Emperor had evil intreated and impriſoned the Kings Embaſſadors in *Spain*, cauſed *Hugo de Mendoza*,the Emperors Embaſſador in *England*, to be attached, and put in ſafe keeping, and his houſe with all his goods to be ſeized. Which ſo remained, until that manifeſt Letters came of the gentle intreaty of the Kings Embaſſadors in *Spain*, and then he was again ſet at liberty. When as the Embaſſador complained hereof to the Cardinal, he laid all the fault upon *Clarentius*; ſaying alſo, that *Clarentius* had defied the Emperor, without the Kings knowledg, at the requeſt of the Herauld of *France*: wherefore at his return he ſhould loſe his head at *Calis*. Whereof *Clarentius* being advertiſed by the Captain of *Bazon*, in his return took ſhipping at *Bullen*, and ſo privily came into *England*,and by means of certain of his friends of the Kings Privy-chamber,he was brought into the Kings preſence before the Cardinal knew of it. Whereas he ſhewed unto the King the Cardinals Letters of Commiſſion, and declared the whole order and circumſtance of their gentle entreaty. When the King heard the whole circumſtance thereof, and had a while muſed thereupon, he ſaid, O Lord Jeſus, he that I truſted moſt, told me all theſe things contrary. Well *Clarentius*, I will no more be ſo light of credence hereafter; for now I ſee well that I have been made believe the thing that was never done: and from that time forward the King never put any more confidence or truſt in the Cardinal.

The crafty practice of the Cardinal.

The Cardinal ſet *Clarentius* to defie the Emperor, and afterward would he executed by his death

The cauſe why the Cardinal ſhould bear the Emperor all this malice and grudg, after ſome writers, appeareth to be thus: At what time as Pope *Clement* was taken priſoner, (as is before ſaid) the Cardinal wrote unto the Emperor, that he ſhould make him Pope. But when he had received an anſwer that pleaſed him not, he waxed furious mad,and fought all means to diſpleaſe the Emperor,writing very ſharply unto him many menacing Letters, that if he would not make him Pope, he would make ſuch a ruffling betwixt Chriſtian Princes as was not this hundred years before, to make the Emperor repent, yea though it ſhould coſt the whole Realm of *England*.

The Cardinals proud threats againſt the Emperor.

Whereunto the Emperor made anſwer in a little Book, Imprinted both in *Spaniſh* and *Dutch*, anſwering unto many menacings of the Cardinal, and divers of his Articles; but ſpecially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him Pope, he would ſet ſuch a ruffling betwixt Chriſtian Princes as was not this hundred years, though it ſhould coſt the whole Realm of *England*. Whereunto the Emperour anſwering again, biddeth him look well about him, leſt through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that caſe, that it ſhould coſt him the Realm of *England* in deed.

The Emperors anſwer unto the Cardinals threats.

You have heard before, how that when Pope *Clement* was priſoner in the Emperors army, the Cardinal required the King, becauſe he did bear the Title of Defender of the Faith, that he would reſcue the Pope. Alſo what the Kings anſwer was thereunto, and what ſums of money he had obtained of the King. Now becauſe you ſhall not alſo be ignorant, by what means, and upon what occaſion this Title of the *Defender of the Faith* was given unto the King, we think it good ſomewhat to ſay in this place.

The Title of Defender of the Faith.

When as *Martin Luther* had uttered the abomination of the Pope and his Clergy, and divers Books were come into *England*, our Cardinal here thinking to find a remedy for that, ſent immediately unto *Rome* for this Title of *Defender of the Faith*: which afterward the Vicar of *Croyden* preached, that the Kings Grace would not loſe it for all *London* and twenty miles about it. Neither is it marvel, for it coſt more than *London* and forty miles about it, conſidering the great ſums which you have heard the Cardinal obtained of the King for the Popes reliefe, beſides the effuſion of much innocent blood.

{KING Hen.8.}

When this Glorious Title was come from *Rome*, the Cardinal brought it unto the Kings Grace at *Greenwich*; and though that the King had it already, and had read it, yet againſt the morning were all the Lords and Gentlemen that could in ſo ſhort ſpace be gathered, ſent for, to come and receive it with honour. In the morning the Cardinal gat him through the backſide into the Friers Obſervants, and part of the Gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from *Rome*: part met him half way, and ſome at the Court-gate. The King himſelf met him in the Hall, and brought him up into a great Chamber, where was a feat prepared on high for the King and the Cardinal to ſit on whiles the Bull was read. Which pomp all men of wiſdom and underſtanding laughed to ſcorn.

The glorious vanity of the Cardinal laughed to ſcorn.

This done, the King went to his Chappel to hear Maſs, accompanied with many Nobles of his Realm, and Embaſſadors of ſundry Princes. The Cardinal being reveſted to ſing Maſs, the Earl of *Eſſex* brought the Baſon of water, the Duke of *Suffolk* gave the Aſſay, and the Duke of *Norfolk* held the Towel, and ſo he proceeded to Maſs. When Maſs was done, the Bull was again publiſhed, the Trumpets blew, the Shalms and Sackbuts played in honour of the Kings new ſtile. Then the King went to dinner, in the middeſt whereof the King of Heralds and his Company began the Largeſs, crying, *Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Defenſor Fidei, & Dominus Hiberniæ*. Thus were all things ended with great ſolemnity.

The Kings ſtile augmented.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the Cardinals Hat; which when a Ruffian had brought unto him to *Weſtminſter* under his Cloak, he cloathed the meſſenger in rich array,and ſent him back again to *Dover*; appointing the Biſhop of *Canterbury* to meet him, and cloth repaid. then another Company of the Lords and Gentlemen, I wot not how often, before it came to *Weſtminſter*; where it was ſet upon a Cupboard, and Tapers round about it, ſo that the greateſt Duke in the land muſt make courteſie thereunto, and to his empty ſeat, he being away.

The threſhing of the Cardinals Hat.

The cruel dealing of the Cardinal againſt *Richard Pacy*. Dean of *Pauls*.

And forſomuch as we are in hand with the acts and doings of Cardinal *Wolſey*,among many other things which of purpoſe we overpaſs, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touching his uncourteous,or rather churliſh handling of *Richard Pacie*, Dean of *Pauls*. This *Pacy*, being the Kings Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue, was of ſuch ripeneſs of wit, of learning and eloquence, alſo in foreign languages ſo expert, that for the one he was thought moſt meet to ſucceed after *John Colet*, in the Deanry of *Pauls*: beſide which he was alſo preferred to the Deanry of *Exceter*. For the other he was ſent in the Kings affairs Ambaſſador to *Venice*. Which ſunction there he ſo diſcharged, that it is hard to ſay whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the *Venetians*, both for dexterity of his wit, and ſpecially for the ſingular promptneſs in the *Italian* Tongue, wherein he ſeemed nothing inferiour, neither to *Peter Vanne* here in *England*, the Kings Secretary for the *Italian* Tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the beſt in that Tongue in all *Venice*. For opinion and fame of learning, he was ſo notoriouſly accepted, not only here in *England* with *Linacre*, *Grocinus*, *More* and other, but alſo known and reported abroad in ſuch ſort, that in all the great heap of *Eraſmus* Epiſtles, he wrote almoſt to none ſo many, as he wrote to this *Richard Pacy*.

Rich. Pacie Ambaſſador at *Venice*.

As the ſaid *Pacy* was Reſident Embaſſador at *Venice*, the King having War the ſame time with *Francis* the *French* King (as is afore rehearſed) through the conduicting of the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom he then waged with his expences, ſent commandment to *Pacy* to give attendance to the Duke of *Bourbon*, concerning the receit of that money and other neceſſities and exploits

The Duke of Bourbon waged War with the King of *Englands* money.

to

{KING Hen.8.}

to that expedition appertaining. In the mean while,as the *French* King with his Army, and the Duke of *Bourbon* were approaching in Battel together, near about the City of *Pavia*, it ſo happened (ſome think through the crafty packing of the Cardinal) that the Kings money was not ſo ready as it was looked for. By reaſon whereof the Duke of *Bourbon*, perceiving his Soldiers about to ſhrink from him to the *French* King for lack of payment, called to him the Embaſſador,complaining unto him, how the King of *England* had deceived him, and broke promiſe with him, to his great diſhonour and utter undoing, *&c. Pacie* then being ſure of the Kings will, and ſuſpecting the crafty fetch of the Cardinal, deſired the Duke not to take diſcomfort, nor any diffidence of the Kings aſſured promiſe, excuſing the delay of the money as well as he could, by intercipation, or other cauſes by the way incident, rather than for any lack of fidelity on the Kings behalf: adding moreover, that if it would pleaſe him happily to proceed, as he had couragiouſly begun, he ſhould not ſtay for the Kings money: ſo ſure he was of the Kings mind therein, that he would ſupply the lack of that payment upon his own credit, among his friends at *Venice*, and ſo he did. Whereupon the Soldiers being ſufficiently ſatisfied with payment of their wages, proceeded forth with the Duke unto the Battel. In the which Battel the foreſaid *French* King, the ſame time before the City of *Pavie*, was taken priſoner, as is before declared. Which being eſſoons known to the King of *England*, *Pacie* had both condign thanks for his faithful ſervice, and alſo his money repayed again with the uttermoſt, as he well deſerved. But as the laud and the renowned praiſe of men for their worthy proweſſes, commonly in this world never go unaccompanied with ſome privy canker of envy and diſdain following after, ſo the ſingular induſtry of *Pacie*, as it won much commendation with many, ſo it could not avoid the ſecret ſting of ſome Serpents. For the conceived hatred of this Cardinal ſo kindled againſt him, that he never ceaſed, till firſt he brought him out of the Kings favour, and at laſt alſo out of his perfect wits.

The Duke of Bourbon diſappointed of the Kings money.

Richard Pacie helpeth the Duke of Bourbon with money.

Richard Pacie was the means why the *French* King was taken.

The Cardinal hated *Pacie*.

The occaſion how he fell beſide himſelf was this, for that the Cardinal after the death of Pope *Adrian* hoping no leſs but that he ſhould have been advanced unto the Papacy, and yet miſſing thereof, he ſuppoſed with himſelf the fault chiefly to reſt in *Pacies* negligence, by whoſe great wit and learning, and earneſt means and ſute, he thought eaſily he might have atchieved and compaſſed the Triple Crown. Wherefore he ſeeing it otherwiſe come to paſs, and inflamed againſt *Pacie* for the ſame, wrought ſuch ways and means, that by the ſpace almoſt of two years, *Pacie* continuing at *Venice*, had neither writing from the King, nor his Council, what he ſhould do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet (although he wrote, and ſent Letters for the ſame to *England* very often) for the Cardinal had altogether incenſed the King againſt him. Whereupon the ſaid *Pacie* took ſuch an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to fail him, he being notwithſtanding in ſure favour among the Senators of *Venice*, that neither for gold nor ſilver he could there have lacked. By ſome it was reported that the *Venetian* Legate here in *England* coming to the Cardinal, required if he would command any thing to the *Engliſh* Embaſſador at *Venice*? To whom he ſhould anſwer again in high words, ſaying, *Pacens decepit Regem*. Which words coming to *Pacies* ears, ſo deeply pierced his ſtomach, that he fell quite beſides himſelf. I heard it moreover of another thus teſtified, who had a Brother the ſame time dwelling with *Pacie*: that the Cardinal about the returning of *Pacie* from *Venice*, ſent him a Letter ſo powdred (with what Spices I cannot tell) that at the reading thereof *Pacie* being then in the fields, fell ſuddenly in ſuch a mighty running for the ſpace of two miles, that his ſervants had much ado to take him, and bring him home.

The Cardinal craftily beſieth *Pacie*.

Pacie beſtraught of his wits.

This piteous caſe of *Pacie* was not a little lamented by the whole Senate, and chief Learned men in *Venice*, inſomuch that the King was not only certified thereof by *Thomas Lupſet* (who then was chief man about *Pacie*, and his Secretary for that Embaſſage) but alſo the ſaid Senate of *Venice* wrote, in ſuch ſharp and vehement wiſe unto their Embaſſador then being in *England*, that he ſhould ſignifie unto the King touching *Pacies* caſe, that thereby the King knowing the truth, and the whole circumſtance of the matter, was not a little ſorrowful therefore. Whereupon *Pacie* was forthwith ſent for home, and when he came to *England*, he was commanded by the King to be ſpecially well tended and to lack no keeping. Inſomuch that within a ſmall proceſs of time he was pretily well come again to his wits, and began to ſtudy the *Hebrew* Tongue with *Wakefield*, ſo that (the Cardinal then being abſent) ſuch ways were found by his friends, that he was brought to the King, lying then at *Richmond*, where he and the King ſecretly communed together by the ſpace of two hours and more, not without great rejoycing to the King as it was perceived, to ſee him ſo well amended, and returned to himſelf again, giving likewiſe ſtrait charge and commandment, that he ſhould lack nothing. The Cardinal being then not preſent, when he heard of this, fearing leſt he had diſcloſed ſomewhat to the King, which he would not have known, and doubting that the King ſhould caſt his favour again unto *Pacie*, began within a while after to quarrel, and pick matters, and to lay certain things to *Pacies* charge, whereas he rather ſhould have cleared himſelf of thoſe things which *Pacie* laid unto him before the King, which was contrary to all good form and order of juſtice. For where the King had willed the Cardinal to purge himſelf of thoſe things which *Pacie* had rightly charged him withal, he fitting in judgment with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other States of the Realm, not as a Defendent, but as a Judg in his own cauſe, ſo bare out himſelf and weighed down *Pacie*, that *Pacie* was commanded to the Tower of *London* as priſoner: where he continued by the ſpace of two years, or thereabout, and afterward by the Kings commandment was diſcharged. But he being there priſoner, was therewith ſo deadly wounded and ſtricken, that he fell worſe from his wits than ever he was before, being in ſuch a Phrenſie or Lunacy, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himſelf again. Notwithſtanding this in him was no perpetual Phrenſie, but came by fits; and when the fit was paſt, he could look on his Book, and reaſon and talk handſomely, but that now and then he ſhewed his diſeaſe. And thus much between the Cardinal and *Pacie*.

Pacie recovered.

Pacie brought to the Kings ſpeech.

Pacie commanded to the Tower by the Cardinal.

Pacie diſcharged out of the Tower.

By the ſtory of *Pacie*, and alſo by other paſſages above mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this Cardinal was to be made Pope. Touching which matter here by the way ſomething to intreat, firſt it is to be underſtood, that forſomuch as *Pacie* either would not or could not ſerve the Cardinals purpoſe herein, he thought to accompliſh his deſire by other means,and namely by *Stephen Gardener*, who was then ſhortly after ſent Embaſſador to *Rome* by the King and the Cardinal, in the time of Pope *Clement* the Seventh; and that for two ſpecial cauſes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the Cardinal to be Pope. As touching the Divorcement we will ſpeak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time as concerning the advancement of the Cardinal, great labour was made, as in Letters may appear, ſent from the Cardinal to the ſaid *Stephen Gardener*; in the which Letters he did ſollicite the ſaid *Gardener*, by all means to purſue the ſuit, willing him to ſtick for no coſt, ſo far as ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds would ſtretch; for more he ſaid he would not give for the Triple Crown. Mark here (Chriſtian Reader) what an holy Catholick Church this is, which may be called a Burſe, or Mart of Merchants (*Ne quid dicam duriùs*) than any true form of a Church.

The Cardinal labours to be Pope

Stephen Gardener Ambaſſador at Rome for the King and the Cardinal.

Many both of his, and alſo of the Kings Letters, I could here inſert; but for growing of the Volume, I let them paſs. One for examples ſake, ſent by the Cardinal to *Gardener*, another alſo from the King to the ſaid *Gardener*, ſhall at this time ſuffice concerning this matter. And firſt the Copy of the Cardinals ambitious Letter here in form followeth.

The

The Copy of an ambitious Letter written by *Tho. Wolsey* Cardinal of *York*, unto *Stephen Gardener*, one of King *Henries* Orators in the Court of *Rome*, for the procuring of the Papal dignity to the said Cardinal.

A Letter of the Cardinal to Stephen Gardener Liger at Rome.

MAfter Stephen, albeit ye shall be sufficiently, with your Colleagues, by such Instructions as be given to Mounsieur Vincent, informed of the Kings mind and mine, concerning my advancement unto the dignity Papal, not doubting but that for the singular devotion which you bear towards the King and his affairs, both general and particular, and perfect love which ye have toward me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitate to serve and conduce to that purpose: yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent expression of my mind in that behalf, to write unto you (as to the person whom I do most entirely trust, and by whom this thing shall be more pithily set forth) these few words following of mine own hand, I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider as well the state wherein the Church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this Realm, and of the Kings secret matter; which if it should be brought to pass by any other means than by the authority of the Church, I account this Prince and Realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be Pope and common Father of all Princes, as may, can, and will give remedy to the premisses. And although I account my self much unable, and that it shall be now incommodious in this mine old age to be the said common Father; yet when all things be well pondered, & the qualities of all the Cardinals well considered (Absit verbum jactantiæ) there shall be none found that can and will set remedy in the foresaid things, but only the Cardinal of York, whose good will and zeal is not to you, of all men, unknown. And were it not for the reintegration of the state of the Church and See Apostolick to the pristine dignity, and for the conducing of peace amongst Christian Princes, and especially to relieve this Prince and Realm from the calamities that the same be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me, Ne dum affpirare, fed ne consentire, to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.

Crafty pretences to serve ambitious purposes.

Behe the Cardinal here lacketh good neighbours, seeing he is compelled to praise himself. You may long say so, before we will believe You.

Nevertheless, conforming my self to the necessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of these two Princes, I am content to approve all my wit and study, and to set forth all means and ways, Ut beneficiam rebus Christianitatis, for the attaining of the said dignity. For the atchieving and attaining whereof, forasmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of these two Princes and their Realms, but of all Christendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end and purpose. Wherefore, Master Stephen, since you be so plainly advertised of my mind and intent, I shall pray you to extend Omnes nervos ingenii tui, ut ista res ad effectum produci possit, nullis parcendo sumptibus, pollicitationibus, sive laboribus: ita ut hominum videris ingenia & affectiones, sive ad privata, sive ad publica, sic accommodes actiones tuas. Non deest tibi & Collegis tuis amplissima potestas, nullis terminis aut conditionibus limitata sea restricta: & quicquid feceris, scito omnia apud hunc Regem & me esse grata & tuta. Nam omnia (ut paucis absolvam) in tuo ingenio & fide reposuimus. Nihil ilupereft aliud scribendum, nisi quod supplex orem, ut omnes actiones tuas secundet Deus opt. maximusque, & ex corde vale.

Ex ædibus meis *Westmonaft.* vii. Febr.

Tuæ salutis & amplitudinis
cupidissimus,

T. Ebor.

Stephen Gardener the Cardinals trusty Factor.

After this Letter of the Cardinal, consequently here insueth another Letter of the King, to the foresaid *Stephen Gardener*, and other his Orators at *Rome*; containing such instructions and documents as they should practise with the Cardinals of *Rome*, in canvasing for the said *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of *York* to be elected Pope, if Pope *Clement* were dead: or if he were not dead, yet at least to instruct them what to do when he should die. {KING 1 Hen. 8.}

The contents of the Letter, albeit they include no great matter worthy our knowledg, nor greatly necessary for our story, yet for the ridiculous manner of the handling, and curious Secretariship thereof, full of glorious affectation, I thought it not here unmeet for the studies and appetites of some, to exemplifie the same, or at least to make the Reader some pastime by the way, in beholding the glorious stile of this vain-glorious Cardinal, being forte-like to his glorious life. The Copy of the Letter bearing the name of the King, but indeed savouring altogether of the Cardinals device and swelling vein, doth thus proceed in form and stile as followeth.

¶ *Instructions sent by the Kings Highneſs, to his Truſty Counſellors and Servants, Mr.* Stephen Gardener, *Doctor of both Laws, Sir* Francis Brian, *Sir* Gregory de Caſſalis, *Knights, and Mr.* Peter Vanne *the Kings Secretary for the* Italian *Tongue, his Embaſſadors in the Court of* Rome, *for the Election of the Cardinal of* York *to the Papacy, if Pope* Clement *were dead.*

Mark the stile, and you shall see that it is all one with the Cardinals former Letter, which he saith he wrote with his own hand.

FIrſt whereas a good ſeaſon ſince the depeach of Maſter *Stephen Gardener*, an Ambaſſiate towards the Court of *Rome*, the Kings Highneſs by ſundry ways hath been advertiſed of the death of our holy Father the Pope *Clement* of that name the Seventh, whoſe ſoul Jeſus pardon, by mean whereof the charge heretofore committed by his Grace unto his Orators, to have been now executed with the ſaid late Pope, cannot at his hands take effect, his Highneſs pondering and profoundly conſidering the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, miſerably and piteouſly afflicted with the Interſtine wars, diſſentions, and diſcords, reigning amongſt the Princes of the ſame, and how the dignity of the See Apoſtolick, by ſuch trouble and perſecution, as hath been inferred thereunto theſe years paſſed, is not a little diminiſhed and impaired, like to come to a total ruin, if by the help and aſſiſtance of good and vertuous Princes the ambition of thoſe which ſtudy the extermination thereof, be not in time repreſſed: conſidering furthermore, that as well to conduce the reſt and tranquility in Chriſtendom, as to reſtore, repair, and reintegrate the ſtate, authority, and reputation of the ſaid See Apoſtolick, nothing is more requiſite and neceſſary, than that ſuch a head and common Father be now, at this time of vacation of the dignity Papal, provided and elected to ſucceed in the ſame, as both may, can, and will purvey to the reſtauration of the ſaid See, and hath, and may have the aſſiſtance of ſuch vertuous and puiſſant Princes, as tender the defence, maintenance and increaſe of the dignity aforeſaid, and that may meet with the inordinate ambition of the Emperor, who nothing more ſtudieth, than for his own exaltation to ſuppreſs the Church and See Apoſtolick: remembring alſo the high importance of the Kings great and weighty cauſe of Matrimony, committed to the charge of the ſaid Orators, and how manifold dangers, and irreparable damages depend upon no way or mean can be conduced to the Kings purpoſe and deſire by the authority of the Church, but only by ſpecial, aſſured and perfect favour of the Head of the ſame Church; his Highneſs alſo being as loth as any living Prince or perſon may be, to recur unto other refuge, ſuccour or remedy in the ſaid cauſe, than to the authority of the See Apoſtolick, if his Grace may there find the favour and benignity that to his merits towards the ſame be correſpondent; of which favour his Highneſs ſhould be clearly deprived and fruſtrate, in caſe the election of the future Pope ſhould paſs upon any perſon, of whom his Grace were not perfectly aſſured: his Highneſs for the reſpects and conſiderations before ſpecified, perceiving his good Brother and perpetual Allie the *French* King, in the ſaid

Inſtructions to the Kings name to his Legates at Rome.

The Thraſonical pride of the Cardinal.

Note this cauſe. The Cardinal is moſt meet to be Pope, becauſe he can beſt beſide the Emperor.

The total ruin of the Apoſtolick Papacy, God send it.

That is after his own deſire.

He meaneth the Matrimonie between K. H. 8. and Queen *Katherine*, his Brother *Arthurs* Wife, whether it was lawful or no.

*If his aforeſaid authority were clean extinct, the Faith and Religion of Chriſt ſhould ſtand and flourith much better (*) by this weighty matter here in mean the cauſe of the Kings divorce.

{KING 1 Hen. 8.}

ſaid intention, to be unite, knit, and in all actions and doings of importance affuredly combined unto his Grace, proceeding together in one will, mind, purpoſe, and conformity, hath by good and mature deliberation, ſtudied, deviſed, and excogitate with himſelf who were and might be the moſt able, meet, and convenient perſon, having the qualities before ſpecified, to be advanced at this time, unto the ſaid dignity Papal. And finally when his Grace hath well revolved with himſelf all the reſpects and conſiderations aforeſaid, noting alſo all things meet to be regarded in every of the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, both preſent now in the Court there, and abſent from the ſame; it cannot be found that there is any perſon ſufficiently furniſhed with the requiſities before ſpecified, but only the moſt Reverend Father in God, and his moſt truſty Counſellor, the Lord Legate Cardinal, Archbiſhop of *York*, Primate and Chancellor of this Realm. VVho being well known to have as fervent a zeal, ſtudy, mind, and deſire to the univerſal weal, repoſe and tranquility of Chriſtendom, to the reintegration and reſtauration of the dignity, authority, reputation, and rights of the Church and See Apoſtolick, to the ſurety, weal, and exaltation of the Kings Highneſs, the *French* King and other their Confederates, and finally to the perfection of the Kings ſaid great and weighty cauſe, whereupon dependeth the ſurety of his Royal perſon, ſucceſſion, realm, people, and dominions, as any perſon living can or may have: and that the ſaid moſt Reverend Father hath the faſt aſſured favour herein of the *French* King (who of his own meer motion hath frankly and liberally offered unto him all that by himſelf, his friends, his power, his agents, or otherwiſe he may, or can poſſibly do for his advancement to the ſaid dignity Papal) is the perſon who for his ſingular vertue, his entire devotion to peace and reſtauration of the ſaid See, the excellency of his wiſdom, learning, and experience, the magnanimity in his actions and doings, the dignity wherein he is already conſtituted, the promotions which he hath attained, the ſubſtance that he is of, his reputation, his conduct, his diligence, his dexterity, his diſcretion, his policy, and finally, the notable and high favour that the Kings Highneſs, and the ſaid *French* King bear unto him, is only he, that being called unto the ſaid dignity Papal, may, can, and will meet with the inordinate ambition of the ſaid Emperor, and conſequently with eſtabliſhment of tranquility amongſt Chriſtian Princes, and is by the affiſtance of his friends, meet, convenient and able to ſuccour, relieve, and clearly to repair the piteous jacture and decay, that the Church and See Apoſtolick hath ſo long ſuffered, and to defend the ſame from the eminent danger now apparent to enſue if the ſaid Emperor, who (as the Kings Highneſs is aſcertained) determined in the beginning of *January* now paſſed to take his journey towards *Rome*, ſhould take upon this vacation of the ſaid See, (chanced, as is upon many evident preſumptions to be thought by ſome deteſtable act committed for the ſaid late Popes deſtruction) now by force, violence, cautele, blandiſhing promiſes, or otherwiſe, have the election to proceed at his will, favour, and devotion; whereby having a Pope at his arbitrate, either he ſhould not fail to uſurp and take upon him the rights, provents, and patrimony of the Church, uſing him as his Chaplain and vaſſal, or elſe by little and little utterly to exclude and extinguiſh him and his authority.

See how this Prelate is all in his exaltation.

'For this cauſe, if ever it were expedient that good Chriſtian Princes look to the tuition, maintenance, defence, and continuance of Chriſts Church, Faith, and Religion, now is it the time, above all other, to provide and beware by all ways poſſible, leſt the ſame neglected, forgotten, and not in time relieved, be brought unto extreme ruin. And therefore the Kings Highneſs having ſingular and ſpecial truſt and confidence in the wiſdoms, diſcretions, fidelities, diligences, and circumſpections of his ſaid Orators (to whom no part of the premiſſes is unknown, nor how neceſſary, and in any wiſe expedient it ſhall be for perfection of the Kings ſaid great and weighty (*) matter to them committed, to have the ſaid Lord Legate of *York*, and none other, advanced to the ſaid dignity Papal) willeth, deſireth, ordaineth, and expreſly chargeth and commandeth his ſaid Orators, and every of them, no leſs to employ, endeavour, and determine themſelves, to ſolicite, ſet forth, further promote, labour and conduce the advancement of the ſaid Lord Legate of *York* to that dignity, than they would that thing which the Kings Highneſs moſt highly, next God and his ſoul, with all earneſtneſs and fervent mind doth, above all other things, covet and deſire, and alſo no leſs than they would the ſpeedy obtaining and perfection of all ſuch things, touching the Kings ſaid weighty matter committed to their charges: the making or marring whereof, the ſaid late Pope being now deceaſed, conſiſteth only in the advancement of the ſaid Lord Legate of *York* to the dignity Papal.

'For (as the Kings ſaid Embaſſadors may by their wiſdoms well think and conſider) the ſame muſt of neceſſity come, and fortune either to one that is an aſſured friend to his Grace and the *French* King, or to one that is a manifeſt enemy to them, favouring the Emperors part, or to one indifferent and mean between both. And if it ſhould chance upon a manifeſt enemy, it is evident that the Kings deſire at his hand were meerly impoſſible to be had, and never were to be attained that way. If it ſhould come to one being indifferent and mean between both, it is more than notorious that his Grace, at the leaſt, ſhould be contained with fair words and promiſes, and yet ſuch reſpect ſhould be had to the Emperor, that finally under hope of obtaining ſomething, there ſhould be no more, but tract, delay, and finally no manner fruit nor effect: whereof experience hath already been ſeen in one that had cauſe to be more friendly to the King, than indifferent or mean between both, and yet how long the matter hath depended, is to the Kings ſaid Embaſſadors well known. So that of neceſſity this thing muſt be conduced to one that is an aſſured friend. Then noting ſubſtantially the things neceſſary to concur in ſuch a friend both for the weal of Chriſtendom, the relief of the Church, the firm adhering to the Kings Highneſs, and the *French* King with other their Confederates, and the perfect conducing of the Kings great matter which ſuſtereth no tract, delay, or negative; it ſhall be found, that there is none other for this purpoſe, but only the ſaid Lord Legate of *York*.

'The Kings ſaid Embaſſadors ſhall therefore plant the foundation of all their ſtudy, labour, and ſollicitation, only to that purpoſe. And for the better introduction of the ways and means, how this thing ſhall be ſollicited; they ſhall receive herewith a Schedule, wherein is mentioned and noted by name, how many, and what Cardinals of likelihood ſhall be preſent at the Election, and how many and which of the other ſhall be abſent. Semblably, how many of them that be like to be preſent, may be thought to be friends to the Kings Highneſs, and the *French* King, whoſe names in the ſaid Schedule be noted with *A.* and how many are thought to be Impeſtial, whoſe names be noted with *B.* In the ſame Schedule be alſo ſet out the number and names of thoſe that be thought to be neutral or indifferent, marked with *N.* And furthermore, they be firſt mentioned therein, which be thought moſt like to aſpire to that dignity.

A ſignifieth the Cardinals of the Kings, and the *French* Kings ſide.
B ſignifieth the Cardinals on the Emperors ſide. But here is incerta & to ſignifie any Cardinals on Chriſts ſide.

Herein be many things well to be regarded. Firſt, the number of the Cardinals that are like to be preſent, which (as is thought here) ſhall not exceed nine and thirty. Secondly, that to have Election to the Kings purpoſe, it ſhall be requiſite to have two parts of the three of the ſaid number, which two parts muſt be twenty ſix. Then is it to be noted, that they which be thought to be friends to the Kings Highneſs and the *French* King, be in number twenty. So that if they may be made ſure to the Kings devotion, there ſhall lack but ſix of the number, which ſhall ſuffice to make the Election: which number the Kings ſaid Embaſſadors ſhall move, win, and attain, either of them that be thought to be indifferent, or ſome other.

As though the Popes election had any thing to do with the Holy Ghoſt.

'In the conducing whereof two ways be ſpecially to be remembred. One is if the Cardinals preſent, having God and the Holy Ghoſt before them ſhall be minded (as to their duty appertaineth) to have reſpect to the preſent calamity of the Church and all Chriſtendom, intending the relief, ſuccour and reſtauration of the ſame, and to preſerve themſelves, and the dignity of the See Apoſtolick, then looking profoundly upon the ſtate of the things, they

* He might as well have said easily as facily if it had pleased him, but our great terms are too low for this high Prelate as here commonly you may see.

they cannot fail * facily of themselves to find and perceive, that to conduce their purpose there is only the said Lord Legate of *York*. And in this case it is verily to be thought, that very reason it self, and their own conscience shall lead them like vertuous Fathers, to have their principal respect hereunto; and (particular affections set apart) to accord and agree without difficulty to that which so manifestly is known to be the thing, above all other expedient. Nevertheless, because peradventure humane fragility suffereth not all things to be pondered, trutinate, and weighed in just ballance, but that (as we be men) errors may run, unless them remedy be provided: it appertaineth in matter of so high importance, to the comfort and relief of all Christendom, to succour the infirmity that may chance, not for corruption, or to any perverse, unlawful, or evil intent, but rather to help to the lacks and defaults, which by such fragility might else take place; and therefore expedient it shall be that the Kings said Orators, to so notable a purpose where they shall perceive the consideration and respect, whereunto reason leadeth, to be in any part to be aided or supplied, do the same with pollicitations of promotions, spiritual offices, dignities, rewards of money, or other things, such as to them shall seem meet to the purpose, inculking into the minds of such persons as shall be requisite, first what things the said Lord Legate of *York* shall leave, if he should be advanced to the said dignity, which be such as the establishment of his state considered, be far more to his commodity (if he should regard his private weal) than to enter into this dangerous storm, and troublous tempest, for the relief of the Church and all Christendom; whereunto (his said private weal set apart) he is totally devoted and dedicate, to the exposition of his body, blood, and life, glad and ready with the sacrifice thereof to do service to God, his Church, his Faith and Religion: which said promotions, the Kings Highness finding cause, given unto him by the gratitude and conformity of his friends, will not fail to bestow to their benefit, besides large rewards, to have this so vertuous an act brought to perfection. For pollicitation whereof, the Kings said Embassadors be furnished at this time with ample commission, as by the same they shall perceive: The effect whereof they shall execute without exception, as by their wisdoms shall be thought convenient: so always as it be done with such circumspection, as that there may be appearance of good fruit to ensue. And semblably they be furnished with Letters, as well to the College of Cardinals in general, as to them all that be like to be present in particular: which they shall now deliver to the best furtherance and advancement of their purpose, not sparing to declare unto them the liberality of the said Lord Legate of *York*, the substance that he is of, the assured affiliance that he shall have of these Princes and their Confederates, whereby he shall be able above any other that they can devise, to reward, promote, advance, and recompence his friends to the uttermost; assuring them that these two Princes will not fail also highly, and in the best sort to consider their gratitudes, with any thing that they may excogitate to their profits and promotions, or any of their friends. So that by this mean, and with such good pollicitations, grounded upon a lawful, honourable, and just cause (and not upon any corrupt or undue intent, to conduce things to unsiter purpole) the Kings said Orators by their good policies shall attain the perfect and sure good will of a great many of them, and by that way shall with good dexterity combine and knit those, which will adhere hereunto, in a perfect faithfulness, and in an indissoluble knot, firmly to stick and hold together, without variation or declining from their purpose, for any perswasion, practice or mean, that can be made to the contrary. Which thing surely to be provided, and such a knot of twenty, eighteen, or at the least (if it may be) of sixteen Cardinals to be had, is in any wise expedient. For they persisting in their determination, shall not fail to impeach, that no adverse part can have a full number to make a due and lawful Election. And yet they being found in a constantness to this good purpose, shall by little and little allure and bring other unto them, so as the residue perceiving so great a towardness, and fearing a sufficient number to accede without them, and thereby the Election to pass against their wills, shall percase be the more prone and ready to come unto that party: whereunto nothing should of reason sooner move them, than the very respect to the infinite goodness, that thereby to themselves in particular, and the universal Church and Religion in general, is apparent to ensue.

Well bid and like a good Chapman.

Thou must imagin here good Reader, to be no corruption, but honourable pollicitation.

To accede, that is, to come.

{KING Hen.8.}

Nevertheless, if leaving the direct way they will be abused with any other incantations, or for private ambition perfist in contending for themselves, then is it evident, they search nothing more than the ruin of the See Apostolick. In which case other ways be to be devised, and their * indue demeanor to be remedied and resisted. For this cause, and to be sure in all events, the Kings said Orators shall by their wisdoms find the means to have some fast and sure persons in the Conclave, such as may not only practise and set forth things there to the purpose, but also give such knowledg outward, as the Kings said Orators may thereby the better know how to order their proceedings. And amongst other it is thought that *Mounsieur de Vaulx*, one of the *French* Embassadors (whom the *French* King hath commanded expressly to further this matter by all the means to him possible) should be one to enter the said Conclave, not as an Embassador, but as the Minister of some Cardinal, friend of the *French* King. And semblably Sir *Gregory de Gassalis*, who for his wisdom, conduct, language, acquaintance, and other good qualities, may do excellent good in that behalf.

Another shift, if the first worth fail. * That is, not due.

The case of the Cardinal muft have no negative, fo eager he is of his gain. Secret blenings to the Cardinals to cauſe them to conſent with Cardinal *Wolſey*.

And in this matter it is to be considered, that since this Election, in the person of the said Lord Legate of *York* by one way or other suffereth no negative, albeit the Kings Highness trusteth that the same shall have his course directly: yet if for lack of grace or intendment there should be any despair thereof, other ways be, to be provided. And for that cause to shew the said Orators secredly, there is a protestation passed by the Cardinals being in *England* and in *France*, according to a Copy which the said Orators shall receive herewith, which is and shall be kept secret, unless then by the indue proceeding used in the Election, the same shall need to be published: So that the Kings said Orators, now advertised thereof, shall note for a special ground, that if it shall appear that the Election cannot be had in the person of the said Lord Legate of *York*; the hand and number there and knit together to the Kings devotion, in finding none other remedy, muft be inftructed beforehand in that case to persist in their determination, and when time shall be, by reason of such despair, to protest, grounding the same their protestation upon such respects, as cannot lack to be introduced for the avoiding of the extreme danger by the pertinacity and wilfulness of the adverse Cardinals, eminent to the ruin of the Church, and of all Christendom. Which protestation may before hand be couched and devised by the said Master *Stephen Gardener*, and by the policy of the said *Mounsieur de Vaulx*, and Sir *Gregory*, be set forth in time convenient: and thereupon the Cardinals of the Kings, and the *French* King, Kings adherents to depart the Conclave, whereby repairing to some other sure place, they with the residue of the Cardinals absent, may proceed to such an Election as may be to Gods pleasure, the weal of his Church and Faith, and of all Christendom, any Election that thus by pertinacity may ensue at *Rome* notwithstanding.

The Cardinal dreameth that he is Pope already.

Proviſo againſt the Cardinals, if they will not conſent to the Cardinal of *York*.

And to the intent the Cardinals may be the better animated to finish the said Election to the Kings desire, the Kings said Orators shall, as they see good, offer them a prefidie of two or three thousand men to be in the City of *Rome* for the time of the same Election: which if they will accept, the said Orators shall see furnished, taking money by exchange and otherwise, for their entertainment, as shall be requisite. Which money, or any other that they shall take for conducing this the Kings purpose, shall be truely repayed, with (*) *interest*, and all requisites that they shall assign. And semblably, left terrors or dread of the Imperials in *Naples* should induce the Cardinals to any error, the *French* King hath ordained, that *Seignior Reuzio* shall lye in a prefidie between the Army of *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*. Like as the Viscount of *Tureine* is also commanded to lye on the other side, and semblably the *Venetians*. So that by those means not only they shall be out of all fear of the Imperials, but

Two faces in one Cardinals hat.

Note theſe proceedings in chuſing Popes.

(*) Search here thy Uſe Glowarius good Reader, for this eloquence paſſeth my Intelligence

How pollick the children of this world be in their generation.

{KING Hen.8.}

but also in the more devotion of these two Princes: which shall much confer to the Kings purpose, and embolden the Cardinals favouring the desire of these two Princes, both to persist in their deliberation, and also in time of extreme despair to protest and depart, as is afore said.

Demurs that he is by copy. The firſt reaſon.

And because nothing should withdraw the minds of the Cardinals from this purpose, who percase might think that the said Lord Legate of *York* being elected, would not repair to the Court of *Rome*, but *demore in Avinion*, or some other place out of *Italy*, the Kings said Ambassadors shall remove all such suspitions, by two evident arguments and reasons. One is, That the said Cardinal of *York*, advanced to that dignity, muft thereby leave all other his promotions, and consequently should be disparveyed of any habitation, place, or convenient living, if remaining in another strange Country, he should defer to come unto *Rome*, where should be the place of his See and entire living. Wherefore if it were far from reason to think, that he, which hitherto for his estate had lived in such abundance, should be so pusillanim for his promotion, to bring himself into condign penury and poverty, or to live in place private, to the hindrance of his honour, profit, or reputation. Secondly, the thing principally moving him to be contented, at these Princes requests, to change his state present, is the fervent zeal he hath to expone his Study, Travel, Labour, Substance, Wit, Body, Blood, and Life, in the quarrel of Gods Church, Faith, and of *Christendom*, which is too high an exception, and a ground to be taken to remain and lye in a corner or private place; but that rather than he would suffer so high an exception to be found in him, he would expone all that he might do: who having the affiliance of these two Princes, should not fail (God willing) to pass directly to his See, with honour and comfort unto all *Italy*, and the discouragement of the party that would be adverse thereunto. And therefore the Cardinals should not need to fear any such thing, but might be well assured to have his presence there to their comfort, in all celerity and diligence possible.

Poſſibiuimus, *i. poſſe omnia: ſtatim a weak beaſt.* The ſecond reaſon.

The Cardinal caſteth all his nets to catch the triple Crown.

Furthermore, to the intent the Kings said Ambassadors may have all the things that may be to this purpose, expedient it shall be, that they, with the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and other whom they shall think good to win unto their party, use the ways that may best conduce thereunto. And amongst other, forasmuch as they which depended upon the Cardinal *de Medices* shall doubt in this case to be reject, the Kings said Orators shall inculke unto them the singular devotion and special favour that the said Lord Legat of *York* hath always born unto their family; assuring them that he will take them in no futher distance of entire love, than they were with Pope *Leo*, *Clement*, or any other. And semblably, they shall put the *Florentines* in comfort of the exclution of the governance of the said Family *de Medices* in *Florence*, and of their enjoying of their liberty. Likewise putting the Cardinals in perfect hope of recovery of the Patrimonies of the Church; to contain the *Venetians* in good truft of a reasonable way to be taken for *Servia* and *Ravenna*, to their contentment; and also to shew the Duke of *Ferrare*, how the said Lord Legat was the mean of the conjunction of him in league with the French King, with assured promise of his continuance in as much love and favour as he may bear unto him, in all his causes and affairs. And thus, having those folks to their friends, whose Orators shall have the uttermoft custody of the Conclave, and the Kings Ambassadors and the French Ambassadors being in the interior parts thereof, they, being so amply instructed and furnished, shall not fail (God willing) by one or other of the said two ways, and specially by the direct election at *Rome*, if it be possible, or at the least, by the way of the said protestation and departure of the Cardinals, to conduce the Kings purpose in the said election to the desired end. In the doing whereof, albeit there is no doubt but that the French Orators will joyn with them sincerely, to the perfection of the premisses *in omne eventum*, it shall be well done, that the Kings said Orators have a substantial and politick regard to the proceedings of the same French Orators, left that if percase they should find any despair in the election to

Epilogus

pass in the person of the said Lord Legat of *York*, they making some other Cardinals to their side for the advancement of any of them to the said dignity, should be the more strange, alien, or peradventure refuse to come unto the said protestation and departure out of the Conclave: Which is the only remedy and refuge (the Cardinals persisting in their wilfulness) to interrupt, disappoint, infringe, and make void their elections.

By this election note the common Order of Rome in Popedom.

One other thing there is to be well noted by the said Ambassadors, and by them to be inculcate in the minds of the Cardinals; that if any manner of difficulty shall be made by the Imperials to condescend unto this election upon the said Lord Legate of *York*; and that they of the Emperors part would refuse all ways of good order and reason, proceeding to any election without the consent of the residue that would protest, they may be sure that unto their Sinister and undue way they should have no Prince or Potentate adherent, but only the Emperor and his Brother, and that the other part should have the reft of all *Christendom*, that is to say, the Kings Highness, the French King, the King of *Hungary*, *Polony*, *Scotland*, and *Denmark*, with the *Venetian*, the Dukes of *Ferrare*, *Millan*, the *Florentines*, and the reft of all *Italy*; besides the Merchants of the *Almain* or *Hans*, and other leagues being in the dominion of the said King of *Polony*: and over that, the King of *Portugal*, who is loth and sorry to see the Emperor to come to so great a height as he aspireth unto. So that, having these mighty and noble puissances to their assistances and the corroboration of their act, it is facil to think the other could be of no validity, nor have or take any manner of place: which is no small grounds whereupon the said Cardinals may be the better animate to the Kings, and the French Kings devotion, and therefore it is better to be imprinted in their minds accordingly.

Sides ſignifieth the Kingdoms.

Finally, If the Kings said Orators, endeavouring themselves to the conducing of the said election in the person of the said Lord Legat of *York*, should at the last find, that there were none other difficulty, but only that the election in his person being totally desperate, the same were conducible to the Cardinal *Campeius*: then, rather than all should fail, if the other could by no means be brought to pass, the Kings pleasure is, that being assured it may, the other lacking, be conduced to the same Cardinal *Campeius*, they take such way as in that case the protestation be forborn: and for the last refuge, if the other may not be, the election at the least to pass in the person of the said Cardinal *Campeius*: whereof there is no apperance, considering that the respects, for the which the said Lord Legat of *York* should by the Kings, and the French Kings means be brought hereunto, do for the greateft part fail and cease by the election of any other than himself, which is in this case to be remembred accordingly.

Thus be the Kings said Orators instructed, as far as mens reason can here devise, what is to be done for conducing the Kings purpose to effect, knowing well of what importance the thing is, and what consequences depend upon it, namely, for the perfection of the Kings high and wighty matter, which, otherwise than by election of the said Lord Legate of *York*, hath no manner of way to be conduced by authority of the See Apostolick: there resteth no more but that they, who well know the same great matter, do suffer no way nor repulse, but by the election of the person of the said Lord Legat, do imploy the uttermoft that in their hearts, powers, wits, bodies, and minds may be, to the perfection thereof, whereby they shall do the greateft service that can be for this time excogitate to do, unto their Prince, deserve Immortal laud, thanks, and praise, and be sure to confecute thereby such reward, as shall be to their comforts, rejoyce, and honour, besides manifold other notable goodnesses, whereof they shall be the procurers and solicitors, to their merit perpetual. All which they may be sure shall be considered accordingly.

Out of the Original, fubſcribed by King Henry the Eighth his own hand.

In these so great labours, pursuits, and travels of the King and of the Cardinal, as in these their instructions above inserted may appear, thou halt for thine instruction

Man purposeth and God disposeth.

(loving Reader) to note and learn, how man purposeth one thing and how God disposeth another. For the Kings purpose was to have the Cardinal and Legat of *York* placed in the See *Papal*, thinking by that means, if this Cardinal had been Pope, the cause of his divorce more easily might be compassed, which otherwise he thought unpossible to contrive. But God Omnipotent, which only is directer of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the King devised, but after his own wisdom; so that both the Divorcement was concluded, and yet neither Cardinal *Wolsey* made Pope, nor yet Pope *Clement* was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, that notwithstanding Pope *Clement* was alive, yet both the Divorce proceeded, and also the Popes authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this Realm of *England*, to the singular admiration of Gods wondrous works, and perpetual praise to his merciful goodnes. Of which Divorcement, and suppressing of the Popes authority, we have likewise to make declaration. But first, as we have begun with the Cardinal of *York*, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) address our selves to other matters of more importance.

As the Ambassadors were thus traveling in *Rome* to promote the Cardinal to be Pope, although the Pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the Cardinal played the popish persecutor here at home. For first, he sitting in his Pontificalibus in the Cathedral Church of *Paules*, under his Cloth of estate of rich cloth of Gold,

Peter Barnes with two Merchants of the Stilyards, caused by the Cardinal to bear Fagots.

caused Frier *Barnes*, an *Augustin* Frier, to bear a Fagot, for certain points which he called Heresie. Also he caused the same time two Merchants of the *Stilyard* likewise to bear Fagots for eating flesh on a *Friday*. At the which time, the Bishop of *Rochester* made a Sermon in reproof of *Martin Luther*, who had before written against the power of the Bishop of *Rome*. This Bishop in his Sermon spake so much of the honour of the Pope and his Cardinals, and of their dignity and preheminency, that he forgot to speake of the Gospel which he took in hand to declare; which was about the year of our Lord 1526.

After this, the said Cardinal likewise, *Anno* 1528, and in the month of *November*, sitting at *Westminster* as Legat, called before him the whole Clergy, and there promised that all abusions of the Church should be amended: but there nothing else was done, save only he caused to be abjured, *Arthur Bilny*, *Geffery Lome*, and *Garret*, for speaking against the Popes authority, and his pompous pride. Of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was *Anno* 1528.

The year next following, which was *Anno* 1529, began the question of the Kings Marriage to be revived.

The occasion of the Cardinals fall.

Whereupon Cardinal *Campeius* was sent again into *England* from *Rome*, for the hearing and debating of the matter. Who then with Cardinal *Wolsey*, consulting with the King, although at first he seemed with his fellow Cardinal to incline unto the Kings disposition, yet afterward perceiving the sequel of the Case, whether it tended, so far, as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the Court of *Rome*, and might shake perhaps the Chair of the Popes omnipotent authority, as well in other Cases like, if this Case were throughly decided by learning and truth of Gods word: He therefore slipping his neck out of the Collar, craftily shifted himself out of the Realm, before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtil fellow behind him, to weigh with the King the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the Court of *Rome*. The King thus feeing himself disappointed, foded with false promises, and craftily doubled withall by the Cardinals, and at last, after so many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was fore agrieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal *Wolsey*, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the Archbishoprick of *York*, the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, of *Duresme*, the Abby of S. *Albans*, besides the Chancellorship of *England*, and many other high rooms and preferments in the Realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the Kings presence. *Ex Hallo.*

The cause of the Kings Marriage with his Brothers Wife, was dangerous to the Pope for this: If it were unlawful, then the dispensation of Pope *Julius* was void: If it were lawful, then the Judgments of so many Universities were false. The King deluded by the two Cardinals.

Then followed first a Council of the Nobles, called the first of *October*. During the which Council all the Lords and other the Kings Counsel, agreeing together, resorted to *Windsor* to the King, and there informed the King, that all things which he had done almost, by his power Legatine, were in the Case of *Præmunire*, and provision: and that the Cardinal had forfeited all his Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels to the King: wherefore the King willing to order him, according to the order of his Laws, caused his Attorney, *Christopher Hales*, to sue out a writ of *Præmunire* against him, in the which he licensed him to make an Attorney.

KING *Hen.* 8. A Council of the Nobles called.

The Cardinal cast in the *Præmunire*.

And further the seventeenth day of *November*, he sent the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to his Palace of *Westminster*, to fetch away the Great Seal of *England*; which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two Dukes, which delivered the same to Doctor *Tailor*, Master of the Rolls, to carry it to the King; which he so did the next day.

The Cardinal deprived of the Chancellorship.

Besides this, the King sent Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, Knight of the Garter, and Treasurer of his House, and Doctor *Stephen Gardener*, newly made Secretary, to see that no Goods should be embezelled out of his house: and further ordained, that the Cardinal should remove to *Asher* beside *Kingstone*, there to tarry the Kings pleasure, and to have all things delivered unto him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the Kings use. When the Seal was thus taken from the Cardinal, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, with many Earls, Bishops, and *Barons*, came unto the *Starr-Chamber* the nineteenth day of *October*: where the Duke of *Norfolk* declared, that the Kings Highness for diverse and sundry offences had taken from him his Great Seal and deposed him of all Offices: and left men might complain for lack of justice, he had appointed him and the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the assent of the other Lords, to sit in the *Starr-Chamber*, to hear and determin causes indifferently: and that of all things the Kings pleasure and commandment was, that they should keep their hands close from any rewards taking, or maintenance: and so that week they sate in the *Starr-Chamber*, and determined causes.

Stephen Gardiner the Kings Secretary.

The Cardinals goods seized to the King.

By the Archbishop he meaneth *William Warham*.

A few days after, in the same month, the Cardinal removed out of his House called *York* place, with one Cross, saying, That he would he had never born more, meaning that by his Cross which he bear as Legat, which degree taking was his confusion, as you see openly: and so he took his Barge, and went to *Putney* by Water, and there took his Horse and rode to *Asher*, where he remained till *Lent* after.

The Cardinals removing from *York* place.

During which time, he being called on for an answer in the Kings Bench to the *Præmunire*, for giving Benefices by prevention, in disturbance of mens inheritance, and divers other open causes in the *Præmunire*, according to the Kings Licence, constituted *John Scute* and *Edmond Jenney*, Apprentises of the Law, his Attorneys, which by his own Warrant signed with his own hand, confessed all things concerning the said fute, for they were too open to be cloked or hidden; and so judgment was given, that he should forfeit all his Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels and should be out of the Kings protection; but for all that, the King sent him a sufficient protection, and of his gentleness left to him the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, and gave to him plate and stuff convenient for his degree; and the Bishoprick of *Duresme* he gave to Doctor *Tonstall* Bishop of *London*, and the Abby of S. *Albans* he gave to the Prior of *Norwich*: and to *London* he promoted D. *John Stokesley*, the Embassador to the Universities, for the Marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindness shewed to the Cardinal, yet still he maligned against the King, as you shall hereafter perceive. But first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

Doctor Tonstal Bishop of *Duresme*. Doctor *John Stokesley* made Bishop of *London*.

The next year following, which was *Anno* 1530, the month of *November* was summoned a general Parliament, to be holden at *Westminster*. In the which year, about the three and twentieth day of *October*, the King came to his Mannor of *Greenwich*, and there much consulted with his Counsel, for a meet man

A Parliament called.

KING *Hen.* 8.

man to be his Chancellor, so that in no wise he were a man of the spiritualty: and so after long debate, the King resolved himself upon Sir *Thomas More* Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, a man well learned in the Tongues, and also in the Common Law; whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reason whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the person of Master *More*. And then on the Sunday, the four and twentieth day of the same month, the King made him his Chancellor, and delivered him the great Seal: which Lord Chancellor the next morrow after was led into the Chancery by the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and there sworn, and then the Mace was fore him.

Sir Thomas *More* made Lord Chancellor of *England*.

Of this fall of the Cardinal, and of the placing of Sir *Thomas More* in the Chancellorship, *Erasmus* in an Epistle to *John Vergera* thus writeth: The Cardinal of *York* hath so offended the Kings mind, that he being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed not to Prison, but to a certain Lordship of his, with 30 servants or keepers to give attendance upon him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a Schoolmaster to be made a King. For so he Reigned more like a King than the King himself. He was dreaded of all men, he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he caused *Richard Pacie* to be cast into the *Tower*. Also he threatned my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Salomon* saith, *That before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* was called or reffered to be chosen Lord Chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that Realm; but he excused himself by his age, as being not able to weeld such a function. Wherefore the said Office was bestowed upon *Thomas More*, no less to the rejoycing of many, than that the other was displaced from it. These news my Servant brought me out of *England*, &c. *Ex Epist. Erasm. & Joan. Vergeram.*

Ex Erasm.

You heard before, how a Council of the Nobles was appointed by the King in the month of *October*, to assemble in the *Star-Chamber* about the Cardinals matter: and also how a Parliament was summoned to begin in the month of *November*, in the year following, *Anno* 1530. At the beginning of which Parliament, after that Mr. *More* the new Chancellor had finished his Oration, the Commons were commanded to chuse them a Speaker, who was *Thomas Audley* Esquire, and Attorney to the Duchy of *Lancaster*. Thus the Parliament being begun the sixth day of the foresaid month of *November*, at *Westminster*, where the King with all the Lords were set in the Parliament Chamber, the Commons, after they had presented their Speaker, assembled in the nether House, began to Commune of their griefs, wherewith the Spiritualty had before time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the Law of the Realm, and specially were foremoved with these six great causes.

A Parliament summoned in November, *An.* 1530. *Tho. Audley* Speaker of the Parliament.

Six grievances of the Commons against the Clergy.

¶ *Grievances against the Clergy of* England.

Excessive fines for Probates of Testaments.

1. THe first, For the excessive fines which the Ordinaries took for Probates of Testaments, insomuch that Sir *Henry Guilford*, Knight of the Garter, and Controller of the Kings House, declared in the open Parliament, of his fidelity, that he and other being Executors to Sir *William Compton*, Knight, paid for the Probate of his Will, to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a thousand Marks sterling. After this declaration were shewed so many extortions done by Ordinaries for Probates of Wills, that it were too much to rehearse.

A thousand Marks for the Probate of one Testament.

2. The second cause was, the great polling and extream exaction which the spiritual men used, in taking of Corps, Presents, or Mortuaries: for the Children of the dead should all dye for hunger and go a begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the silly Cow which the dead man ought, if he had but only one, such was the charity of them.

The unreasonable exaction of the Clergy for Mortuaries.

3. The third cause was, that Priests being Surveiers, Stewards, and Officers to Bishops, Abbots, and other spiritual Heads, had and occupied Farms, Granges, and Grasing in every Country, so that the poor Husbandmen could have nothing but of them, and yet for that they should pay dearly.

Farms and Granges in Priests hands.

4. The fourth cause was, that Abbots, Priors, and spiritual men kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold Wooll, Cloth, and all manner of Merchandise, as other temporal Merchants did.

Monks and Priests Merchants.

5. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the Court in Lords houses, and took all of their Parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of reridence both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the Parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of Gods Word, to the great peril of their souls.

Benefices men take of their flock but give nothing.

6. The sixth cause was, because one Priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve Benefices, and was resident on none, and many well learned Scholars in the University, which were able to preach and teach, had neither Benefice nor exhibition.

Pluralities of Benefices.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made an Heretick, or lose all that he had: for the Bishops were Chancellors, and had all the rule about the King, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now when God had illuminated the eyes of the King, and the time so served, that men more boldly durst express with voice such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the Clergy; the Burgesses of the Parliament appointed certain of the Common house, men learned in the Law, to draw one Bill of the Probates of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third for Non-residence, Pluralities, and taking Farms by spiritual men.

Three Bills drawn out against the misorder of the Clergy.

And first to the Bill of Mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the Common house, and sent up to the Higher, the Spiritual Lords shewed a fair face, saying, that assuredly Priests and Curates took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

The first Bill for Mortuaries.

After this, within two days, was sent up the second Bill, concerning Probates of Testaments: which Bill, because it touched their profit somewhat near, both the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all other Bishops in general began to frown and grunt: insomuch as Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, standing up in the Parliament Chamber, openly protested, that such Bills were sent up from the Common house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the Church: which Church being down, the glory then of the whole Kingdom (said he) must needs fall; desiring therefore the Lords, for Gods sake, to take example by the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the Commons here, but Down with the Church? And all this (said he) seemeth to be only for lack of Faith. When these word were reported to the Commons of the lower House, what the Bishops said, in noting all their doings to be for lack of Faith, they took the matter grievously, so to be esteemed of the Bishop for no better than Hereticks; understanding moreover, how that he by those slanderous words went about to perswade the Lords Temporal against them, and so to overthrow the two Bills by them passed before, as ye have heard.

The second Bill for Probates of Testaments.

D. *Fisher* chargeth the Commons with lack of Faith.

The griefs of the Commons, in the lower house, be called *Fides*, or Bishop of *Rochester*.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said Commons; that *Thomas Audley* their Speaker, with thirty of the chief of that House, should be sent to the King; being then in his Palace at *Westminster*, before called *York* Place: where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the King and the Realm it was, to say that they which were elected for the wisest Men of all the Shires, Cities, and Boroughs within the Realm of *England*, should be declared in so noble and open presence, to lack Faith, which was equivalent to say that they were Infidels, and no Christians, as all as *Turks* or *Saracens*: so that what pain or study soever they took for the Commonwealth, or what acts or laws soever they made or stablished, should be taken as laws made by Painims and Heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: wherefore they most hum-

bly beſought the Kings Highneſs to call the ſaid Biſhop before him, and to cauſe him to ſpeak more diſcreetly of ſuch a matter as was in the the Common houſe.

The K. not contented with the Biſhops of *Rochester*.

The King not being well contented with the ſaying of the Biſhop, yet gently anſwered the Speaker, and ſent them away. Who immediately ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſix other Biſhops, and *Rochester* alſo, ſignifying unto them the grudge of the Commons. The Biſhop of *Rochester*, excuſing himſelf, anſwered, that he, in ſo ſaying, meant only the doings of the *Bohemians* to be for lack of Faith, and not the doing of them that were in the Common houſe. Which ſaying was confirmed by the Biſhops there preſent, which had him in great reputation. And ſo by that only ſaying the King accepted his excuſe, and therefore ſent word to the Commons by Sir *William Fitzwilliams* Knight, Treaſurer of his houſhould. Which blind excuſe pleaſed the Commons nothing at all.

The Biſhops excuſe.

Difference between the Laity and Clergy touching ſpiritualty and temporalty about certain conſtitutions.

After this, divers Aſſemblies were kept between certain of the Lords, and certain of the Commons, for the Bills of the Probate of Teſtaments, and Mortuaries. The Temporalty laid to the Spiritualty their own Laws and Conſtitutions: And the Spiritualty ſore defended them by preſcription and uſage. To whom it was thus anſwered by a Gentleman of *Grays Inn*; The uſage hath ever been of Thieves, to rob on *Shooters-hill*: *Ergo*, is it lawful? With this anſwer the ſpiritual men were ſo offended, becauſe their doings were called Roberies: but the Temporal men ſtood ſtill by their ſayings, inſomuch that the ſaid Gentleman ſaid to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; that both the exaction of Probates of Teſtaments, and the taking of *Mortuaries*, as they were uſed, were open Robery and Theft. After long diſputation, the Temporal Lords began to lean to the Commons: but for all that the Bills remained unconcluded for a time.

Long uſe maketh not evil things lawful.

Mortuaries, as they were uſed, differed but little from theft.

It followeth ſhortly after in the Parliament, that a Bill was aſſented to by the Lords of the Higher houſe, and ſent down to the Commons in the Lower houſe, and by them alſo with much labour agreed unto, of whom the moſt part were the Kings Servants. In the which Bill it was required and concluded, that the King ſhould be releaſed of all ſuch Loan of money which he had borrowed of his Subjects in the Fifteenth year of his Reign. The paſſing of which Bill went ſore againſt the ſtomach of the poor Commons: For many reſted upon it, counting and paſſing it over, one to another for good debt, as if it had been ready money in their purſes. Wherefore the King, to grative them again, granted to them a general pardon of all offences, only certain great offences and debts excepted. Alſo he aided them for the redreſs of their griefs againſt the ſpiritualty, and cauſed two new Bills to be made indifferently, both for the Probates of the Teſtaments and Mortuaries: which Bills were ſo reaſonable, that the Spiritual Lords aſſented to them all, though they were ſore againſt their minds, and in eſpecial the Probate of Teſtaments fore diſpleaſed the Biſhops, and the Mortuaries fore diſpleaſed the Parſons and Vicars.

Redreſs of the griefs of the Commons.

After theſe Acts thus agreed, the Commons make another Act for pluralities of Benences, nonreſidence, buying and ſelling, and taking of Farms by Spiritual perſons. Which Act ſo diſpleaſed the Spiritualty, that the Prieſts raiſed on the Commons of the Lower houſe, and called them Hereticks and Schiſmaticks: for the which divers Prieſts were puniſhed.

The third Bill of the Commons for pluralities, &c.

This Act was fore debated above in the Parliament Chamber, and the Lords Spiritual would in no wiſe conſent. Wherefore the King perceiving the grudge of the Commons, cauſed eight Lord and eight of his Commons to meet in the *Star-Chamber* at an afternoon, and there was fore debating of the Cauſe, in ſo much that the Temporal Lords of the upper Houſe which were there took part with the Commons againſt the Spiritual Lords, and by force of reaſon cauſed them to aſſent to the Bill, with a little qualifying: Which Bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the Lords houſe, to the great rejoycing of the Lay people, and to great diſpleaſure of the Spiritual perſons.

And thus much concerning theſe Bills againſt the Clergy by the way: Now to return to the Cardinal again. During the time of the ſaid Parliament, there was brought down to the Commons the Book of Articles which the Lords had put up to the King againſt the Cardinal. The chief Articles were theſe.

{KING} *Hen.8.*

¶ *Articles objected againſt Cardinal* Wolſey.

Articles againſt the Cardinal.

1. FIrſt, That he without the Kings aſſent had procured himſelf to be a Legat, by reaſon whereof he took away the right of all Biſhops and ſpiritual perſons.

2. In all writings that he wrote to *Rome*,, or to another Prince, he wrote *Ego & Rex meus*. I and my King, as who would ſay, that the King were his ſervant.

3. That he ſlandered the Church of *England* to the Court of *Rome*: For his ſuggeſtion to be Legat, was to reform the Church of *England*, which (as he wrote) was *Facta in reprobum ſenſum*.

4. He without the Kings aſſent carried the Kings great Seal with him into *Flanders*, when he was ſent Ambaſſador to the Emperor.

5. Without the Kings conſent he ſent Commiſſion to Sir *Gregory de Caſtalis*, Knight, to conclude a league between the King and the Duke of *Ferrary*.

6. That he, having the *French Pox*, preſumed to come and breath on the King.

7. That he cauſed the Cardinals Hat to be put on the Kings Coyn.

8. That he had ſent innumerable ſubſtance to *Rome*, for the obtaining of his Dignities, to the great impoveriſhment of the Realm. With many other things which are touched more at large in Chronicles.

These Articles, with many more, being read in the Common houſe, were confeſſed by the Cardinal, and ſigned with his hand. Alſo there was ſhewed another writing ſealed with his Seal, by the which he gave to the King all his moveables and unmoveables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the Cardinal was attainted in the *Præmunire*, and how he was put out of the Office of the Chancellor, and lay at *Aſher*: which was in the year of our Lord, 1530. The next year after in the *Lent* ſeaſon, the King, by the advice of his Councel, licenced him to go into his Dioceſs of *York*, and gave him commandment to keep him within his Dioceſs, and not to return Southward, without the Kings ſpecial Licence in writing.

So he made great proviſion to go Northward, and apparelled his Servants newly, and bought many coſtly things for his houſhold. But divers of his Servants at this time departed from him to the Kings ſervice, and eſpecially *Thomas Cromwell*, one of his chief Councell, and chief doer for him in the ſuppreſſion of Abbeys. After that all things neceſſary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey Northward, till he came to *Southwell*, which was in his Dioceſs, and there he continued that year, ever grudging at his fall, as you ſhall hear hereafter: but the Lands which he had given to his College in *Oxford* and *Ipſwich* were now come to the Kings hands, by his attainder in the *Præmunire*: and yet the King of his gentleneſs, and for favour that he bear to good learning, erected again the College in *Oxford*, and where it was named the Cardinals College, he called it the Kings College, and indued it with fair poſſeſſions, and ordained new Statutes and Ordinances; and becauſe the College of *Ipſwich* was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that diſſolved.

The Cardinals College now called Chriſts College in *Oxford*.

Notwithſtanding that the Cardinal of *York* was thus attianted in the *Præmunire*, (as is above mentioned) yet the King being good unto him, had granted him the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, with great plenty of ſubſtance, and had Licenſed him to lie in his Dioceſs of *York*, where he ſo continued the ſpace of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he being in his Dioceſs, wrote to the Court of *Rome*, and to divers other Princes, Letters in reproach of the King, and, as

The Cardinal complaineth to the Pope, of the King.

{KING} *Hen.8.*

as much as in him lay, he ſtirred them to revenge his cauſe againſt the King and his Realm: inſomuch that divers opprobious words againſt the King were ſpoken to Doctor *Edward Keerne*, the Kings Orator at *Rome*. And it was ſaid to him, That for the Cardinals ſake the King ſhould have the worſe ſpeed in the ſute of his Matrimony. The Cardinal alſo would ſpeak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjuſtly and unruely ordered. Which fair ſpeaking made many men believe that he ſaid true. And to Gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him; and to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be enſtalled or enthroniſed at *York* with all the pompe that might be, and cauſed a Throne to be erected in the Cathedral Church, in ſuch a height and faſhion, as was never ſeen, and ſent to all the Lords, Abbots, Priors, Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of his Dioceſs, to be at his Manner of *Cawood* the ſixth day of *November*, and ſo to bring him to *York* with all manner of pompe and ſolemnity.

The Cardinals proud journey toward *York*.

The King, which knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year diſſembled the matter, to ſee what he would do at length, till that he ſeeing his proud heart ſo highly exalted, that he would be ſo triumphantly inſtalled, without making the King privy, yea, and in a manner in diſdain of the King, thought it not meet nor convenient to ſuffer him any longer to continue in his malicous and proud purpoſes and attempts. Wherefore he directed his Letters to the Earl of *Northumberland*, willing him with all diligence to Arreſt the Cardinal, and to deliver him to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, great Steward of the Kings houſhold. When the Earl had ſeen the Letters, he with a convenient number came to the Mannor of *Cawood* the fourth day of *November*; and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his Chamber, he ſaid to him, My Lord, I pray you take patience, for here I Arreſt you. Arreſt me, ſaid the Cardinal? Yea, ſaid the Earl, I have a commandment ſo to do. You have no ſuch power, ſaid the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal, and a Legat *De Latere*, and a Peer of the College of *Rome*, and ought not to be Arreſted by any temporal power; for I am not ſubject to that power: wherefore if you Arreſt me I will withſtand it. Well, ſaid the Earl, here is the Kings Commiſſion (which he ſhewed him) and therefore I charge you to obey. The Cardinal ſomewhat remembred himſelf, and ſaid: Well My Lord, I am conſtent to obey: but although that I by negligence fell into the puniſhment of the *Præmunire*, and loſt by the Law all my Lands and goods, yet my Perſon was in the Kings protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I now ſhould be Arreſted, and ſpecially condering that I am a member of the See Apoſtolick, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I ſee the King lacketh good Counſel. Well, ſaid the Earl, when I was ſworn Warden of the Marches, you your ſelf told me, I might with my Staff Arreſt all men under the degree of a King; and now I am ſtronger, for I have a Commiſſion ſo to do, which you have ſeen. The Cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy Chamber, and his goods ſeized, and his Officers diſcharged: And his Penſions called Doctor *Augustin* was likewiſe Arreſted, and brought to the *Tower* by Sir *Walter Welch*, one of the Kings Chamber. The ſixth day of *November* he was conveyed from *Cawood* to *Sheffield* Caſtle, and there delivered to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; keeping till the Kings pleaſure were known. Of this Attachement was much communing among the Common people; wherefore many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the Commonalty.

The Cardinal Arreſted.

The Cardinal brought up toward *London*.

When the Cardinal was thus Arreſted, the King ſent Sir *William Kingſton* Knight, Captain of the Guard, and Conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*, with certain Yeomen of the Guard to *Sheffield*, to fetch the Cardinal to the *Tower*. When the Cardinal ſaw the Captain of the Guard he was ſore aſtoniſhed, and ſhortly became ſick; for then he perceived ſome great trouble toward him, and for that cauſe men ſaid, that he willingly took ſo much quantity of a ſtrong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Alſo the matter that came from him was ſo black, that the ſtaining thereof could not be gotten out of his Blankets by any means. But Sir *William Kingſton* comforted him, and by eaſie journeys he brought him to the Abbey of *Leyceſter* the ſeven and twentieth day of *November*; where for very feebleneſs of nature, cauſed by purgations and vomits, he died the ſecond night following, and in the ſame Abbey lieth buried.

The Cardinal poiſoneth himſelf?

It is teſtified by one, yet being alive, in whoſe arms the ſaid Cardinal died, that his body being dead was black as pitch, alſo was ſo heavy, that five could ſcarce bear it. Furthermore, it did ſo ſtink above the ground, that they were conſtrained to haſten the Burial thereof in the night ſeaſon, before it was day. At the which Burial, ſuch a tempeſt with ſuch a ſtinch there aroſe, that all the Torches went out; and ſo he was thrown into the Tomb, and there was laied.

By the ambitious pride and exceſſive worldly wealth of this one Cardinal, all men may eaſily underſtand and judge what the ſtate and condition of all the reſt of the ſame Order (whom we call ſpiritual men) was in thoſe days, as well in all other places of *Chriſtendom*, as eſpecially here in *England*, where the princely poſſeſſions and great pride of the Clergy did not only far paſs and exceed the common meaſure and order of Subjects, but alſo ſurmounted over Kings and Princes, and all other eſtates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his ſtory, above deſcribed.

The pride of the Cardinal.

Amongſt other acts of the foreſaid Cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new College in *Oxford*, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the beſt learned he could hereof, amongſt which number were theſe; *Clark*, *Tindal*, *Sommer*, *Frith*, and *Taverner*, with other more: Which holding in aſſembly together in the College, were accounted to be Hereticks (as they called them) and thereupon were caſt into a Priſon of the College, where Satrith lay, through the ſtink whereof the moſt part of them were infected, and the ſaid *Clark* being a tender young man, and the moſt ſingular in learning amongſt them all, died in the ſame Priſon, and other in other places in the Town alſo, of the ſame infection, deceaſed.

Clark died in the Cardinals College in Priſon.

And thus having detained the Reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious Cardinal, now we will reduce our ſtory again to other more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requireth, we will firſt begin with Maſter *Humphry Mummuth*, a vertuous and a good Alderman of *London*, who in the time of the ſaid Cardinal was troubled, as in the ſtory here followeth.

The trouble of Humphry Mummuth *Alderman of* London.

The ſtory of *Humphry Mummuth*.

MAſter *Humphry Mummuth*, was a right godly and ſincere Alderman of *London*, who in the days of Cardinal *Wolſey* was troubled and put in the *Tower*, for the Goſpel of Chriſt, and for maintaining them that favoured the ſame.

Articles miniſtred againſt *Humphry Mummuth* by Biſhop *Stokeſley*.

Stokeſley, then Biſhop of *London*, miniſtred Articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty: as for adhereing to *Luther* and his opinions; for having and reading heretical Books and Treatiſes; for giving exhibition to *William Tindall*, *Roy*, and ſuch other; for helping them over the Sea to *Luther*; for miniſtring privy help to tranſlate, as well the Teſtament, as other Books into Engliſh; for eating fleſh in *Lent*; for affirming Faith only to juſtifie; for derogating from mens conſtitutions; for not praying to Saints, not allowing Pilgrimage, Auricular confeſſion, the Popes Pardons; briefly, for being an advancer of all *Martin Luther*s opinions, &c.

He being of theſe Articles examined and caſt into the *Tower*, at laſt was compelled to make his ſuit or purgation, writing to the foreſaid Cardinal, then Lord Chancelor, and the whole Council, out of the *Tower*. In the contents whereof he anſwered to the criminous accuſation of them which charged him with certain Books received from beyond the Sea; alſo for his acquaintance with Maſter *Tindal*. Whereupon he ſaid, that he denyed not, but that four years then paſt he had heard the ſaid *Tindal* preach two or three Sermons at Saint *Dunſtans* in the *Weſt*, and afterward meeting with the ſaid *Tindal*, had

The purgation and anſwer of *Humphry Mummuth* to the Articles.

certain communication with him concerning his living: who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the Bishop of *London* his service; for then he laboured to be his *Chaplain*. But being refused of the Bishop, he came again to the said *Mummuth* this examinate, and beseught him to help him. Who the same time took him into his house for half a year: where the said *Tindal* lived (as he said) like a good Priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single bear. He was never seen in that house to wear Linnen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said *Mummuth* had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pound (as he then said) for his Fathers and Mothers Souls, and all Christian Souls; which money afterward he sent him over to *Hamborow* according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers other mee likewise which were no Hereticks: as to Doctor *Royst...*, the Bishop of *London* Chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds: to Doctor *Wodiall*, Provincial of the Frier *Augustins*, as much or more, to Doctor *Watson* the Kings Chaplain, also to other Scholars, and divers Priests; besides other charges bestowed upon religious Houses, as upon the Nunnery of *Denney*, above fifty pounds Sterling bestowed, *&c.*

Tindal refused of Bishop *Stokesly* to be his Chaplain.

The temperate conversation of *William Tindal.*

And as touching his Books, as *Enchiridion*, the *Pater noster*, *De libertate Christiana*, an English Testament, of which, some *William Tindal* left with him, some he sent unto him, some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell; these Books, he said, did lye open in his house, the space of two years together, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the same Books being desired of sundry persons, as of the Abbes of *Denney*, a Frier of *Greenwich*, the Father Confessor of *Sion*, he let them have them, and yet never heard Frier, Priest, or Lay-man find any fault with the said Books. Likewise to Doctor *Watson*, to Doctor *Stockhouse*, Master *Martin*, Parson of *Totingbecke*, he committed the perusing of the Books of *Pater noster*, and *De libertate Christiana*, which found no great fault in them, but only in the Book *De libertat. Christiana*, they said there were things somewhat hard, except the Reader were wise.

Thus he excusing himself and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the *Tower*, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yearly to ship over five hundred Cloths to strangers, and set many Clothiers awork in *Suffolk*, and in other places, of whom he bought all their Cloths, which were now almost all undone; by this reason at length he was set at liberty being forced to abjure, and after was made Knight by the King, and Sheriff of *London*.

A notable example of Christian patience in an Alderman.

Of this *Humphry Mummuth* we read of a notable example of Christian patience, in the Sermons of M. *Latimer*, which the said *Latimer* heard in *Cambridge* of Master *George Stafford*, Reader of the Divine Lecture in that University. Who expounding the place of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, that we shall overcome our enemy with well doing and to heap hot Coles upon his head, *&c.* brought in an example, saying, that he knew in *London* a great rich Merchant (meaning this *Humphry Mummuth*) which had a very poor neighbour: yet for all his poverty he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his Table whensoever he would: It was even at that time when Doctor *Coller* was in trouble, and should have been burnt, if God had not turned the Kings heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture man, he began to smell the Gospel. The poor man was a Papist still.

Mr. George Stafford Reader in Cambridge.

KING Hen.8.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the Gospel, sitting at his Table, where he reproved Popery and such kind of things; the poor man being there present, took a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house; he would borrow no more money of him as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the Bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in the Street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoyd but come near him: yet for all this, the poor man (I say) had such a stomach against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward and not to speak with him. The rich man perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying; Neighbour, what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends.

Ex concione Doct. Hugo. Latimeri.

Agree with thine enemy while thou art in the way with him. Matth. 5.

Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly, and friendly, that it wrought so in the poor mans heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore.

¶ *The History of* Thomas Hitten.

Persecutors.	*Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*
	Thomas Hitten, at *Maidstone,* An. 1530.
Will. Warham *Archbishop of* Canterbury.	Touching the memorial of *Thomas Hitten* remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name, save that *William Tindal* in his Apology against *More*, and also in another Book intituled, The practise of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him by way of digression. He was (saith he) a Preacher at *Maidstone*, whom the Bishop of *Canterbury William Warham*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, after they had long kept and tormented him in Prison with sundry torments, and that notwithstanding he continued constant; at last they burned him at *Maidstone*, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free Grace and Salvation. In the year of our Lord God, 1530.
Fisher, *Bishop of* Rochester.	

Tho. Hitten Martyr.

The

KING Hen.8.

Persecutors.	*Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*
Anno 1531	Thomas Bilney. Arthur, *which Abjured at* Norwich, Anno 1531.
Thomas Bilney Martyr.	
Cardinal *Wolsey.*	IN the Story above passed of Cardinal *Wolsey*, mention was made of certain whom the said Cardinal caused to Abjure; as *Bilney*, *Jeffry Lome*, *Garret*, *Barns*, and such other, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) specially to entreat. This *Thomas Bilney* was brought up in the Universitie of *Cambridge*, even from a Child, profiting in all kind of Liberal Sciences, even unto the profession of both Laws. But at the last having gotten a better School-Master, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart by privy inspiration with the knowledge of better and and more wholsom things, he came at the last unto this point, That, forsaking the knowledge of Mans Laws, he converted his Study to those things which tended more unto godliness than gainfulness.
Nix, Bishop of *Norwich.*	
Thomas Bilney Author of both Laws.	
Friers of *Ipswich.*	
Frier *Bird.*	
Frier *Hodgkins.*	
Doctor *Stokes.*	Finally, As himself was greatly inflamed with the love of True Religion and Godliness, even so again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere Religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the Gospel, amongst which number was *Thomas Arthur*, and Master *Hugh Latimer*; which *Latimer* at that time was Crosse-keeper at *Cambridge*, bringing it forth upon Procession-days. At the last, *Bilney* forsaking the Universitty went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with *Arthur*, which accom-
Sir *Thomas More.*	
Frier *Brusierd.*	
Master Latimer Crosse-keeper in University of Cambridge.	
Frier *John Huggen*, Provincial of the *Dominicks.*	

Persecutors.	*Martyrs, and the causes of their Martyrdom.*
Frier *Jeffry Fullet.* Frier *Jugworth.* M. *William Jeket*, Gentleman. *William Nelson.* *Thomas Williams.*	panied him from the Universitty. The Authority of *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of *York*, of whom ye have heard before, at that time was great in *England*, but his Pomp and Pride much greater, which did evidently declare unto all wise Men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the Bishops and Clergy. Whereupon *Bilney*, with other good Men, marvelling at the incredible insolence of the Clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive Pomp of the Clergy, and also to pluck at the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome.*

Bilney & gainst the Pride of the Pope, and of his Cardinals.

Then it was time for the Cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtilty of a Serpent; for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious Dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferous and proud Kingdom could not long continue against the manifest Word of God; especially if the Light of the Gospel should once open the eyes of Men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of Kings and Princes. Only this he feared, the Voice of Christ in his Gospel, left it should disclose and detect their hypocrisie and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherfore he thought good speedily in time to withstand these beginnings. Whereupon he caused the said *Bilney* and *Arthur* to be apprehended and cast into Prison, as before you have heard.

Cardinal Wolsey with his complices, *&* gainst him and Arthur.

After this, the seven and twentieth day of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1527, the said Cardinal accompanied with a great number of Bishops, as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Cuthbert* of *London*, *John* of *Rochester*, *Nicholas* of *Ely*, *John* of *Exceter*, *John* of *Lincoln*, *John* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Henry* of St. *Asse*, with many other both Divines and Lawyers, came into the Chapter-House of *Westminster*, where the said Master *Thomas Bilney*, and *Thomas Arthur* were brought before them, and the said Cardinal there inquired of Master *Bilney*,

ney, whether he had, privately or publickly, preached or taught to the people the Opinions of *Luther* or any other condemned by the Church, contrary to the determination of the Church. Whereunto *Bilney* answered, That wittingly he had not preached or taught any of *Luther's* Opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholick Church. Then the Cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an Oath before, That he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of *Luther's* Opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered, That he had made such an Oath, but not Lawfully. Which Interrogatories so ministred, and answers made, the Cardinal caused him to Swear, to answer plainly to the Articles and Errors preached and set forth by him; as well in the City and Diocese of *London*, as in the Diocese of *Norwich* and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

Thomas Arthur examined.

After he was thus Sworn and Examined, the said Cardinal proceeded to the Examination of Master *Thomas Arthur* there present, causing him to take the like Oath, that Master *Bilney* did. Which done, he asked of him whether he had not once told Sir *Thomas Moor*, Kt. That in the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Christ? Which Interrogatory he denied. Then the Cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noon, the same day, what time the Examination of the foresaid *Thomas Arthur* was ended, the Cardinal and Bishops by their Authority, *Ex Officio*, did call in for Witnesses, before Master *Bilney*, certain Men, namely, *John Huggen*, chief Provincial of the Friers preachers throughout all *England*, *Jeffry Fulles*, and *Richard Fugworth*, professors of Divinity of the same Order. Also *William Jecket*, Gentleman, *William Nelson*, and *Thomas Williams*, which were Sworn, that all favour, hate, love, or reward set apart, they should without concealing any falshood, or omitting any truth, speak their minds, upon the Articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the Diocese of *London*, as the Diocese of *Norwich*: and because he was otherwise occupied about the Affairs of the Realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Bishop of *London*, and two other Bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all Men, as well Spiritual as Temporal, as also against Schedules, Writings, and Books, set forth and Translated by *Martin Luther*, lately condemned by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, and by all manner of probable means to enquire, and root out their Errors and Opinions, and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to Abjuration according to the Law, or if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the Secular Power, and to give them full Power and Authority to determin upon them.

Bilney and *Arthur* brought before Cuthbert Bishop of *London*.

The Seven and twentieth of *November*, in the year aforesaid, the Bishop of *London*, with the Bishops of *Ely* and *Rochester*, came unto the Bishop of *Norwich's* House, whereas likewise, *Ex Officio*, they did Swear certain witnesses against Master *Thomas Arthur*, in like sort as they had done before against Master *Thomas Bilney*, and so proceeded to the Examination of Master *Arthur*, which being ended upon certain Interrogatories; the Bishop of *London* warned him by virtue of his Oath, That he should not reveal his Examinations, nor his Answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

Work they never so secretly, yet God bringeth their practises to light at length.

The second day of *December*, the Bishops Assembled again in the same place, and Sware more Witnesses against Master *Bilney*. That done they called for Master *Arthur*; unto whose charge they laid these Articles following.

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

Articles against Thomas Arthur.

1. IN*primis*, That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray specially for those that now be in Prison. Which Article he denied.

2. That he said, Though Men be restrained to preach now adays (which is against Gods Laws) yet I may preach: First, By the Authority of my Lord Cardinal; for I have his License. Secondly, By the Authority of the University. Thirdly, By the Pope. Fourthly, By the Authority of God, where he saith, *Euntes in mundum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ*. By which Authority every Man may preach, and there is neither Bishop nor Ordinary, nor yet the Pope, that may make any Law to let any Man to preach the Gospel. This Article he confessed that he spake.

{KING} Hen 8. Authority to preach.

3. Then he spake of Laws, he brought a similitude of Crosses, set up against the Walls of *London*, that Men should not pisse there. When there was but one Cross, or a few more, Men did reverence them, and pisse not there; but when there was in every corner a Cross set, then Men of necessity were compelled to piss upon the Crosses. So in like manner, when there was but a few Holy and Devout Laws in the Church, then Men were afraid to offend them. Afterward they made many Laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary those they do observe; and such as are not pecuniary, those they call *Palea*, and regard them not: and so now adays there are so many Laws, that whether a Man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the Law. He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

The multitude of Laws make Laws to be contemned.

Palea in the Popes Decrees.

4. He said, Good people, if I should suffer Persecution for the preaching of the Gospel of God, yet there are Seven thousand more that would preach the Gospel of God as I do now. Therefore good people, good people, (which words he often rehearsed as it were lamenting) think not that if these Tyrants and Persecutors put a Man to death, the preaching of the Gospel therefore is to be forsaken. This Article he confessed, that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of Tyrants.

The preaching of the Gospel is to be left for no Persecution.

5. That every Man, yea every Lay-man is a Priest. He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his Sermon, that every Christian-man is a Priest, offering up the Sacrifice of Prayer. And if they did murmur against the Order of Priesthood, they did murmur against themselves.

6. That Men should pray to no Saints in Heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other Mediator for them, but Christ Jesus our Redeemer only. This Article he denied.

7. He preached that they should worship no Images of Saints, which were nothing but Stocks and Stones. This he also denied.

Against Images.

8. He did preach upon Whit-sunday last, within the Universitty of *Cambridge*, such, or like words and sentences: That a Bachelor of Divinity admitted of the Universitty, or any other person having or knowing the Gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let for no Man, of what Estate or Degree soever he were: and if any Bishop did Accurse them for so doing, their Curses should turn to the harm of themselves. He confessed this.

Arthur submitteth himself.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said Master *Arthur* did revoke and condemn the said Articles against him ministred, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the Church.

The third day of *December*, the Bishop of *London* with the other Bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that *Bilney* had denied utterly to return to the Church of *Rome*, the Bishop of *London* in discharge of his Conscience (as he said) left he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit unto the Notaries, in the presence of the said Master *Bilney*, certain Letters, to wit, five Letters or Epistles, with one Schedule in one of the Epistles, containing his Articles and Answers folded therein, and another Epistle folded in manner of a Book, with six Leaves; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and Registred, and the Originals to be delivered to him again.

Five Letters of Bilney to the Bishop of *London*.

Ex Regist. Londinensi.

This was done in the presence of M. *Bilney*, desiring a Copy of them, and he bound the Notaries with an Oath, for the safe keeping of the Copies, and true Registring of the same. Which Articles and Answers, with three of the same Epistles, with certain Depositions depos'd by the foresaid Witnesses, here follow truly drawn, partly out of his own hand-writting, and partly out of the Register.

¶ Inter-

{KING} Ann. 8.

¶ *Interrogatories whereupon Master* Thomas Arthur, *and Master* Bilney *were accused and examined.*

Interrogated upon Bilney and Arthur.

1. WHether they did believe with their hearts, that the assertions of *Luther*, which are impugned by the Bishop of *Rochester* were justly and godly condemned; and that *Luther*, with his adherents, was a wicked and detestable Heretick.

Constitutions.

2. Whether they did believe that the General Councils and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, once received, and not abrogate again, ought to be observed of all Men, even for Conscience sake, and not only for fear.

3. Whether they did believe that the Popes Laws were profitable and necessary to the preferment of godliness, not repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogate, but to be reverenced of all Men.

The Church

4. Whether they did believe that the Catholick Church may err in the Faith or no: and whether they think that Catholick Church to be a sensible Church, which may be demonstrate and pointed out as it were with a Finger; or that it is only a Spiritual Church, intelligible, and known only to God.

Images.

5. Whether they think that the Images of Saints are Christianly set in the Churches, and ought to be worshipped of all True Christians.

Whether Souls be already judged.

6. Whether that a Man may believe, without hurt to his Faith, or none of Heresie, the Souls of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of our Lady, either to be or not to be in Heaven; and that there is yet no Judgment given upon the Souls departed.

7. Whether that a Man may believe, without spot of Heresie, that our Lady remained not always a Virgin.

Breaking of Fasting days sin.

8. Whether Holy-days and Fasting-days, ordained and received by the Church, may be broken by any private Man, at his will and pleasure, without sin or obliquacy.

9. Whether we are bound to be obedient unto Prelates, Bishops, and Kings, by Gods Commandment, as we are unto our Parents.

10. Whether they believe that the Church doth well and godly in praying to the Saints.

Christ not only to be prayed to.

11. Whether they think that Christ only should be prayed unto, and that it is no Heresie, if any Man affirm that Saints should not be prayed unto.

12. Whether they do think all true Christians to be by like right Priests, and all those to have received the Keys of binding and loosing at the hands of Christ, which have obtained the Spirit of God, and only such, whether they be Lay-men or Priests.

13. Whether they believe with their hearts, that Faith may be without Works and Charity.

Prayer in a learned Tongue.

14. Whether they believe, that it is more agreeable to the Faith, that the people should pray in their own Tongue, than in a learned unknown Tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange Tongue or no.

15. Whether they would have the Masses and Gospels openly to be read in Churches in the vulgar Tongue rather than in the *Latin* Tongue.

16. Whether they commend that Children should only be taught the Lords Prayer, and not the Salutation of the Virgin, or Creed.

Beads.

17. Whether they do think the wooden Beads, which the common people doth use, worthy to be denied or not.

18. Whether they do think the whole Scripture ought to be translated into *English*, or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read.

Organs.

19. Whether they would have the Organs and all manner of Songs to be put out of the Church of God.

20. Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the Bishops to punish any Man with Bonds or Imprisonment, or that they have any Temporal Power and Authority.

21. Whether they think that Constitutioon to be godly, That no Man should preach in another Mans Diocese without Letters of Commendation and License obtained of the Bishop.

Purgatory.

22. Whether they think the Vows of Religious Men, and private Religion, to be constitute and ordained by the Spirit of God, neither by any means to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life.

23. Whether they believe that we should pray for the dead, or believe that there is a Purgatory, or that we are bound, by necessity of Faith, to believe neither of them: but that it is free without sin, either to believe it, or not to believe it.

Philosophy.

24. Whether they believe that moral Philosophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the expolition and defence of the Truth.

25. Whether they think that the Popes Indulgences and Pardons are rather to be rejected than received.

26. Whether it be contrary to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, that Christians should by any means contend in the Law, to seek any manner of Restitution.

27. Whether they believe all things pertaining to Salvation and Damnation to come of necessity, and nothing to be in our own wills.

28. Whether they believe God to be the Author of all evil, as well of the fault, as of the punishment.

Mass.

29. Whether they think Mass only to be profitable to him which saith it, and whether every Man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the Mass without any hurt of Faith.

30. Whether they believe that there can be any moral vertues without the grace of Christian living; or that the vertues, which *Aristotle* hath set out, are rather fained.

31. Whether they think it Heresie to teach the people, that it is free to give Riches unto Priests, or to any other poor Man.

Images.

32. Whether they do think it more Christian-like to take away the Images out of the Churches, or to permit them there to adore them and honour them.

Relicks.

33. Whether they think it the part of a Christian-man, that preachers should exhort Men to Pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of Relicks.

34. Whether that then *Thomas Bilney*, being cited upon Heresie to appear before my Lord Cardinal, and before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon those points that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in divers Churches of the City and Diocese of *London*, without sufficient License from the Bishop, or any other.

¶ Concerning the Answers unto these Articles (gentle Reader) forsomuch as in the most part of them, *Bilney* with *Arthur* seemed to consent and agree (although not fully and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying) yet because he did not expresly deny them, it shall not be needful here to recite them all, save only such wherein he seemed to differ from them.

¶ To the first and second Articles he answered affirmatively.

Answers to the Interrogatories aforesaid.

To the third he said, I belive that many of the Popes Laws are profitable and necessary, and do prevail unto godliness, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any means are to abrogate, but of all Men to be observed and reverenced. But touching all those Laws I cannot determin: for, as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also; and as for those that I have read, I did never read them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but, according to my power, to learn and understand them. And as touching the multitude of Laws, St. *Augustine* in his time did much complain, and *Gerson* also, who marvelled, that he could by any means live in safety amongst so many snares of Constitutions, when as our fore-Fathers, being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept.

Against the multitude of Laws.

To the fourth Article he said, That the Catholick Church can by no means err in Faith, for it is the whole Congregation of the Elect, and so known only unto God. which knoweth who are his: otherwise no Man should be ascertained of another Mans Salvation, or of his own, but only through Faith and Hope. For it is written,

The True Church cannot err in Faith.

No

Eccles. 5. *No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love.*

It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things, that are to be believed and done: for I may truly say of the General Counsel being congregate in the Holy Ghost: Behold here the Catholick Church, denominating the whole by the most worthy part.

To the fifth Article he answered affirmatively in these words: *Cum sint libri Laicorum, adorare oportet, at non Imaginem.* See *Prototypon.*

To the sixth Article he answered, That he did not believe that they are in Heaven, being so taught by the Scriptures, and Holy Fathers of the Church.

To the seventh Article he said, That it is not to be thought contrary,

To the eighth Article, Whether a Man may not observe the Feasts and Fasts of the Church prescribed; He thought that there is no Man but he ought to observe them.

To the ninth Article he said, That we are likewise bound as unto Parents.

To the fourteenth Article he answered thus: The fourteenth Chapter of St. *Paul* in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians* moveth me to believe, that it is best that the people should have the Lords Prayer, and the Apostles Creed in *English*, to that their Devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof, and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the Articles of their Faith: of the which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard many say, That they never heard speak of the Resurrection of the Body, and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and ready unto goodness, and more fearful to do evil.

Scripture to be in English. 1 Cor. 14

To the fifteenth Article he said, he would wish that the Gospels and Epistles should be read in *English*, *For I would* (saith *Paul*) *rather have five words*, &c. *That the Church might be edified*, &c. And *Chrysostom* exhorteth his hearers to look upon Books, that they might the better commit unto memory those things which they had heard. And St. *Bede* did translate St. *John's* Gospel into *English*.

St John's Gospel translated into English by Bede.

Touching the eighteenth Article, for the translation of the Scripture into *English*, concerning the whole, he did partly doubt. Notwithstanding he wished that the Gospels and Epistles of the day might be read in *English*, that the people might be made the more apt to hear Sermons. But here some will say, there might also be danger for error. Whereunto he answered, But good and vigilant Pastors might easily help that matter, by adding the plain interpretation of the Fathers in the Margents in *English*, upon the dark and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. O how great profit of Souls should the vigilant Pastors get thereby, which contrariwise through their slothfulness bring great ruin and decay.

The Popes Pardons injurious to Christs Passion.

To the five and twentieth Article, as touching Pardons, he said, That as they be used, and have too long been, it were better that they should be restrained, than that they should be any longer used as they have been, to the injury of Christs Passion.

Touching the six and twentieth Article, he said, That it is not against the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles to contend in the Law, so it be done with Charity, if St. *Augustine*, and the reverend Father *Marcus Marulus* did not err, which granted that liberty to the weak Christians: albeit the true Christians ought to give ear unto St. *Paul's* saying, *Why do ye not rather suffer injury?* And to

Have Christians may go to the Law.

1 Cor. 6. Christ himself, which saith, *He that would contend with thee in the Law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloke also.*

Touching the eight and twentieth, he answered, That God is the Author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as *Basilius Magnus* teacheth in his Sermon upon

Amos 3. these words of the Prophet; *Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit dominus.* And St. *Augustine* in another place (as I remember) prayeth, *That he be not led into that temptation, that he should believe God to be the Author of sin and wickedness.*

KING Hen. 8.

Here ensueth a brief Summary or Collection of certain Depositions, deposed by the several Witnesses afore-named, upon certain Interrogatories, Ministred unto them, for the enquiry of Master Bilney's *Doctrine and Preaching.*

Depositions against Mr. Bilney.

First it was Deposed, That in his Sermon in Christs Church in *Ipswich*, he should preach and say, Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: What should we need then to seek to any Saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such Petitions, and blaspheme our Saviour.

That Man is so unperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds.

Heresie in the Popes Church to confess only to be our Mediator.

Also, that the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and declared by the Prophets: But *John Baptist*, being more than a Prophet, did not only prophesie, but with his Finger shewed him, saying, *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi.* Then if this were the very Lamb, which *John* did demonstrate, that taketh away the sins of the World, what injury is it to our Saviour Christ; that to be buried in St. *Francis* Cowle should remit four parts of Penance; what is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the World? This I will justifie to be a great Blasphemy to the Blood of Christ.

John 1.

St. Francis Cowle remitteth four parts of Penance: What remaineth then for Christ to remit? against Pilgrimage.

Also, that it was a great folly to go on Pilgrimage, and that preachers in times past have been Antichrists; and now it hath pleased God somewhat to shew forth their fallhood and errors.

Against blind miracles.

Also, that the miracles done at *Walsingham*, at *Canterbury*, and there in *Ipswich*, were done by the Devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the Pope hath not the Keys that *Peter* had, except he follow *Peter* in his living.

Moreover, it was Depofed against him, That he was notoriously suspected as an Heretick, and twice pulled out of the Pulpit in the Diocess of *Norwich*.

Also it was Deposed against him, That he should in the Parish-Church of *Willesdon* exhort the people to put away their gods of Silver and Gold, and leave their Offerings unto them; for that such things as they offered have been known oftentime afterward to have been given to Whores of the Stews. Also that *Jews* and *Saracens* would have become Christian-men long ago, had it not been for the Idolatry of Christian-men, in offering of Candles, Wax, and Mony to Stocks and Stones.

The Idolatry of the Papists is a let to the Jews and Turks, why they are not converted.

Over and besides these cavilling matters, articulated, and deposed against him, here follow certain other Articles whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his Sermon which he preached in the Parish-Church of St. *Magnes*, in *Whitson* week, in the year of our Lord, 1527.

◖ *Certain other Articles produced against Master* Thomas Bilney.

Articles.

First he said, Pray you only to God, and not to Saints, rehearsing the *Litany*; and when he came to *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, he said, Stay there.

He said, that Christian-men ought to worship God only, and not Saints.

He said, that Christian people should set up no Lights before the Images of Saints: for Saints in Heaven need no Light, and the Images have no eyes to see.

He said, as *Ezekias* destroyed the Brazen Serpent that *Moses* made by the commandment of God; even so should Kings and Princes now adays destroy and burn the Images of Saints set up in Churches.

But fifty good Popes since Christ.

These five hundred years there hath been no good Pope, nor in all the times past we can find but fifty; for they have neither preached, nor lived well, or conformably to their Dignity. Wherefore till now they have born the Keys of Symony. Against whom, good people, we muft preach and teach unto you. For we cannot come to them; it

KING Hen. 8. is it great pitty: they have fore slandered the Blood of Christ.

The people have used foolishly of late Pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

Many have made certain Vows, which be not possible for them to fulfil, and those nothing meritorious.

The Preachers before this have been Antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ to shew their false Errors, and to teach another way and manner of the Holy Gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your Souls.

The Profession of Bilney.

I trust that there shall and will come other besides me, which shall shew and preach to you, the same Faith and manner of living that I do shew and preach to you, which is the very True Gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the Holy Fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their Errors, wherein you have been long seduced: for before this these have been many that have slandered you, and the Gospel of our Saviour Christ, of whom spake our Saviour, *Matth.* 18. *Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis qui in me credit*, &c.

These and many other such like Depositions were Deposed against him by the Deponents and Witnesses before Sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious: wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we will return again to the order of his Examination, we think it good here to infer a certain Dialogue containing a communication between

A Dialogue

a Frier named *John Brufierd*, and Master *Thomas Bilney*, which we have thought meet for this place, because it was done in *Ipswich*, and also about the time of these Examinations: the Copy whereof we have written with the Friers own hand in *Latin*, the Copy whereof in *English* here insueth.

◖ *A Dialogue between Frier* John Brufierd *and Master* Thomas Bilney, *in* Ipswich, *concerning worshipping of Images.*

Brufierd.

A Dialogue between Bilney and Frier Brufierd.

Although you have blaspheamed most pernicioufly the immaculate Flock of Christ with certain blasphemies of yours, yet being moved partly with our gentle Petitions, partly pitying your case and towardly disposition, I am come hither to talk with you secretely, before the rumour be disclosed, upon the consideration of the threefold Errors which I see in you.

First, For that when you began to shoot the Dart of your pestiferous Error, more vehemently than you ought, against the Breast of the ignorant multitude, you seem to pour upon the Ground the precious Blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the Saints do make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilloufly blaspheamed the efficacy of the whole Church, consecrated with the precious Blood of Christ. Which thing you are not able to deny, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth knock at the Gates of Heaven, through the continual intercession of the Saints, according as in the sevenfold *Litany* manifestly appeareth to be seen.

A great blasphemy among the Friers to set up Christ only to be our Mediator.

One Mediator and no more.

Bilney. I marvel at you, and doubtless cannot marvel enough, but that the strong and vain custom of superstitious Men, thinking themselves not to be heard but in much babling, doth put an end to my admiration. For our Heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, *There is one Mediator of God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus.* If then there be but one Mediator of God and Men, the Man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed Lady? Where is then St. *Peter* and other Saints?

Brufierd. I suppose that no Man is ignorant, but that the Divines of the Primitive Church have all affirmed to be one Mediator between God and Men. Neither could any at any time praise or pray to the Saints, when as yet they living in the calamities of this body, and wrestling with the contrary winds of this World, were not yet come to the Port of rest whereunto they were travelling. *Paul* (I grant) did rightly affirm to be but one Mediator of God and Men, what time as yet there was no Saint Canonized or put into the *Kalender*. But now seeing the Church doth know, and doth certainly believe, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other Saints are placed in the bosom of *Abraham*, therefore like a good Mother hath taught, and that most diligently, us her Children, to praise the Omnipotent Jesus in his Saints; and also to offer up by the same Saints our Petitions unto God. Thereof it is that the *Psalmist* saith: *Praise ye the Lord in his Saints.* Rightly also do we say and affirm, That Saints may pray for us. One Man may pray for another; *Ergo*, much more may Saints that do enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, *God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayer always for you*, &c.

The Popes Kalender, maketh one Mediatore more than the Primitive Church.

Note this Argument. We muft praise God in his Saints. Rom. 1.

Bilney. I marvel doubtless, that you a Man learned are not yet delivered out of the confuse Dungeon of Heresie through the help of the Holy Gospel: especially seeing that in the same Gospel it is written, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my Name, he will give it unto you.*

John 16;

He saith not, whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, or other Saints, but in my Name. Let us ask therefore help in the Name of him, which is able to obtain for us of his Father whatsoever we ask, left peradventure hereafter in the end of the World, at the strait judgment, we shall hear, *Hitherto in my Name ye have asked nothing.*

In nimine meo.

Brufierd. Where ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I being a learned Man (as you say) am not delivered yet from the confuse dungeon of Heresie through the help of the Gospel: much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish admiration. Neither can I chuse but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third Heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which be done here in the lower parts of terrene Philosophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it for a Man to look so long upon the Sun, that he can see nothing else but the Sun, nor cannot tell whether to turn him? Moreover, what Student is there in all *Cambridge*, be he never so young, that knoweth not, that the argument of Authority, brought out negatively, hath no force?

Argumentum ab auctoritate negativè.

Bilney. So as the *Pharisees* took Christ, you take my words, much otherwise than I meant.

Brufierd. Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell.

Bilney. Such as invocate the help either of Christ, or of any other Saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the same, may be well resembled to delicate Patients, who being under the hand of Phylitians, and having Medicines minifired against their Diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, rap all asunder: wherefore I say, no Man ought to implore the help of God, or of any Saint * for corporal infirmity.

Praying for taking away Temporal infirmities.

* He meaneth absolutely without condition.

Brufierd. O most pernicious and perillous Heresie of all that ever I have heard! Thus you flying the smoke, fall into the Fire, and, avoiding the danger of *Scilla*, you run upon *Charibdis*. O heart of Man wrapped in palpable darkness. I wish, Master *Bilney*, that you would but once search and set out the first Origin of these *Rogation* days: For so we read in the Church-Story, that they were first Ordained by Pope *Gregory*, with Fasting, Prayers, and Holy Processions, against the Pestilence, by the infection of the air then reigning among the people. At what time the people then going in the Procession, a certain Image like to our Blessed Lady, painted with the hands of St. *Luke* the *Evangelist*, did go before them, about the which Image, in the honour of the Virgin, Angels did sing this Anthemn: *Regina Cæli lætare*, &c. O Queen of Heaven be glad. To the which Anthem, the Pope also adjoyned this, *Ora pro nobis Dominum*, &c. Pray to the Lord for us. Wherefore, seeing the Angels did worship the Image of the glorious Virgin *Mary*; in the honour of her; and seeing moreover the Holy Father Pope *Gregory*; with all the Clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the Saints, and also to give

Scala and Charibdis, otherwise called, The Legend of lies.

Rogation days.

The Popes Letany & Rome.

honour

honour in a manner to their Images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all Saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say the like for us, which is said in the Gospel, *Send them away, because they cry after us.* And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alledged out of the Holy Scripture, wherewith we might easily resist this our Error: yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second pestiferous Error, wherein you, like an ingrate Child, go about to tear out the Bowels of your Mother. For in that you say and affirm blasphemously, The Bishop of *Rome* to be the very Antichrist, and that his priviledges have no force against the Gates of Hell: in so saying, what do you but like a most unkind and unnatural Child, spoil your loving Mother of all her Treasures, and wound her being spoiled, and being wounded pluck out her Bowels most miserably upon the Earth? But forsomuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so Heretical, but shall be received of some itching Ears: I would therefore now hear you declare, how he fitteth in the Temple of God, as God, being exalted and worthipped above all that is named God, or how he sheweth himself as Lord in power and signs, and wonders deceitful.

Scripture well applyed.

Whether the Pope be Antichrist.

Bilney. Although incredulity doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to understand these things, yet I will go about something to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord; beseeching you, that setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the Table of the Ten Commandments?

Brusierd. According as the Catholick Doctors do expound them, I know them meanly: But how you do expound them, I cannot tell.

Bilney. And do you know also the Constitutions of Men, which are devised only by the Dreams of Men: whereunto Men are so straitly bound, that under pain of death they are compelled to observe them?

2 Thes. 2. 1 Cor. 3. The place of St *Paul* expounded concerning Antichrist sit ting in the Temple of God, &c. Signs and Miracles wrought by Illusion. Apoc. 20

Brusierd. I know certain Sanctions of the holy Fathers, but such as you speak of to be devised by Mens dreams, I know none.

Bilney. Now then let us set and compare these two together, and so shall you easily understand the Bishop of *Rome*, whom they call the Pope, to sit in the Temple of God, as God, and to be extolled above all that is Named God. It is written, *The Temple of the Lord is holy, which is you.* Therefore the Conscience of Man is the Temple of the Holy Ghost: in which Temple, I will prove the Pope to sit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God. For whoso condemneth the Decalogue, or the Table of the Commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him, neither is that punishment to death, but contrariwise, he that shall contemn or violate the Constitutions, which you call the Sanctions of Men, is counted by all Mens judgment guilty of death. What is this, but the high Bishop of *Rome* to sit and reign in the Temple of God; that is, in Mans Conscience, as God?

* We read of a like saying of another Prince *Augustus* of *Armenie*, for which he was fed by *Erasmus* in his Epistles, who, openly in the Pulpit at *Ausburge* so derogated to the people, willed that *Luther* were there, that he might bite out his Throat with his Teeth. So doing he would no thing doubt with the same bloody Teeth to refort to the Altar, and receive the Body of Christ. *Ex Sa-ropij lib. 16. de Ecclesiastic.*

Brusierd. Although this exposition seemeth unworthy for Christian Ears, yet I would hear you further how he sheweth himself in signs and wonders deceitful.

Bilney. These wonders (which they call Miracles) be wrought daily in the Church, not by the Power of God, as many think, but by the illusion of Satan: rather, who (as the Scripture witnesseth) hath been loose now abroad Five hundred years, according as it is written in the Book of the *Apocalypse*, *After a thousand years Satan shall be set loose*, &c. Neither are they to be called Miracles of true Christian-men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude Mens minds, to make them put their Faith in our Lady, and in other Saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever.

Brusierd. *But that I believe and know that God and all his Saints will take everlasting revengement upon thee, I would surely with these Nails of mine be thy death, for this horrible and enorm injury against the precious Blood of Christ. God saith, *I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live.* And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay privy snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espy them. Which if it were true, we might well say with *Hugh de Saint Victore* in this manner: If it be an Error, it is of thee (O God) that we are deceived; for these be confirmed with such signs and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is untrue and heretical: and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of Saints. For once I remember, in a certain Sermon of yours you said, That no Saint, though his suffering were never so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life. Which is contrary to St. *Augustine*.

KING Hen. 8. Bilney converted the third time.

Bilney witnesses refused.

Bilney. Christ saith one thing, St. *Austine* another; Whether of these two shall we believe? For Christ willing to deliver us out of this dark Dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of Ten Virgins, of which five were Fools, and five were Wise. By the five foolish Virgins, wanting the Oil of good works, he meant us all sinners. By the wise Virgins he meant the company of all Holy Saints. Now let us hear what the five wise Virgins answered to the five foolish, craving Oil of them; *No (say they) lest peradventure we have not sufficient for us, and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buy of them to serve your turn.*

Mat. 25. Saints have not merits sufficient for themselves, much less to save to others.

Wherefore if they had not Oil sufficient for themselves and also for the other, where then be the merits of Saints wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us? certes I cannot see.

Brusierd. You wrest the Scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine Eyes from tears, hearing with mine Ears these words of you. Fare ye well.

¶ *The submission of Master* Thomas Bilney.

KING Hen. 8. God heareth not into Error, but hath left his Scriptures to lead us into Truth.

Bilney converted the second time before Bishop of London.

THE fourth day of *December*, the Bishop of *London*, with the other Bishops his assistants, assembled again in the *Chapter-house* of *Westminster*; whither also Master *Bilney* was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant. Who answered, That he would stand to his Conscience. Then the Bishop of *London*, with the other Bishops, *Ex Officio*, did publish the Depositions of the Witnesses, with his Articles and Answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the Bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with himself, whether he would return to the Church, and renounce his Opinions, or no, and bade him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himself. Which done, the Bishop asked him again if he would return? Who Answered, *Fiat justitia & judicium in nomine Domini.* And being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other Answer, but, *Fiat justitia*, &c. And, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus & lætemur in ea.* Then the Bishop after deliberation, putting off his Cap, faid, *In nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti*, Amen. *Exurgat Deus & dissipentur inimici ejus:* and making a Cross on his Forehead and his Breast, by the counsel of the other Bishops, he gave sentence against M. *Bilney*, being there present, in this manner:

Bilney through infirmity, rather than by conviction, recanteth.

Bilney denieth to recant. Psalm xviii. *In mynine Domini invocabo eum* &c. *malum.*

M. Bilney injoyned penance.

Ex Regist. Read.

I, by the consent and counsel of my Brethren here present, do pronounce thee *Thomas Bilney*, who hast been accused of divers Articles, to be convict of Heresie; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to morrow.

Bilney converted again before the Bishop. Bilney relapseth again to recant.

The fifth day of *December* the Bishops assembled there again; before whom *Bilney* was brought: whom the Bishop asked if he would yet return to the Unity of the Church, and revoke his Heresies which he had preached. Whereupon *Bilney* answered, That he would not be a slander to the Gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the Church; and that, if the multitude of Witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty Men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him: which Witnesses the Bishop said came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the Law. Then *Bilney* alledging the Story of *Susan* and *Daniel*, the Bishop of *London* still exhorted him to return to the Unity of the Church, and to abjure his Heresies. Like Bishop like Lawn.

Dancaster conferreth with Bilney.

Then the Bishop would not grant him his request, for fear left he should appeal. But at the last the Bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate: that is to say, till *Saturday* at Nine of the clock aforenoon, and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premisses.

The Seventh day of *December*, in the year and place aforesaid, the Bishop of *London* with the other Bishops being assembled, *Bilney* also personally appeared. Whom the Bishop of *London* asked, whether he would now return to the Unity of the Church, and revoke the Errors and Heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by Master *Dancaster* and other his Friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he defired that he might read his abjuration; which the Bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in these premisses, he answered, That he would abjure and submit himself, and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the Bishop: which then did absolve him, and for his penance enjoyned him, That he should abide in prison appointed by the Cardinal, till he were by him released; and moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, bareheaded, with a Fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the Preacher at *Pauls* Cross all the Sermon time.

Ex Regist. *Londin.*

Here forsomuch as mention is made before of five Letters or Epistles, which this good Man wrote to *Cuthbert Tonstal* Bishop of *London*, and the said Bishop delivered unto the Registers, we thought good to insert certain thereof, such as could come to our hands. The Copy of which Letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former Edition to be seen, and read in the same Latin, wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this Book to express the same only in English. Concerning the first Epistle, which containeth the whole Story of his Conversion, and feemeth more effectual in the Latin, than in the English, we have exhibited it in the second Edition, and therefore here have only made mention of the same briefly. The Copy whereof beginneth thus.

KING Hen. 8. Bilney converted the third time.

Bilney refused.

At Afternoon the Bishop of *London* again asked him whether he would return to the Church, and acknowledge his Heresies. *Bilney* answered, That he trusted he was not separate from the Church, and required time and place to bring in witnesses. Which was refused. Then the Bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the Catholick Church. Whereunto he answered, That if they could teach and prove sufficiently, that he was convict, he would yield and submit himself, and desired again to have time and place to bring in again his refused witnesses, and other answer he would give none.

Then the Bishop put Master *Bilney* aside, and took Counsel with his Fellows; and afterward called in Master *Bilney*, and asked him again whether he would abjure. But he would make no other answer than before. Then the Bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the Law: and inquiring again whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired to have time to consult with his Friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked whether he would return, and instantly defired thereunto, or else the Sentence must be read, he required the Bishop to give him licence to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the Heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The Bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with Master *Dancaster*. But *Bilney* required space till the next morrow, to consult with Master *Farmer* and Master *Dancaster*. But the Bishop would not grant him his request, for fear left he should appeal. But at the last the Bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate: that is to say, till *Saturday* at Nine of the clock aforenoon, and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premisses.

Bilney desireth the aforesaid time to recant.

Dancaster conferreth with Bilney.

The Seventh day of *December*, in the year and place aforesaid, the Bishop of *London* with the other Bishops being assembled, *Bilney* also personally appeared. Whom the Bishop of *London* asked, whether he would now return to the Unity of the Church, and revoke the Errors and Heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by Master *Dancaster* and other his Friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he defired that he might read his abjuration; which the Bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in these premisses, he answered, That he would abjure and submit himself, and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the Bishop: which then did absolve him, and for his penance enjoyned him, That he should abide in prison appointed by the Cardinal, till he were by him released; and moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, bareheaded, with a Fagot on his shoulder, and should stand before the Preacher at *Pauls* Cross all the Sermon time.

Ex Regist. *Londin.*

Reverendo in Christo Patri D. Cuth. Tonstallo, Londini Episcopo, T. Bilneus Salutem in Christo, cum omni subjectione tanto Præsuli debitam.

*Hoc nomine, Pater in Christo observande, longe beatiorem me puto, quod ad tuæ Paternitatis examinationem vocari me contigit. Ea enim eruditione ei, ea vitæ integritate (quod omnes fatentur) ut ipsemet non possis (alioqui divinarum in te dotium æstimator non admodum magnificus) quaties tibi succurrit, quanta tibi gratia fecerit Deus in illius laudes non erumpere, ac tecum in corde tacitus exclamare, fecit mihi magna qui potens est, & sanctum nomen ejus. In talem nunc me judicem incidisse gratulor, ac Deo, qui moderatur omnia, gratiam pro virili habeo. Et quanquam (testis est mihi Deus) nullius in omnibus meis concionibus erroris mihi conscius sum, nedum hæreseos aut factionis (quod calumniantur quidam, quæstus sui, quam animarum lucri avidiores) tamen supra modum lætor, divina (haud dubie) benignitate provisum esse, ut ob veritatis testimonium ad Tonstalli tribunal sisterer: qui, si qui alius, optime novit, nunquam desiturus Fames ac Jambres, qui veritati resistant: nunquam defuturos Elimates, qui conentur subvertere vias domini rectas; denique nunquam defuturos Demetrios, * Pythonissas, Balaamos, * Nicolaitas, * Cainos, Ismaeles; qui omnes, cum quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi, avidissime sectentur & quærant, qui fieri potest ut Christum sincere ac simpliciter annunciatum perferant? Nam si populus semel in Christum pro se passum solide ac pure confidere occeperit, ruent mox in vere fidelium pectoribus, quæcunque hactenus pro Christo amplexi sunt. Tunc intelligent non hic aut illic Christum esse, sed regnum Dei in semetipsis esse. Tunc intelligent patrem neque in montibus Samariæ, neque Hierosolymis adorandum esse, sed in omni loco, in spiritu & veritate. Quod si sit, ultum de lucris suis putabunt bestiæ agri, quorum interest impleri illud Ezechielis, 34. Dispersæ sunt oves meæ, eo quod non esset pastor & factæ sunt in devorationem omnium bestiarum agri, & dispersæ sunt. Erraverunt greges mei in cunctis montibus, & in universo colle excelso, super omnem faciem terræ dispersi sunt greges mei, & non erat qui requireret: non erat, inquam, qui requireret. Imo, si quis requirere velit, ac in caulas Christi, unitatem dico fidei, errabundos reducere, mox insurgent nomine Pastores, sed reveral upi, qui non aliud de grege, quam lac, lanam, pellem, quærunt; animas cum suas, tum gregis permittentes diabolo. Insurgunt inquam, ac Demetrii instar exclamant: Hic hæreticus ubique suadet averritique multam turbam, dicens, quod non sunt dii qui manibus sunt.*

Hi sunt, hi (pater colende) sunt, qui, sub prætextu perfequendi hæreticos, ventris sui negotium agunt, inimici crucis Christi. Qui quidvis potius ferre possunt, quam puram Christi pro peccatis nostris crucifixi annuncitationem. Hi sunt, quibus Christus æternam minatur damnationem, cum ait, Væ vobis Scribæ & Pharisæi, Hypocritæ, qui claudisti regnum cælorum ante hominnes: vos enim non intratis, nec introeuntes finitis intrare. Hi sunt, qui, cum ipsi aliunde ascenderunt, alios intrare non sinunt. Quod patet, quia si quis per me, inquit Christus, introierit, salvabitur, & ingredietur & egredietur, & pascua invenient: & hi non invenient pascua (nunquam enim docent) & alios post se trahunt, ut non per Christum, qui solus est ostium per quod ad patrem pervenitur, sed aliunde per opuscula, quæ ovibus, tacito nonnunquam Christo, fudent, propones & injungunt, ad suum potius quæsum, quam animarum salutem spectantes; hoc deteriores, quam illi qui super Christum fundamentum ædificant lignum, fenum, stipulam. Ibi fatentur se Christum sere, sed factis negant. Denique hi sunt medici illi, in quos mulier illa, annis duodecim sanguinis profluvio vexata, omnia sua consumpserat, nec adjumenti quicquam senserat, sed deterius se habebat, donec vix tandem ad Christum venerat: quæ simulatque fimbriam vestimenti ejus in fide tetigerat, sic

Luke 1.

* Elymas; magus. Act. 12. * Pythonisse. Act. 16. * Nicolaites. Apoc. 2.

Exec. 35.

Psalm xcix. *Exaltate Dominum Deum nostrum.*

Mat. 23.

Joh. 10.

1 Cor. 3.

Luke 8.

sic sanabatur, ut ſtatim in corpore id ipſum ſentiret. O imitationem dexteræ excelſi? quam & ego miſer peccator non ſemel ſenſi: qui tamen antea quam ad Chriſtum venire potui, ſic omnia mea inſumpſeram in ignaros medicos, indoctos confeſſionum auditores, ut parum mihi virium (aliquis natura imbecilli) reliquum fuerit, parum pecuniæ, egemi item parum. Indicebant enim mihi jejunia, vigilias, indulgentiarum ac miſſarum empliones, in quibus omnibus (ut nunc intelligo) ſua potius quærebant, quam ſalutem animæ meæ! languentis.

Sed tandem de Jeſu audiebam, nimirum tum, cum novum Teſtamentum primum ab Eraſmo ederetur. Quod cum ab eo Latinis redditum accepi, Latinitate potius quam verbo Dei (quod tunc quidnam eſſet prorſus neſciebam) alectus, emebam, providentia (ſine dubio) Divina, ut nunc interpretor. Incidi prima (ut memini) lectione in hanc (o mihi ſuaviſſimam Pauli ſententiam) 1 ad Timo. 1. Certus ſermo, & dignus, quem modis omnibus amplectamur, quod Chriſtus Jeſus venit in mundum ut peccatores ſalvos faceret, quorum primus ſum ego. Hæc una ſententia, Deo intus in corde meo (quod tunc fieri ignorabam) docente, ſic exhilaravit pectus meum, prius peccatorum conſcientia faucium ac pene deſperabundum, ut mox viſus ſim mihi, neſcio quantam intus tranquillitatem ſentire, adeo quod exultaverunt oſſa humiliata. Poſtea Scriptura cœpit mihi dulcior eſſe melle ac favo: in qua paulatim didici omnes meos conatres, omnia jejunia, omnes vigilias, omnes miſſarum indulgentiarum redemptiones quæ ſine fiducia in Jeſum (qui ſolus ſalvum facit populum ſuum a peccatis ſuis) fierent; didici, inquam, hæc omnia mihi aliud fuiſſe, quam (quod ait Auguſtinus) celerem curſum extra viam; quam periculosa illa ſicilmea, quibus Adam & Eva verenda olim ſua fruſtra tegere conati ſunt: Numquam prius tranquillitas quam promiſſionis Dei de Serpentis capite, per mulieris ſemen Chriſtum, enterendo creditidiſſem: Nec ego prius a peccatorum aculeis ac morſibus ſanari potui, quam a Deo doctus eſſem illam lectionem, de qua loquitur Chriſtus, Johan. 3. Sicut Moſes exaltavit ſerpentem in deſerto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis, ut omnis qui credit in illum non pereat, ſed habeat vitam æternam.

Hanc tandem ſublimem lectionem, quam nullus docere poteſt niſi Deus qui hanc Petro revelavit, ubi pro modulo gratiæ Dei mihi datæ guſtare cepi, vogvi Dominum ut augeret mihi fidem, ac tandem mihi magis optavi, quam ut, ſic veddita mihi lætitia ſalutaris ſui, Pſa. 24. ſpiritu me ſuo utcunque confirmaret, ut virtute nonnulla donatus ex alto, docerem iniquos vias ejus, qua ſunt miſericordia & veritas, ut impii ad ipſum, per me olim impium, converterentur. Quod dum pro viribi cenor apud R. D. Cardinalem, ac tuam Paternitatem, blaſphemator in me (hæc eſt unica mihi in his tribulationibus fiducia) Chriſtus, quam pro viribi doceo, factum nobis a Deo Patre ſapientiam, juſtitiam, ſanctificationem, redemptionem denique & ſatisfactionem. Qui factus eſt pro nobis peccatum, id eſt, hoſtia pro peccato, ut nos efficeremur juſtitia Dei per illum. 2 Cor. 5. *Qui factus eſt* 2 Cor. 5. *pro nobis maledictum, ut nos a maledicto legis redimeret. Et* Galat. 2. *qui non venit ad vocandum Juſtos, ſed peccatores ad pœnitentiam: juſtos in quam quiſe ſanos putant et falſo putant:* Mat. 9. *(Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloria Dei, qua gratis remittit credentibus peccata per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Jeſu: Rom. 3. Omnia nunc genus humanum ſatiatum graviſſime ſuctat in eo qui enter Hieruſalem & Hiericho incidit, in latrones. Ideo pro viribi doceo; ut omnes primum peccata ſua agnoſcant ac damnent, deinde eſuriant* Rom. 3. *ac ſitiant juſtitiam illam, de qua Paulus loquitur,* Rom. 3. *Juſtitia Dei per fidem Jeſu Chriſti in omnes & ſuper omnes qui credunt in eum. Non eſt enim diſtinctio; omnes enim peccaverunt & egent gloria Dei; juſtificantur autem gratis per gratiam ipſius, per redemptionem quæ eſt in Chriſto Jeſu. Quam qui eſurient ac ſitiunt, haud dubie ſic aliquando ſaturabuntur, quod neque eſurient neque ſtitient in æternum.*

Sed quoniam hanc eſuriem ac ſtim extinguere ſolet humanæ juſtitiæ ſaturitas, quam parat potiſſimum epiſcuiorum noſtrorum electitiorum fiducia, qualia ſunt peregrinationes, veniarum redemptiones, cereorum oblationes, electa, a nobis jejunia, & interdum ſuperſtitioſa, denique qualeſcunque (ut vocant) voluntariæ devotiones, contra quæ lequitur Scriptura Dei, Deut. 4. 12. *Non facies quod tibi* {KING Hen. 8.} *rectum videtur, ſed quod ego præcipio tibi, hoc tantum* Deut. 4. 12. *facito, nec addas nec minuens: ideo inquam hujuſmodi opuſculorum mentionem nonnunquam facio; non ea (Deum teſtor) unquam damnans, ſed eorum abuſum reprehendens, legitimumque uſum parvulis manifeſtum faciens, hortans, ne ſic his adhæreant, ut his ſaturati (quod plerique faciunt) Chriſtum faſtidiant. In quo faciuter valeat Paternitas tua. Et hæc omnium ſumma. Si indixeris mihi ut ſingula dilatem, non recuſabo, modo tempus mihi conceſſeris. Nam ſtatim hoc facere non eſt harum, quoad corpus, virium; paratus ſemper, ſic ubi lapſus fuero, meliora doceri.*

Totus tuus,

T. Bilneus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

¶ *To the Reverend Father in Chriſt,* Cuthbert *Biſhop of* London, *Thomas* Bilney *wiſheth health in Chriſt, with all ſubmiſſion due unto ſuch a Prelate.*

IN this behalf (Moſt reverend Father in Chriſt) I thinke my ſelf moſt happy, that it is my chance to be called to examination before your Reverence, for that you are of ſuch wiſdom and learning, of ſuch integrity of life (which all men do confeſs to be in you) that even your ſelf cannot chuſe (if you do not too lightly eſteem Gods gifts in you) as often as you ſhall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but ſtraightways ſecretly in your heart, to his high praiſe ſay, *He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name.* I rejoyce, that I have now happened upon ſuch a Judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, which ruleth all things.

And albeit (God is my witneſs) I know not my ſelf guilty of any error in my Sermons, neither of any Hereſie or Sedition, which divers do ſlander me of, ſeeking rather their own lucre and advantage, than the health of ſouls: Notwithſtanding I do exceedingly rejoyce, that it is foreſeen by Gods divine Providence, That I ſhould be brought before the Tribunal Seat of *Tonſtall*, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting *Jannes* and *Jambres*, which will reſiſt the truth; that there ſhall never be lacking ſome * *Elymas*, which will go about to ſubvert the ſtraight ways of the Lord; and finally, that ſome *Demetrius*, * *Pithoniſſa*, *Balaams*, * *Nicolaites*, *Cains*, and *Iſmaels*, will be always at hand, which will greedily hunt and ſeek after that which pertaineth unto themſelves, and not that which pertaineth to Jeſus Chriſt. How can it then be, that they can ſuffer Chriſt to be truly and ſincerely preached? For if the people begin once wholly in every place to put their confidence in Chriſt, which was for them Crucified, then ſtraightways that which they have hitherto embraced in ſtead of Chriſt, ſhall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful. Then they ſhall underſtand that Chriſt is not in this place, or in that place, but the Kingdom of God to be in themſelves. Then ſhall they plainly ſee, That the Father is not to be worſhipped, neither in the Mount of *Samaria*, neither at *Hieruſalem*, but in all places, in ſpirit and truth. Which thing if it come once to paſs, the beaſts of the field will think all their gain and lucre loſt. In whom the ſaying of *Ezechiel* is fulfilled; *My Sheep are diſperſed becauſe they had no Shepherd, and are devoured of the beaſt of the field, and ſtrayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandred in every mountain, and upon every high hill, and is diſperſed throughout all the earth, and there is no man which hath ſought to gather them together: no, there was no man which ſought after them:* But if any Man would ſeek to reduce thoſe which were gone aſtray into the Fold of Chriſt, that is, the unity of Faiths by and by there riſe up certain againſt him, which are named Paſtors, but indeed are Wolves, which ſeek no other thing of their Flock, but the Milk, Wooll, and Fell, leaving both their own ſouls, and the ſouls of their Flock, unto the Divel.

Jannes and *Jambres* were two of *Pharaos* Prieſts which reſiſted Moſes; but their names be not expreſſed in the ſeventh Chapter of *Exodus*, but only in 2 *Timothy*. Good never baſtded a Church, but the Divel hath his Chappel by. * *Elymas* magus. *Act.* 13. * *Pithoniſſa*. *Act.* 16. * *Nicolaites* or *Nicolaus*. *Apoc.* 2. *Ezec.* 34.

Theſe

{KING Hen. 8} *Demetrius the ſilver-Smith cryed out againſt Paul, Act.* 9. Pretended Prieſts and Prelates, under colour of perſecuting Hereticks, crucified Chriſt, and tread down his truth.

Theſe Men, I ſay, riſe up like unto *Demetrius*, crying out, This Heretick diſſwadeth and ſeduceth much people every where, ſaying; *That they are not Gods which are made with hands.* Theſe are they, theſe I ſay (Moſt reverend Father) are they, which under the pretence of perſecuting Hereticks, follow their own licentious life; enemies unto the Croſs of Chriſt; which can ſuffer and bear any thing rather than the ſincere Preaching of Chriſt Crucified for our ſins. Theſe are they unto whom Chriſt threateth eternal Damnation, where he ſaith, *Woe be unto you Scribes, Phariſees, and Hypocrites, which ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven before Men, and you your ſelves enter not in, neither ſuffer thoſe which would enter, to come in.* Theſe are they which have come in another way to the charge of ſouls, as it appeareth; *For if any Man* (ſaith Chriſt) *come in by me, he ſhall be ſaved, and ſhall come in, and go out, and find Paſture.* Theſe Men do not find Paſture, for they never teach, and draw others after them, that they ſhould not enter by Chriſt, which alone is the door whereby we muſt come unto the Father; but ſet before the people an other way, perſwading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes ſpeaking nothing at all of Chriſt, thereby ſeeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the ſalvation of ſouls. In this point being worſe than they which upon Chriſt (being the foundation) do build Wood, Hay and Straw. Theſe Men confeſs that they know Chriſt, but by their deeds they deny him.

Job. 10. A wrong way to come to God by good works.

Falſe Prieſts and Prelates compared to the Phyſicians upon whom the woman with the bloody flix ſpent all her goods, and was not helped. Bilney here ſpeaketh by his own experience.

Theſe are thoſe Phyſicians upon whom that Woman which was Twelve years vexed with the bloody flix, had conſumed all that ſhe had, and felt no help, but was ſtill worſe and worſe, until ſuch time as at the laſt ſhe came unto Chriſt; and after ſhe had once touched the hem of his Veſture, through Faith, ſhe was ſo healed, that by and by ſhe felt the ſame in her body. O mighty Power of the moſt Higheſt; which I alſo miſerable ſinner have often taſted and felt. Which before that I could come unto Chriſt, had even likewiſe ſpent all that I had upon thoſe ignorant Phyſicians, that is to ſay, unlearned hearers of confeſſion, ſo that there was but ſmall force of ſtrength left in me, (which of nature was but weak) ſmall ſtore of Money, and very little wit or underſtanding. For they appointed me faſtings, watching, buying of Pardons, and Maſſes; in all which things (as I now underſtand) they fought rather their own gain, than the ſalvation of my ſick and languiſhing ſoul.

The firſt concoction of Mr. Bilney by reading the *New Teſtament* firſt out by *Eraſmus*.

But at the laſt I heard ſpeak of Jeſus, even then when the *New Teſtament* was firſt ſet forth by *Eraſmus*. Which when I underſtood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latin than for the Word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant) I bought it even by the Providence of God, as I do now well underſtand and perceive: And at the firſt reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this ſentence of Saint *Paul* (O moſt ſweet and comfortable ſentence to my ſoul!) in his firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, and firſt Chapter; *It is a true ſaying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſave ſinners, of whom I am the chief and principal.* This one ſentence, through Gods inſtruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did ſo exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my ſins, and being almoſt in deſpair, that immediately I felt a marvelous comfort and quietneſs, inſomuch *that my braiſed Bones leapt for joy.*

1 Tim. 1.

Divina Bilnei converſio.

Pſal. 50.

After this, the Scripture began to be more pleaſant unto me than the honey or the honey Comb. Wherein I learned, that all my travel, all my faſting and watching, all the redemption of Maſſes and Pardons, being done without truth in Chriſt, which only ſaveth his people from their ſins; theſe, I ſay, I learned to be nothing elſe but even (as Saint *Auguſtine* ſaith) a haſty and ſwift running out of the right way, or elſe much like to the Veſture made of Fig-leaves, wherewithal *Adam* and *Eve* went about in vain to cover their privities; and could never before obtain quietneſs and reſt, until they believed in the promiſe of God, that Chriſt, the Seed of the Woman, ſhould tread upon the Serpents head. Neither could I be releived or eaſed of the ſharp ſtings and bitings of my ſins, before I was taught of God that Leſſon which Chriſt ſpeaketh of in the third Chapter of *John*: *Even as* Moſes *exalted the Serpent in the Deſert, ſo ſhall the Son of Man be exalted, that all which believe on him, ſhould not periſh, but have life everlaſting.*

All this travaile of man without Chriſt, are but as tally turning out of the right way.

M. Bilney looking up to the braſen Serpent.

As ſoon as (according to the meaſure of grace given unto me of God) I began to taſte and ſavor of this heavenly Leſſon, which no Man can teach but only God, which revealed the ſame unto *Peter*; I defired the Lord to increaſe my Faith: and at laſt I defired nothing more, than that I, being ſo comforted by him, might be ſtrengthened by his holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which ſometime was alſo wicked. Which thing, whileſt that with all my Power I did endeavour before my Lord Cardinal and your Fatherhood, Chriſt was blaſphemed in me (and this is my only comfort in theſe my afflictions) whom with my whole power I do teach and ſet forth, *being made for us by God his Father, our wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption, and finally our ſatisfaction. Who was made ſin for us* (that is to ſay, a ſacrifice for ſin) *that we through him ſhould be made the righteouſneſs of God. Who became accurſed for us, to redeem us from the Curſe of the Law. Who alſo came not to call the righteous, but ſinners to repentance.* The righteous (I ſay) which falſly judge and think themſelves ſo to be, *(for all Men have ſinned, and lack the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveth ſins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Chriſt Jeſus)* becauſe that all mankind was grievouſly wounded in him which fell amonſt Thieves between *Hieruſalem* and *Jericho.*

The vertue of the Lord be mercy and truth.

1 Cor. 1.

2 Cor. 5.

Gal. 2.

Mat. 9.

Rom. 3.

And therefore with all my whole power I teach, that all Men ſhould firſt acknowledge their ſins, attd condemn them, afterward hunger and thirſt for that righteouſneſs whereof Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, *The righteouſneſs of God, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, is upon all them which believe in him; for there is no difference, all have ſinned, and lack the glory of God, and are juſtified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jeſus Chriſt.* The which whoſoever doth hunger or thirſt for, without doubt they ſhall at the length to be ſatisfied, that they ſhall not hunger and thurſt for ever.

The ſum of M. Bilneys teaching.

Rom. 3.

But forſomuch as this hunger and thirſt was wont to be quenched with the fulneſs of mans righteouſneſs, which is wrought through the Faith of our own elect and choſen Works, as Pilgrimages, buying of Pardons, offering of Candles, elect and choſen Faſts, and oftentimes ſuperſtitious, and finally all kind of voluntary devotions (as they call them) againſt the which Gods Word ſpeaketh plainly in the fourth of *Deuteronomie*, and in the twelfth, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not do that which ſeemeth good unto thy ſelf, but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminiſhing any thing from it.* Therefore (I ſay) oftentimes have I ſpoken of thoſe Works; not condemning them (as God I take to my witneſs) but reproving their abuſe, making the lawful uſe of them manifeſt even unto Children, exhorting all Men not ſo to cleave unto them, that they being ſatisfied therewith, ſhould loath or wax weary of Chriſt, as many do. In whom I bid your Fatherhood moſt proſperouſly well to fare.

A difference between Mans righteouſneſs, and the righteouſneſs of God. Voluntary devotions ſpoken againſt. *Deut.* 4. 12.

And this is the whole ſum. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuſe to do it, ſo that you will grant me time. For to do it out of hand I am not able for the weakneſs of my body; being ready always, if I have erred in any thing, to be better inſtructed.

¶ *Another Letter or Epiſtle of Maſter* Bilney, *to* Cuthbert Tonſtal, *Biſhop of* London.

Another Letter of M. Bilney.

ALbeit I do not remember, Reverend Father in Chriſt, whether I have either ſpoken or written, That the Goſpel hath not been ſincerely Preached now of long time, which your Lordſhip ſeemeth to have gathered either by ſome Momes and ſiniſter hearers of my Sermons, who (like *Malchus* having their right ear cut off) only bring their left ear to Sermons; or elſe by ſome Words or Writings of mine, which have raſhly paſſed me, rather than upon any intent: yet forſomuch as in this

Malchus hearing of Sermons.

behalf your reverence doth command me, and that of a good mind I truft (for how can I think in *Tonftal* any craft or doublenefs to dwell) I will briefly declare unto you what I have learned of God, through Chriſt, in the Scriptures, and how that the Doctors, even of great name and renown, have not taught the ſame of late in their Sermons; referring, or rather ſubmitting all things unto your fatherly judgment, which is more quick and ſharp than that it can by any means be blinded, and ſo fincere, that it will not in any point ſeek ſlander or diſcord; therefore I do confeſs that I have often been afraid, that Chriſt hath not bee purely preached now a long time. For who hath been now a long ſeaſon offended through him? Who hath now theſe many years ſuffered any perſecution for the Goſpels ſake: Where is the Sword which he came to ſend upon the Earth? And finally, where are the reſt of the ſincere and uncorrupt Fruits of the Goſpel? Which, becauſe we have not a long time ſeen, is it not to be feared, that the Tree which bringeth forth thoſe fruits hath now a long time been wanting in our Region or Country? Much leſs is it to be believed, that it hath been nouriſhed amongſt us. Have we not ſeen all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what ſaith the Church? *My grief muſt bitter is turned to peace, &c.* But the malignant Church ſaith, *Peace peace and there is no peace*, but only that whereof it is written, *When the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he poſſeſſeth all things in quiet.* But when he ſeeth that he ſhall be vanquiſhed of a ſtronger than he himſelf is, he ſpoileth and deſtroyeth all things. What now a days beginneth again to be attempted, I dare not ſay. God grant us grace that we do not refuſe and reject (if it be Chriſt) him that cometh unto us, leſt that we do feel that terrible judgment againſt us: *becauſe (ſaith he) they have not receyved the love of truth, that they might be ſaved; therefore God will ſend upon them the blindneſs of error, that they ſhall give credit unto lies.* O terrible ſentence (which God knoweth whether a great number have not already incurred) *that all they might be judged which have not given credit unto the truth, but conſented unto iniquity. The time ſhall come* (ſaith he) *when that they will not ſuffer the true doctrine to be preached.* And what ſhall we then ſay of that learning, which hath now ſo long time reigned and triumphed, ſo that no man hath once opened his mouth againſt it? Shall we think it found Doctrine? Truly Iniquity did never more abound, nor Charity was never ſo cold. And what ſhould we ſay to be the cauſe thereof? hath the cauſe been for lack of preaching againſt the vices of Men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great Clerks ſufficiently can witneſs to the contrary. And yet all theſe notwithſtanding, we ſee the life and manners of Men do greatly degenerate from true Chriſtianity, and ſeem to cry out indeed, that it is fulfilled in us, which God in times paſt threatned by his Prophet *Amos*, ſaying, *Behold the day ſhall come* (ſaith the Lord) *that I will ſend hunger upon the earth, not hunger of bread, nei-ther thirſt of water, but of hearing the word of God, and the people ſhall be moved from ſea to ſea, and from the Weſt unto the* Eaſt, *and ſhall run about ſeeking for the Word of God, but ſhall not find it. In thoſe dayes the fair Virgins and young Men ſhall periſh for thirſt, &c.* But now to paſs over many things, whereby I am moved to fear the Word of God hath not been purely preached: this is not the leaſt argument, that they which come, and are ſent, and endeavour themſelves to preach Chriſt truly, are evil ſpoken of for his name, which is the rock of offence, and ſtumbling block unto them which ſtumble upon his word, and do not believe on him, on whom, they are builded.

But you will ask, who are thoſe Men, and what is their Doctrine? Truly I ſay, whoſoever entreth in by the door Chriſt into the Sheepfold, which thing all ſuch ſhall do as ſeek nothing but the glory of God, and ſalvation of ſouls. Of all ſuch it may be truly ſaid, that whom the Lord ſendeth, he ſpeaketh the Word of God. And why ſo? Becauſe he repreſenteth the Angel of the Church of *Philadelphia*, unto whom Saint *John* writeth ſaying, *This, ſaith he, which is holy and true, which hath the keys of* David, *which openeth and no man ſhutteth, ſhutteth and no man openeth. Behold*, ſaith he, ſpeaking in the name of Chriſt, (which is the Door and Door-keeper) *I have ſet before thee an open Door*, that is to ſay, of the Scriptures opening thy ſenſes, that thou ſhouldſt underſtand the Scriptures, and that becauſe thou haſt entred in by me which am the Door: *For whoſoever entreth in by me, which am the door ſhall be ſaved, he ſhall go in and come out and find paſture, for the Door-keeper openeth the door unto him, and the ſheep hear his voice:* But contrariwiſe, they which have not entred in by the Door, but have climbed in ſome other way, by ambition, avarice, or deſire of rule, they ſhall even in a moment go down into Hell, except they repent. And of them is the ſaying of *Jeremy* verified, *All beauty is gone away from the Daughter of* Sion, *becauſe her Princes are become like Rams, not finding paſture.* And why ſo? Becauſe like Thieves and Robbers they have climbed up another way, not being called nor ſent.

And what marvel is it, if they do not preach, when as they are not ſent, but run for lucre, ſeeking their own glory, and not the glory of God, and ſalvation of ſouls? And this is the root of all miſchief in the Church, that they are not ſent inwardly of God. For without this inward calling it helpeth nothing before God, to be a hundred times elect and conſecrate by a thouſand Bulls, either by Pope, King, or Emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whoſe judgments are according to truth, howſoever we deceive the judgment of Men for a time: which alſo at the laſt ſhall ſee their abomination. This, I ſay, is the orignal of all miſchief in the Church, that we thruſt in our ſelves into the charge of ſouls, whoſe ſalvation and the glory of God (which is to enter in by the Door) we do not thirſt nor ſeek for, but altogether our own lucre and profit.

Hereupon it cometh, that we know not how to preach Chriſt purely: *For how ſhould they preach Chriſt* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *except they be ſent?* for otherwiſe many Thieves and Robbers do preach him, but with their Lips only, for their heart is far from him. Neither yet do we ſuffer thoſe which do know how to preach, but perſecute them, and go about to oppreſs the Scriptures now ſpringing, under the pretence of godlineſs, fearing, as I ſuppoſe, leſt the *Romans* ſhould come and take ourplace. *Ah! thou wicked enemy* Herod, *why art thou afraid that Chriſt ſhould come: He taketh not away mortal and earthly Kingdoms, which giveth heavenly Kingdoms* O blindneſs! O our great blindneſs! ye, more than that of *Egypt*. Of the which if there be any that would admoniſh the people, by and by faith *Pharaoh*, Moſes and Aaron, *why do ye cauſe the people to ceaſe from their labours? And* truly called their labours. *Get you to your burdens. Lay more work upon them, and cauſe them to do it, that they hearken not unto lies.* Thus the people was diſperſed throughout all the Land of *Egypt*, to gather up Chaff, I ſay to gather up Chaff. Who ſhall grant unto us, that God ſhall ſay, *I have looked down and beholden the affliction of my people which is in* Egypt, *and have heard their ſighs, and am come down to deliver them?* But whether ſuch this zeal carried me? whither after knowledge or not, I dare not ſay: it appertaineth to you, reverend Father, to judge thereupon.

Now you do look that I ſhould ſhew unto you at large (as you write) how that they ought ſincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flock. Here I confeſs, I was afraid that you had ſpoken in ſome derision, until that I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand. Then again I began to doubt, for what intent *Tonſtall* ſhould require that of *Bilney*; an old Souldier, of a young beginner; the chief Paſtor of *London*, of a poor ſilly Sheep. But for what intent ſoever you did it, I truſt it was of a good mind. And albeit that I am weak of body, yet through the grace of Chriſt given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far paſs my power. Under the which burthen if I be oppreſſed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promiſed nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

As touching that pertaineth to the preaching of the Goſpel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might ſpeak freely that which I have learned in the holy Scriptures for the conſolation of

of my conſcience: which if you will do, I truſt you ſhall not repent you. All things ſhall be ſubmitted unto your judgment; *who* (except I be utterly deceived) *will not ſpeak the reed that is bruiſed and put out the flax that is ſmoaking*; but rather if I ſhall be found in any error (as indeed I am a man) you, as ſpiritual, ſhall reſtore me through the ſpirit of gentleneſs, conſidering your ſelf, leſt that you alſo be tempted: *For every Biſhop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to aſſault thoſe which are ignorant, and do err, for he himſelf is compaſſed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, ſhould learn to have compaſſion upon other miſerable people.*

I deſire you that you will remember me to morrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the Tribunal ſeat of my Lord Cardinal; before whom I had rather ſtand than before any of his Deputies.

Yours Tho. Bilney.

A Letter of Maſter Bilney, *fruitful and neceſſary for all Miniſters to read.*

MOſt reverend Father, ſalutations in Chriſt. You have required me to write to you at large, wherein Men have not preached as they ought, and how they ſhould have preached better. This is a burthen too heavy for my ſtrength, under the which if I faint, it belongeth to you, which have laid this burthen upon my ſhoulders, to eaſe me thereof. As touching the firſt part, they have not preached as they ought, which, leaving the Word of God, have taught their own Traditions; of the which fort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report thoſe, which preach the Word of God ſincerely, to teach now Doctrine. This is alſo no ſmall Teſtimony thereof, that in all *England* you ſhall ſcarce find one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures; and what marvel is it if all godly things do ſeem new unto them unto whom the Goſpel is new and ſtrange, being nuſled in Mens traditions now a long time? Would to God theſe things were not true which I utter unto you; but alas they are too true.

They have alſo preached evil, which either have wreſted the Scriptures themſelves, or have raſhly gathered them out of old rotten Papers, being wreſted by others: and how ſhould it be but that they ſhould wreſt them, or elſe how ſhould they judge them, being falſly interpreted by others when as they have not once read over the Bible orderly? Of this ſort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great Rabbins or Maſters ſhall hardly excuſe themſelves; whom the people have hitherto reverenced in ſtead of Gods. And theſe are they which now ſerve their bellies, ſeeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be ſet forth even by *Balaams* Aſs: much leſs then ought we to contemn ſuch abjects which preach the Word of God. *We have* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *this treaſure in brittle Veſſels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us. God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world, to confound the wiſe; and the weak things God hath choſen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and deſpiſed hath he choſen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no fleſh ſhould glory in his ſight.* But now all men in a manner will be wiſe, and therefore they are aſhamed of the ſimple Goſpel, they are aſhamed truly to ſay with *Paul*, and to perform it indeed; *I Brethren, when I came unto you did not come with excellency of words, or of wiſdom, preaching the Teſtimony of Chriſt; for I eſteemed not my ſelf to know any thing amongſt you, but only Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucified.* O the voice of a true Evangeliſt! But now we are aſhamed of this fooliſh preaching, by the which it hath pleaſed God to ſave all thoſe which believe in him: and being puffed up with our own fleſhly mind, we chuſe rather proudly to walk in thoſe things which we have not ſeen, preaching Fables and Lies, and not the Law of God, *which is undefiled converting ſouls.*

But how ſhould they teach the Law of God, which they have not once read in the Book, much leſs learned at the mouth of God? But in a Paſtor and a Biſhop this is required, *Thou ſon of man* (ſaith God) *lay up in thy heart all my words which I do ſpeak unto thee.* And ſhortly after he ſaith: *Thou ſon of man, I have ordained and given thee a watch-man unto the houſe of* Iſrael: *I have given thee*, ſaith he, not coming in by ambition, nor thruſting in thy ſelf, nor climbing in another way, but I gave thee when thou lookedſt not for it, that thou ſhouldſt attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the Watch-tower; if any enemies ſhould approach. I have given thee unto the houſe of *Iſrael*, and not the houſe of *Iſrael* unto thee, that thou ſhouldſt acknowledge thy felt to be the ſervant of the Lord; for I have not given the Sheep for the Sheperd, but the Sheperd for the Sheep. He that ſitteth down is greater than he that doth miniſter and ſerve unto him. Which thing was well known of him which truly ſaid, *We are your ſervants for Chriſt's cauſe.*

But for what purpoſe have I given thee unto the houſe of *Iſrael*? That thou ſhouldſt only miniſter the Sacraments, conſecrate Wood, Stones, and Church-yards? (This, I take God to witneſs, with great ſighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No truly. What then? Firſt followeth the Office of the Biſhop, *Thou ſhalt hear the word out of my mouth.* This is but a ſhort Leſſon, but ſuch as all the World cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

And what elſe meaneth this, *Out of my mouth thou ſhalt hear the word*, but that thou ſhalt be taught of God. Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be never ſo well exerciſed in the Scriptures by Mans help, yet are they not Watch-men given by God, and much leſs they which do not underſtand and know the Scriptures. And therefore ſuch as theſe be, leſt they ſhould keep ſilence, and ſay nothing, are always harping upon the traditions and doctrines of Men, that is, lies: for he that ſpeaketh of himſelf ſpeaketh lies. Of theſe it is written, *They would be Doctors of the Law, not underſtanding what they ſpeak, neither of whom they ſpeak.* Such of neceſſity they muſt all be, who ſpeak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, becauſe they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are perſwaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are not to be accounted as Sheep, although they boaſt themſelves to be Shepherds. But contrariwiſe, touching the true and learned Paſtors, given by God, it may be truly ſaid, *We ſpeak that which we know, and that which we have ſeen* (even with the infallible eies of our faith) *we do witneſs*: and theſe are neither deceived, neither do deceive. Moreover, the deceivers proceed to worſe and worſe, erring themſelves, and bringing others alſo to error, and becauſe they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear him. *They are of the world* (ſaith Saint *John*) *and therefore they ſpeak thoſe things which are of the world, and the world giveth ear unto them.*

Behold Reverend Father, this is the Touchſtone o four daily preaching. Hath not the world given ear unto them now a long time with great pleaſure and delight? But the fleſh could never ſuffer the preaching of the Croſs, nor yet the wiſdom of the fleſh, which is enemy unto God, neither is ſubject unto his Law nor cannot be. And why then are they accuſed to be Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, which will not ſeek to pleaſe Men, but only to their edifying? being mindful of that place of Scripture, *God hath diſperſed the bones of them which pleaſe men, ſaying unto them, Speak unto us pleaſant things.* But now letting theſe matters paſs, we will come unto the ſecond point, wherein you ask how a man ſhould preach better? Forſooth, if we had heard him of whom the Father ſpake, ſaying, *This is my dearly beloved Son in whom I am well pleaſed, hear him. Who alſo ſpeaking of himſelf, ſaid it was meet that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer and riſe again the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached unto all people.* What other thing is that, than the ſame which the other Evangeliſts do write? *Go ye in the whole world and preach the Goſpel unto ever creature: he that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved*, what can be more pleaſant, ſweet, or acceptable unto afflicted conſciences being almoſt in deſpair, than theſe moſt joyful tidings?

But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the Preachers of *England*, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late Preach (I speak even of the most famous) they have preached such Repentance, that if I had heard such Preachers of Repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous men (not uttering his Name) after he had sharply inveighed against Vice (wherein he pleased every godly man, forsomuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon) he concluded, *Behold*, said he, *thou hast lien rotten in thine own lusts, by the space of these sixty years, even as a Beast in his own dung, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forward toward Heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backward from Heaven toward Hell in sixty years? Is not this think you a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of Repentance in the Name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with Antichrist's Doctrine?* For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour, thou must make satisfaction for thy self, or else thou shalt perish eternally. Then doth Saint *John* lye, which saith, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the World.* And in another place, *His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins.* And again, *He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole World.* Besides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of *Peter*, saying, *There shall be false Teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, which hath redeemed them?* And what followeth upon such Doctrine of Devils speaking lyes through Hypocrisie? A Conscience despairing and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of Saint *Paul*, *After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with greedy desire.* For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else think they do not believe him to be so cruel as they do preach and declare him to be. The want of Paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto your self. Whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness) it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your Flock, heartily well to fare.

Your Prisoner and humble Beadman, unto God for you, Tho. Bilney.

THus have you the Letters, the Abjuration, and Articles of *Thomas Bilney*. After which Abjuration made, about the year of our Lord, 1529. the said *Bilney* took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair; as by the words of Master *Latimer* is credibly testified; whose words, for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh Sermon preached before King *Edward*, which he these, *I knew a man my self*, Bilney, *little* Bilney, *that blessed Martyr of God, who what time he had born his fagot, and was come again to* Cambridge, *had such conflicts within himself (beholding this Image of death) that his Friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no Comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a Sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical See of* Rome. *Hæc Latim. Sermon 7.*

Again, the said Master *Latimer*, speaking of *Bilney* in another of his Sermons preached in *Lincolnshire*, hath these words following, *That same Master* Bilney, *which was burnt here in* England *for Gods Word sake, was induced and perswaded by his Friends to bear a fagot at the time when the Cardinal was aloft, and bear the swinge. Now when the same* Bilney *came to* Cambridge *again, a whole year after, he was in such an anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other Communication of Gods Word; for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his Condemnation. So that I many a time communed with him, (for I was familiarly acquainted with him) but all things whatsoever any man could alledge to his comfort seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that afterward he came again; God indued him with such strength and perfectness of Faith, that he not only confessed his Faith in the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his Body to be burned for that same Gospels sake which we now preach in* England, *&c.* Hæc ille Ser. 8. fol.132.

Furthermore in the first Sermon of the said Mr. *Latimer* before the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, *fol.* 5. he yet speaking more of *Bilney*, inferreth as followeth, *Here I have* (said he) *occasion to tell you a story which happened at* Cambridge. *Master* Bilney, *or rather Saint* Bilney, *that suffered death for Gods Words sake, the same* Bilney *was the Instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I conceived by him. I have in the Word of God: For I was as obstinate a* Papist *as any was in* England; *insomuch that when I should be made Bachelor of Divinity, my whole Oration went against* Philip Melanæthon, *and against his Opinions.* Bilney *heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterward in my study, and desired me for Gods sake to hear his Confession. I did so: and (to say the truth) by his Confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the Word of God, and forsake the School-Doctors and such fooleries, &c.* And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master *Latimer*.

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his Abjuration, the space almost of two years; that is, from the year 1529. to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by Gods Grace and good Counsel, came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that Truth which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in *Trinity-Hall*, at Ten of the Clock at night, of certain of his Friends, and said, *That he would go to* Hierusalem, alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospel, going up to *Hierusalem*, what time he was appointed to suffer his Passion. And so *Bilney*, meaning to give over his life for the Testimony of Christs Gospel, told his Friends that he would go up to *Hierusalem*, and so would see them no more: and immediately departed to *Norfolk*, and there preached first privily in Houtholds, to confirm the Brethren and Sisters, and also to confirm the *Anchres* whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the Fields, confessing his Fact, and preaching publickly the Doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly Friends in causes of Religion. And so, setting forward in his Journey toward the Celestial *Hierusalem*, he departed from thence to the *Anchres* in *Norwich*, and there gave her a new Testament of *Tindals* Translation, and the obedience of a Christian man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to Prison, there to remain till the blind Bishop *Nix* sent up for a Writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the Friers and religious men, with the relidue of their Doctors Civil and Canon reforted to him, bstily labouring to perswade him, not to die in those Opinions, saying, *He should be damned Body and Soul if he so continued.* Among whom, first were sent to him of the Bishop, Doctor *Call*, Minister (as they call him) or Provincial of the Gray-Friers: and Doctor *Stokes* an *Augustine-Frier*, who lay with him in prison in Disputation, till the Writ came that he should be burned. Doctor *Call* by the Word of God, through the means of *Bilneys* Doctrine and good Life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the Gospels side. Doctor *Stokes* remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reform, and

and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth. Another great Doer against him was one Frier *Bird* with one eye, Provincial of the White-Friers. This *Bird* was a *Suffragan* in *Coventry*, and after Bishop of *Chester*, and was he that brought Apples to *Bonner* mentioned in the story of *Haukes*. Another was a Black-Frier, called *Hodgekins*, who after being under the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, married, and afterward in Queen *Maries* time put away his Wife. These four Orders of Friers were sent (as is said) to bait *Bilney*: who notwithstanding, as he had planted himself upon the firm Rock of Gods Word, was at a point, and so continued unto the end.

But here now cometh in Sir *Thomas More* trumping in our way, with his painted Card, and would needs take up this *Thomas Bilney* from us, and make him a Convert after his Sect. Thus these coated-Cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him being alive: yet now after his death, by false play they will make him theirs whether he will or no. This Sir *Thomas More*, in his railing Preface before his Book against *Tindal*, doth challenge *Bilney* to his Catholick Church, and saith, That not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his Heresies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as Mill-posts, fet out of *Eutopia*, from whence, thou must know Reader, can come no Fictions, but all fine Poetry.

First he saith, That certain *Norwich*-men writing to *London*, and denying that *Bilney* did recant; afterward being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he at his Examination read a Bill, but what it was they could not tell; for they stood not so near to hear him. And albeit they stood not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken, certain additions of their own, to excuse him from recantation.

First, To answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Master *More*, let us see with what conveyance he proceedeth in his Narration. At his first Examination (saith he) he waxed stiff in his Opinions, but yet God was so good a Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true Catholick Faith, &c. And when might this goodly Conversion begin? Many days (quoth he) before his burning. Here is no certain day affigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk invisible. Well then, but how many days these could be I would fain learn of Master *More*, when he was not many days in their hands, no longer than they could send up to *London* for a Writ to burn him. Belike then shortly after his apprehension, at the first coming of the Friers unto him by and by he revolted. A strange matter, that he which two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his first Abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the same Doctrine again which before he had denied, utterly resigning himself over to death, and taking his leave of his Friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to go to *Hierusalem*, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* for that Doctrine false, should now so soon, even at the first brunt, give over to the contrary Doctrine again. It is not like. *God was so good a Lord unto him*, saith Master *More*. That God was a good Lord unto him, very true it is. But that God did so turn him indeed, to be a Member of that *Romish*-Church, that hath not Master *More* yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of story, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence and special demonstration of Witnesses, that we may certainly know it so to be.

It followeth moreover in Master *More*. *And there lacked not some* (saith he) *that were sorry for it.* No doubt, but if our *Bilney* had so relented, some would have been sorry therefore. But what one man in all this sum, in all *Norwich*, was sorry; that Master *More* must specifie unto us before we believe him: so well are we acquainted with his Poetical Fictions. But how else should this Narration of Master *More* seem to run without probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and saith, *And some wrote out of* Norwich *to* London, *that he had not revoked his Heresies at all, but still did abide in them.* This foundeth rather to come more near to a truth. And here is a knack of *Simons* Art, to enterlard a Tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then among, that some things being found true may win credit to the rest which is utterly false. And why then be not the Letters of these *Norwich*-men believed, for the not recanting of *Bilney? Because*, saith he, *afterward they being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that* Bilney *revoked.* By whom was it proved? By those, saith he, *which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his Revocation himself, &c.* What men were these? or what were their name? or what was any one mans name in all the City of *Norwich*, that heard *Bilney* recant? There Master *More* will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear *Bilney* read his Revocation as well as these? *Because*, saith *More*, *he read so softly, that they could not hear him.*

Well all this admitted, that *Bilney* read his Revocation so softly, that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why *Bilney* read his Revocation so softly? which much needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that Revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted against his own mind and conscience. If it were by imbecility of voice and utterance, then how followeth it Master *More*, in this your Narration, where you say, *That the said persons, which could not hear him read the Bill, yet notwithstanding could hear him rehearse certain other things spoken by him the same time at the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his Errors, &c.* Ah Master *More*, for all your powder of experience, do ye think to caft such a mist before mens eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own Narration? unless peradventure you will excuse your self, *per licentiam Poeticam*, after the Priviledge of *Poets* and *Painters*: for you know the old liberty of these two,

Pictoribus atque Poetis,
Quælibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas.

Now if this vein of yours, which so extreamly raileth and fareth against the poor Martyrs and Servants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe that *Bilney* died a *Papist*, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial Conveyance: *Mendacem enim (ut fer) memorem esse oportet*: that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hangeth with it self, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master *More* is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, left I may seem to incur the fame vice of his *in mordendo mortuos*. Yet forsomuch as his Books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his Book-Disciples, this would I know, how hangeth this gear together: *Bilney* was heard, and yet not heard, he spake softly, and yet not softly? Some said he did recant, some said he did not recant? Over and besides, how will this be answered, that forsomuch as the said *Bilney* (as he saith) revoked many days before his burning, and the same was known to him at *London*, then how chanced the same could not be as well known to them of *Norwich*? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution, then seeing a certain Bill in his hand, which some said was a Bill of his Revocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected and contrained of a great multitude,

The ſecond reaſon of Mr. More.

I paſs now to his ſecond reaſon, where he reporteth, *That the ſaid* Bilney, *forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, kneeled down in the preſence of all the people, and aſked of the Chancellor abſolution from the ſentence of Excommunication, holding him well content with his death, which he confeſſed himſelf to have deſerved, &c.*

Anſwer.

As touching the Patient receiving of his death, I do well aſſent, although I do not think, that he had deſerved any ſuch for his Doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the preſence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny that he might ſo do, ſo I ſuppoſe again the cauſe of his kneeling not to be unto the Chancellor to aſk abſolution from his Excommunication. And if he were abſoiled from his Excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he received, no more than before, when he came to Maſter *Latimer* in his ſtudy, humbly to be confeſſed and abſoiled from his ſins, as the blindneſs of that time then led him. But whether he kneeled down and was abſoiled or no, neither was I there to ſee him, nor yet Maſter *More* himſelf: and therefore with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the ſame, unleſs he brought better demonſtration for his affertion than he doth, having no more for himſelf, but only his own, * ὦντ& ῥῳ. And yet nevertheleſs, admit he did ſo, being a man of a timorous Conſcience, of an humble Spirit, and not fully reſolved touching that matter of the Church, yet it followeth not thereby (as is ſaid) that he revoked his other Articles and Doctrine by him before profeſſed.

* That is, he ſo ſaith.

The third reaſon of Mr. More.

The like anſwer may alſo be ſhaped to his third reaſon, where he ſaith, *That certain days after his Judgment, he made great labour that he might receive the bleſſed Body of Chriſt in form of Bread, which the Chancellor, after a great ſticking a while, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c.* Whereunto I anſwer as before, that it is not unpoſſible, but that *Bilney* might both hear Maſs, and deſire to receive the Sacrament. For in that matter it may be that he was not reſolved otherwiſe, than common cuſtom then led both him any many other. Neither do I find in all the Articles objected againſt *Bilney*, that ever he was charged with any ſuch opinion, concerning either the Maſs or the Sacrament: which maketh me think, that he was yet ignorant, and alſo devout as other then were.

Anſwer.

The fourth reaſon of Mr. More.

And fourthly, be it admitted, as Maſter *More* ſaith, *That in receiving of the Sacrament, he holding up his hands ſhould ſay the Collect*, Domine Jeſu Chriſte: *and coming to theſe words*, Eccleſiæ tuæ pacem & concordiam, *he knocked upon his breaſt, divers times repeating the ſame words, &c.* all this being granted to Maſter *More*, yet it argueth no neceſſary alteration of his former Doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I liſted here to ſtand dallying with Maſter *More* in the ſtate inſicial, and deny that he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he ſaith? He ſaith, *That* Bilney, *kneeling before the Chancellor, deſired abſolution: Then, coming to the Maſs full devoutly, required to receive the Body of Chriſt in form of Bread, repeating divers times the words of the Collect*, Domine Jeſu Chriſte, &c. By what argument proveth he all this to be ſo? Maſter *More* in his *Preface* before the Book againſt *Tindal* ſo ſaith: *Ergo* it is certain. If Maſter *More* had never made Fictions in his Writings beſide, or had never broken the head of verity in ſo many places of his Books as I could ſhew him, then might this argument go for ſomewhat. But here I ask, Was this Maſter *More* preſent at the Judgment of *Bilney*? No. Or elſe, what Regiſters had he for his direction? None. Or elſe, By what Witneſſes will he avouch this to be certain? Go and ſeek theſe Witneſſes (good Reader) where thou canſt find them: for Maſter *More* nameth none. Only becauſe Maſter *More* ſo ſaith, *That is ſufficient.* Well, give this to Maſter *More* (although he hath cracket his credit ſo often, and may almoſt be bankrupt) yet let his word go for payment at this time, and let us imagine all to be Oracles that he ſaith; Yet nevertheleſs here muſt needs remain a ſcruple: for what will Maſter *More*, or (becauſe he is gone) what will his Diſciples ſay to this, that if *Bilney* was before abſoiled upon his Judgment (as they pretend) how was he then afterward degraded? What abſoiling is this, to be firſt forgiven, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they ſurmiſe) converted ſo fully to the Catholique Faith, and alſo abſoiled, why then did the Chancellor ſtick ſo greatly for a while, to houſel him with the Body of Chriſt in form of Bread? I am ſure that if Chriſt had been here Himſelf in form of his own Fleſh, he would nothing have ſtuck to receive him, being ſo converted at the firſt.

State inſicialis in Rhetorick is when one ſtandeth to the denial of the Fact.

An argument of Mores authority.

Mr. Mores credit cracket.

{KING Hen. 8.}

To be ſhort, if *Bilney* was ſo graciouſly reduced to the holy Mother the Catholick-Church, repenting his Errors, and deteſting his Hereſies, and now being in no Purgatory, but being a very Saint in Heaven, as ye ſay he is: why then did you burn him whom ye knew your ſelves ſhould be a Saint? Thus if ye burn both Gods Enemies, and Gods Saints too, what cruel men are you? But here you will alledge perhaps your Law of Relapſe, by the which the firſt fall is pardonable, but the ſecond fall into Hereſie is in no caſe pardonable; for ſo ſtandeth your Law, I grant. But how this Law ſtandeth with the true Church of Chriſt, and with his Word, now let us reaſon. For this being a Law not of politique or civil Government (where ſuch Laws be expedient for publique neceſſity) but only being a Law meer Eccleſiaſtical, what a cruel Mother-Church is this, which will not and cannot forgive her Children, riſing and repenting the ſecond fault or error committed, but needs muſt burn their Bodies, that their Souls may be ſaved from the painful paſſion of Purgatory, whom nevertheleſs they know forthwith ſhall be bleſſed in Heaven? If God do ſave them, why do ye burn them? And if this be the Law of your Church, according to your Doctrine, to burn them at the ſecond time, though they be amended; how then doth this Church agree with the Word of Chriſt, and nature of his true Spouſe, which only ſeeketh repentance and amendment of Sinners? which once being had, the gladly openeth her boſom, and motherly receiveth them whenſoever they return.

The Law of Relapſe. Extravag. de hæret. Juper eo.

Mens conſequence deteſted.

Mores words in his Preface.

Ex Regiſtro London. fol. 8b.

Bilney a-gainſt offerings to Images.

The Popes Lave diſagreeing from the condition of the true Church of Chriſt.

Wherefore, if *Bilney* did return to your Church (as ye ſay he did) then was your Church a cruel Mother, and unnatural, which would not open her boſom unto him, but thruſt him into the fire when he had repented. Furthermore, how will you defend this Law by the Word of God, who in expreſs words teaching all Biſhops and Paſtors, by the example of Chriſt the great Biſhop of our Souls (being compaſſed about with temptations, that he might have the more compaſſion of them which be infirm) exhorted all other Spiritual Perſons by the like example, ſaying, (*Hebrews* the fifth) *For every Biſhop Heb. 5. which is taken from among men is ordained for men, in things pertaining to God, to offer Gifts and Sacrifice for Sins, that He may be merciful to the Ignorant, and to ſuch as err, forſomuch as he himſelf is compaſſed about with infirmity, &c.* Beſides which Scripture, and alſo, that ſome Doctors of the Common Law, if they be well ſcanned, will not deny, but that they which be fallen in relapſe, whether it be were, or ſicte, yet if they earneſtly return from their errors before the Sentence be given, they may be ſent to perpetual priſon to ſome Monaſtery, &c. Wherefore, if *Bilney* did ſo earneſtly retract and deteſt his former Opinions, ſo many days (as *More*) ſaith) before his ſuffering, then needed not he to ſuffer that death as he did, but might have been ſent to perpetual priſon.

Bilney needed not to be burned by the ſentence of the Canon-Law Ex treſtatu conjuſdam Decr. Conſtitutionis.

Thus, although I need not to ſtand longer upon this matter, being ſo plain, and having ſaid enough; yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been ſaid) this I ſay again: firſt if *Thomas Bilney* was abſoiled from Excommunication, and after that heard his Maſs ſo devoutly, and at the end of the Maſs was confeſſed, and conſequently after Confeſſion was houſſeled, and laſtly asked mercy for contemning of the Church, as Maſter *More* doth bear us in hand (to ſee now how this Tale hangeth together) why then did the Chancellor ſtick ſo greatly to give him the Sacrament of the Altar, whom he himſelf had abſoiled, and received to the Sacrament of Penance before; which is plain againſt the Canon-Law? Again, the ſaid *Thomas Bilney*, if he were now received to the Mother-Church by the Sacraments of Penance and of the Altar; why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the Church, ſith the Canon permitteth no degradation, but to them only which be incorrigible? Furthermore the ſaid *Bilney*, if he being converted ſo many days before (as *More* pretendeth) to the Catholique Faith, was now no Hereticke, how then did the Sentence pronounce him for an Hereticke? Or finally, how could they, or why would they burn him being a Catholique, eſpecially ſith the Canon-Law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual priſon in ſome Monaſtery as is afore touched, if they had pleaſed?

Mr. More tale full of abſurdities.

{KING Hen. 8.}

A ſummary anſwer to Mr. Mores reaſons in his abſence, to Mores Copy.

Wherefore in three words to anſwer to Mr. *More*: Firſt, all this Tale of his may be doubted, becauſe of the matter not hanging together. Secondly, it may alſo well be denied, for the inſufficiency of probation and teſtimony.

Thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Mr. *More* any great advantage againſt Mr. *Bilney*, to prove him to have recanted: nor yet Mr. *Cope* againſt me, which by the authority of Mr. *More* ſeeketh to bear me down, and diſprove my former ſtory.

For be it granted that *Bilney* at his death did hold with the Maſs, with Confeſſion, and with the authority of the *Romiſh*-Church, being an humble ſpirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithſtanding proveth not that he recanted. Forſomuch as he never held nor taught any thing before againſt the premiſſes, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold. For the better demonſtration whereof I will recite out of the Regiſters ſome part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected againſt him by one *Rich. Nix* Prieſt: who, amongſt other Witneſſes, depoſed againſt him for preaching in the Town of *Wilſedon*, theſe words following:

Put away your golden gods, your ſilver gods, your ſtony gods, and leave your Offerings, and lift up your Hearts to the Sacrament of the Altar. Alſo the ſaid Mr. Bilney *ſaid in his Sermon, I know certain things have been offered in ſuch places, which have been afterward given to Whores of the Stews; and I call them Whores of the Stews that be naught of their living, &c.* Ex Regiſt.

Item, By another Witneſs named *William Cade* it was depoſed againſt him, that he thus preached, *That* Jews *and* Saracens *would have become Chriſtian men long ago, had not Idolatry of Chriſtian men been, by offering of Candles, Wax, or Money to the Stocks and Stones of Images, ſet and ſtanding in the Churches, &c.*

Bilney againſt Pilgrimage.

Item, By the ſaid Deponent againſt *Bilney*, *That the Prieſts take away the Offerings, and hang them about their Whores Necks: and after that, they take them again from the Whores if they pleaſe them not, and hang them upon the Images; And is not this a great Relique, when it is hanged there again?*

Item; By the ſaid Deponent it was teſtified againſt *Bilney*, *That going on Pilgrimage is naught, and that no man ſhould uſe it, for it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give ſomewhat in Alms, and offer your Hearts, Wills, and Minds, to the Sacrament, and leave your Idolatry to Saints.*

Item, By *William Nelmie* of *Wilſedon*, that *Bilney* ſhould preach, *That they gild their gods, and bear them about, and men ſay they do ſpeak, and if they do ſpeak, it is the Devil that ſpeaketh in them, and not God, &c.*

Item, By *Thomas Daly* of *Wilſedon*, that *Bilney* thus preached, *You come hither on Pilgrimage to Stocks and Stones. You do naught, keep you at home, and Worſhip the Sacrament at home, &c.*

Bilney againſt falſe Merits.

Item, By Frier *Jo. Hogekin*, that *Bilney* thus preached at *Ipſwich*, *The coming of our Saviour Chriſt was long deſired, and by divers and many Prophets propheſied, That he ſhould come. But* John the Baptiſt, *more then a Prophet, did not only Propheſie, but with his finger ſhewed,* Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the ſins of the World. *Then if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonſtrate and ſhew, which taketh away the ſins of the World, what injury is this Bull of the Biſhop of* Rome *to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; That to be buried in the Cowle of Saint* Francis *ſhould or may remit four parts of the Penance? What is left to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which taketh away the ſins of the World: This will I juſtifie to be a great blaſphemy againſt the blood of Chriſt, &c.*

Item, By another Frier *Fuller*, that *Bilney* thus preached, *I truſt there ſhall and will come other beſide me, the which ſhall ſhew and preach to you the ſame Faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true Goſpel of our Saviour, whereby you ſhall be brought from your Errors, wherein you have been ſo long ſeduced: for before this, there have been many that have ſlandered you and the Goſpel of our Saviour Chriſt. Of whom ſpeaketh our Saviour Chriſt*, Mat. 18. Qui ſcandalizaverint unum de puſillis iſtis qui credideriut, &c.

Bilney a-gainſt more Mediators.

Add moreover to theſe the teſtimony of *Richard Seyman*, that *Bilney* in *Ipſwich* ſhould preach theſe words, *Our Saviour Chriſt is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then ſhould we need to ſeek for remedy to any Saint inferior to Chriſt? Wherefore to make ſuch petition to any, but to our Saviour Chriſt, truſting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the Blood of Chriſt, and deformeth our Saviour; like as if a man ſhould take and ſtrike off the head, and ſet it under the foot, and to ſet the foot above.*

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to inſinuate again out of the Regiſters, touching the Opinions of *Thomas Bilney*. Whereby may appear the whole ſum of his Preaching and Doctrine to proceed chiefly againſt Idolatry, Invocation of Saints, vain worſhip of Images, falſe truſt to mens merits, and ſuch other groſs Points of Religion, as ſeemed preiudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. As touching the Maſs, and Sacrament of the Altar, as he never varied neither more nor leſs from himſelf, ſo likewiſe he never differed therein from the moſt groſs Catholicks. And as concerning his opinion of the Church of *Rome*, how blind it was at that time, may ſufficiently appear by his own hand in *Latin*, which I have to ſhew, as followeth: *Credo pleraſque leges Pontificias utiles eſſe, neceſſarias, & ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec ſacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum obſervandas, &c. De omnibus non poſſum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, & quas legi, numquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, ſed ut aſſerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, & docere. De multiplicitate legum queſtus eſt ſuo tempore S. Auguſtinus, & item* Cartonius, *qui miratur quomodo non poſſ lapſum inter tot loqueos Conſtitutionum iuri eſſe poſſimus, quum primi Parentes adhuc puri, & ante lapſum, unicum præceptum non obſervarint, &c.*

Note here how groſs Bilney was in the Sacrament.

Moreover, concerning the authority of the Keys thus he writeth, anſwering to his twelfth Article, *Soli Sacerdotes, ordinati rite per Pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant & ſolvunt (* clave non errante*) quod & facere eos non dubito, quamlibet ſint peccatores. Nam Sacramentorum efficatiam non minuit, nedum tollit miſerrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Eccleſia tolerantur, &c.*

Ex Regiſt. London. fol. 97. b. Bilney erat clavis erat perperam.

By theſe words of *Bilney* written by him in *Latin*, although it may be thought how ignorant and groſs he was after the rudeneſs of thoſe days, yet by the ſame notwithſtanding it may appear how falſely he is noted and ſlandered by Maſter *More*, and *Cope* my Friend, to have recanted the Articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwiſe in all his life. And therefore (as I ſaid) though it be granted to Maſter *More*, or in his abſence to my Friend *Cope*, that *Bilney* was aſſoiled, was confeſſed, and houſeled before his burning, yet all this argueth not, that he recanted.

Contrary reaſons to prove that Bilney did not again recant.

Now that I have ſufficiently (I truſt) put off the reaſons of Maſter *More* and of others, whereby they pretend falſely to face us out, that *Bilney* the ſecond time again recanted at his death: it remaineth on the other part, that I likewiſe do infer my Probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that *Bilney* did not the ſecond time recant, as he is untruly ſlandered. And firſt I will begin even with the words and teſtimonies of Maſter *Mores* own mouth, who being Lord Chancellor, when Meſſage was ſent to him for a Writ of Diſcharge to burn *Bilney*, ſpake in this wiſe to the Meſſengers that came, *Go your ways*, ſaith he, *and burn him firſt*, *and then afterward come to me for a Bill of my hand.* Which words may give us evidence enough, that *Bilney* was not thought then to have recanted, for then the Lord Chancellor would not have been ſo greedy and haſty,

Mores own words againſt him ſelf.

hasty, no doubt, to have him dispatched. And how standeth this with Master *Mores* words now, which beareth us in hand that he recanted many days before his burning?

Proved by Bishop Nixes words that Bilney did not recant at his burning.

The like evidence we may also take by the Verdict of the Bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these. After he had burned him, and then heard tell of Doctor *Shaxton*; *Christs Mother*, said he, (that was his Oath) *I fear I have burnt* Abel, *and let* Cain *go, &c.* As who would say, I had thought before that I had punished *Cain*, and let *Abel* go: but now I fear I have burnt *Abel*, and let *Cain* escape. Whereby it is plain to understand what was the Bishops judgment of *Bilney*, before his burning; that is, that he was a *Cain*, and the other an *Abel*. But after the burning of *Bilney*, the Bishop hearing now of *Shaxton*, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, swearing now the contrary; that is, left he had burned *Abel*, and let *Cain* go.

Furthermore, where the Bishop feared, in burning *Bilney*, that he had burned *Abel*; what doth this fear of the Bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? For who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the case is plain, that *Bilney* at his burning did not recant, as *More* reporteth. For then the Bishop knowing *Bilney* to die a Catholick Convert, and a true Member of the Church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have constantly affirmed *Bilney* to have died a true *Abel* indeed. And to conclude this matter, if *Bilney* died an *Abel*, then the Bishop by his own confession must needs prove himself to be a *Cain*, which slew him. What more clearer probation could we bring, if there were a thousand? Or what need we any other, having this alone?

Cain borne-eth Abel.

Testimonies proving that Master Bilney did not recant at his death.

Now for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, for so much as Master *More* alledgeth none to prove that *Bilney* at his death did recant; I will affay what testimonies I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that *Bilney* did not recant.

Witness for Bilney.

And forsomuch as *Bilney* was a *Cambridge* man, and the first Framer of that University in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at *Norwich*, being not very far distant from *Cambridge*; there is no doubt, but amongst so many Friends as he had in that University, some went thither to hear and see him. Of whom one was *Thomas Allen*, Fellow of *Pembroke-Hall*, who, returning the same time from *Bilneys* burning, declared to Doctor *Turner* Dean of *Wells*, being yet alive, (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted) that the said *Bilney* took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the Doctrine which he before had professed.

Doct. Turner Dean of Wells.

Another witness for Bilney.

In the City of *Norwich*, *Nectton* and many other be now departed, which were then present at the burning of *Bilney*: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses if need were I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require: in the mean time, at the writing hereof here was one *Thomas Russel*, a right honest Occupier, and a Citizen of *Norwich*, who likewise being there present on horseback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his Recantation.

Another witness for Bilney.

I could also add hereunto the testimony of another, being Brother to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, named Master *Baker*, a man yet alive, who being the same time present at the Examination of *Bilney*, both heard him and saw him, when as a certain Frier called him *Heretick*. Whereunto *Bilney* replying again, made answer, *If I be an Heretick* (said he) *then are you an Antichrist, who of late have buried a certain Gentlewoman with you, in* Saint Francis Cowle, *assuring her to have Salvation thereby*. Which fact, although the Frier the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but *Bilney* spake these words: whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any Recantation; according as by the said Gentleman it is also testified, that after that he never heard of any Recantation that *Bilney* either meant or made.

One Martyr witness for another Martyr.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lack room in my Book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand Jury. But what need I to spend time about Witness, when one Master *Latimer* may stand for a thousand, one Martyr to bear witness to another? And though my friend *Cope*, pressing me with the authority of Master *More*, saith, *That he will believe him before me*; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a Seignior, Father *Latimer*, being both in *Bilneys* time, and also by *Bilney* converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at *Cambridge*, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than Master *More*.

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Touching the testimonial of which *Latimer* I have noted before, how he in three sundry places of his Sermons hath testified *of good* Bilney, *of that blessed* Bilney, *of Saint* Bilney, *how he died patiently, against the tyrannical See of* Rome, &c. And in another Sermon also, *how the said* Bilney *suffered his body to be burned for the Gospel sake, &c. Item*, in another place, *How the said* Bilney *suffered death for Gods Word sake. Vide supra.*

The testimony of Mr. Latimer concerning Mr. Bilney.

Vide supra.

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter. But the cause that moved, and half constrained me thereunto, was Sir *Thomas More*, sometimes Lord Chancellor of *England*, and now a great Archpillar of all our *English Papists*, a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate, esteemed no less industrious in his Studies, than well exercised in his Pen. Who if he had kept himself in his own shop, and applied the faculty, being a Lay-man, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himself to prove Masteries in such matters wherein he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his Profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forsomuch as he, not contented with his own Vocation, hath with *Oza* reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with Gods Ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning, and while he thinketh to help Religion, destroyeth Religion, and is an utter Enemy to Christ, and to his Spiritual Doctrine, and his poor afflicted Church: To the intent therefore that he, being taken for a special Ring-leader and a chief stay in the Popes Church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present History of *Bilneys* Recantation: I have diligently searched out and procured the true Certificate of M. *Bilneys* burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by some-days and hear-says (as Master *More* useth) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded by one, who as in a place and degree he surmounteth the estate of Master *More* (though he were Lord Chancellor) so being also both a spiritual person, and there present the same time, coming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done. *Αυτόπτης καὶ μάρτυς* of his Martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of Master *More*. The Order of which Martyrdom was this as followeth.

Doct. Parker Archbishop of Canterbury, a present witness at the burning of Bilney.

Thomas Bilney, after his Examination and Condemnation before Doctor *Pelles*, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor, first was degraded by *Suffragan Underwood*, according to the custom of their Popish manner, by the assistance of all the Friers and Doctors of the same Suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the Lay-power, and to the two Sheriffs of the City, of whom *Thomas Nectton* was one. This *Thomas Nectton* was *Bilneys* special good Friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the Chancellor and Friers, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him. Who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his Conscience himself to be present at his death; so, for the time that he was in his custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholsomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

Thomas Nectton Sheriff of Norwich.

After-

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M. Thomas Bilney, proving the fire with his finger. *The Burning of the Godly and constant Martyr M. Thomas Bilney.*

Bilney tasted the fire with his finger.

{Anno 1531.} The good courage of Bilney before his death.

After this, the *Friday* following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being Saint *Magnus-day*, and *Saturday*, the said *Bilney* had divers of his Friends resorting unto him in the *Guildhall*, where he was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said Friends finding him eating of an *Ale-brew* with such a chearful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, *That he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself.* Whereunto he answered, O, said he, *I follow the example of the Husbandmen of the Country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet before coft as long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with Gods Creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see.* Then sitting with his said Friends in godly talk to their Edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of Gods Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said *Thomas Bilney* putting his hand toward the flame of the Candle burning before them (as also he did divers times besides) and feeling the heat thereof, O (said he) *I feel by experience, and have known it long by Philosophy, that fire by Gods Ordinance is naturally hot, but yet I am perswaded by Gods holy Word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the Scripts, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, howsoever that the stubble of this my Body shall be wasted by it, yet my Soul and Spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable.* And here he much entreated of this place of Scripture, *Noli timere, quia redemi te, & vocavi te nomine tuo, meus es tu, Cum transieris per aquas, tecum ero, & flumina non operient te. Cum ambulaveris in igne, non combureris, & flamma non ardebit te, quia ego Dominus Deus tuus Sanctus Israel, salvator tuus.* That is, *Fear not, For I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy Name, thou art mine own. When thou goest thorow the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of* Israel. Which he did most comfortably entreat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his Friends there present. Of whom some took such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said Sentence to be fair written in Tables, and some in their Books. The comfort whereof (in divers of them) was never taken from them to their dying-day.

Constant Bilney exhorted to constancy.

The *Saturday* next following, when the Officers of execution (as the manner is) with their Gleves and Halberds were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the City Gate, called *Bishops Gate*, in a low Valley, commonly called *The Lollards pit*, under Saint *Leonards hill*, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the peoples quiet, fitting to see the execution) at the coming forth of the said *Thomas Bilney* out of the prison-door one of his Friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in Gods behalf to be constant, and to take his death as a patiently as he could. Whereunto the said *Bilney* answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, *Ye see when the Mariner is entred his Ship to sail on the troublous Sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but yet in hope, that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this sailing, and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof by the Grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect.*

Thomas Bilney going to his death.

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much Alms by the way by the hands of one of his Friends, and accompanied with one Doctor *Warner*, Doctor of Divinity, and Parson of *Winterton*, whom he did choose as his old Acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort; he came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a lay-mans Gown with his sleeves hanging down; and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single body in person, but always of a good upright countenance) and drew near to the Stake prepared, and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

The words of Thomas Bilney at the Stake.

Good people, I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again, and that ye might testifie that I depart out of this present life, as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast Faith the Articles of my Creed: and then began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God, and at the Article

Article of Christs Incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word *Crucified*, he humbly bowed himself and made great reverence, and then proceeding in the Articles, and coming to these words, *I believe the Catholick Church*, there he paused, and spake these words, *Good people I must here confess to have offended the Church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor Cure belonging to* Trinity-Hall *in* Cambridge, *where I was Fellow, earnestly intreated thereunto by the Curate and other good people of the Parish, shewing, that they had no Sermon there of long time before: and so in my Conscience moved, I did make a poor Collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the Church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, Charity that moved me to this act shall bear me out at the Judgment-Seat of God*; and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

Thomas Bilney put to death for preaching, being there-unto defired.

Master More proved a lyar by wife-forth prefixt at Bilneys death.

This once done, he put off his Gown, and went to the Stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the Stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to Heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terrour of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the 143. *Psalme*, beginning, *Domine, exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem meam, &c.* That is, *Hear my prayer, O Lord, consider my desire*: and the next verse, he repeated in deep meditation thrice, *Et ne intres in judicium cum servo tuo Domine*: That is, *And enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified*: And so finishing that *Psalm* he ended his private prayers.

Thomas Bilney praying at the Stake.

Pſalms 143.

After that, he turned himself to the Officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the Stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Doctor *Warner* came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping.

Upon whom the said *Thomas Bilney* did most gently smile, and enclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the haft were these, O *Master Doctor, Pascе gregem tuum, Pascе gregem tuum, ut cum venerit Dominus, inveniat te sic facientem*. That is, *Feed your Flock, feed your Flock, that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing: and farewel good Master Doctor, and pray for me*; and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the Stake, certain Friers, Doctors, and Priors of their Houses being there present (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his Examination and Degradation, &c.) came to him and said, O *Master* Bilney, *the people be perſwaded that we be the Cauſers of your death, and that we have procured the ſame, and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable Alms from us all, except you declare your Charity towards us, and diſcharge us of the matter*. Whereupon the said *Thomas Bilney* spake with a loud voice to the people and said, *I pray you good people be never the worſe to theſe men for my ſake, as though they ſhould be the Authors of my death; it was not they*: and so he ended.

Doctor Warner taking his farewel of Thomas Bilney.

The words of Thomas Bilney to Doctor Warner.

The Friers desire Bilney to ſpeak for them.

Then the Officers put reed and fagots about his body, and set fire on the reed, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visour of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes *Jeſus*, sometimes *Credo*. Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the Wind, which was that day and two or three days before notable great, in which it was said, That the fields were marvelously plagued by the loss of Corn: and so for a little pause he stood without flame, the flame departing and recourling thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume, and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the Officers with his Halbert smote out the staple in the Stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it, and so he was consumed.

The patient death and martyrdom of M. Bilney.

Thus have ye (good Readers) the true History, and Martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed Saint *Bilney* (as Master *Latimer* doth call him) without any recantation, testified and ratified by the authority abovesaid, by the which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that *Bilney* not only did never recant, but also that he never had any such Bill, or Script, or Scrol in his hand to read, either softly or apertly, as Master *More*, *Per licentiam Poeticam*, would bear us down. Wherefore even as you see Master *More* deal in this, so you may trust him in the residue of his other Tales, if ye will.

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St. Bilney.

Ex certa relatione, virisque teſtimonio præ-dignis compoſt.

M. More refuted.

Maſter Stafford *of* Cambridge.

M. Bilney the chief Converter of Cambridge.

Apoſtle of Cambridge.

AS the death of this godly *Bilney* did much good in *Norfolk* where he was burned; so his diligent travel, in teaching and exhorting other, and example of life correspondent to his Doctrine, let no small fruit behind him in *Cambridge*, being a great means of framing that Univerſity, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of whom, and partly also of another called Master *Stafford*, the Word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish. In the company of whom was Master *Latimer*, Doctor *Barnes*, Doctor *Thiſtell* of *Pembroke-Hall*, Master *Fooke* of *Benet* College, and Master *Soude* of the same College, Doctor *Warner* above-mentioned, with divers other more.

This Master *Stafford* was then the publick Reader of the Divinity Lecture in that Univerſity. Who, as he was an earneſt Profeſſor of Christs Goſpel, ſo was he as diligent a Follower of that which he profeſſed, as by this example here following may appear.

For as the Plague was then sore in *Cambridge*, and amongſt other a certain Prieſt called Sir *Henry Conjurer* lay sore sick of the said Plague, Master *Stafford* hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his Soul was in, was so moved in Conscience to help the dangerous caſe of the Prieſt, that he neglecting his own bodily death, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring Books burned before his face. Which being done, Mr. *Stafford* went home, and immediately sickned, and died within few days after most Christianly deceased. *Ex fideli teſtimonio D. Ridlei, & Edmund. Epiſc. Lond.*

The notable zeal of Maſter Stafford in ſaving a damnable prieſt.

Concerning which Matter *Stafford* this more ver is to be noted, how that Master *Latimer*, being yet a fervent and a zealous *Papiſt*, standing in the Schools when Master *Stafford* read, had the Scholars not to hear him: and also preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him; and yet the said *Latimer* confeſſed himſelf, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveneſs before he departed.

Mr. Latimer aſketh Mr. Staffordsforgiveneſs.

And thus much by the way of good Master *Stafford*, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cauſe, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed *Bilney* in the Fellowship of holy and blessed Martyrs.

The ſtory of Mr. Simon Fiſh.

Mr. Simon Fiſh, Author of the Book called The Supplication of Beggers.

BEfore the time of Master *Bilney*, and fall of the Cardinal, I should have placed the story of *Simon Fiſh*, with the Book called *The Supplication of Beggars*, declaring how and by what means it came to the Kings hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things, especially of the Clergy. But the milling of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entred here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumſtance of the matter is this:

Sir Th. More perſecuteth Mr. Fiſh's Wife.

After that the light of the Goſpel, working mightily in *Germany*, began to spread his beams here also in *England*, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many: so that coloured Hypocriſie, and falſe Doctrine, and painted Holineſs began to be eſpied more and more by the reading of Gods Word. The Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the glory of his Cardinals was not so high, but such as had freſh wits, sparkled with Gods Grace, began to eſpy Christ from Antichriſt; that is, true Sincerity from counterfeit Religion. In the number

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of whom was the said Mr. *Simon Fiſh*, a Gentleman of *Grays* Inn. It happened the first year that this Gentleman came to *London* to dwell, which was about the year of our Lord 1525, that there was a certain Play or Interlude made by one Mr. *Roo* of the same Inn, Gentleman, in which Play partly was matter against the Cardinal *Wolſey*. And where none durſt take upon them to play that part which touched the said Cardinal, this foresaid Mr. *Fiſh* took upon him to do it. Whereupon great displeasure enſued against him upon the Cardinals part, insomuch as he being pursued by the said Cardinal, the same night that this Tragedy was played, was compelled of force to void his own house, and so fled over the Sea to *Tindal*. Upon occasion whereof, the next year following this Book was made (being about the year 1527) and so not long after, in the year (as I suppose) 1528, was feat over to the Lady *Ann Bullen*, who then lay at a place not far from the Court. Which Book her Brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it to her again, willing her earneſtly to give it to the King, which thing she so did.

The Book of the ſupplication of Beggers, given to the King.

This was (as I gather) about the year of our Lord 1528. The King after he had received the Book, demanded of her who made it. Whereunto the answered and said, *A certain Subject of his, one* Fiſh, *who was fled out of the Realm for fear of the Cardinal*. After the King had kept the Book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the Kings servants to the Wife of the said *Simon Fiſh*, that she might boldly send for her Husband without all peril or danger. Whereupon she thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the King for the safe return of her Husband. Who, understanding whose Wife she was, shewed a marvellous gentle and chearful countenance towards her, asking where her Husband was. She answered, *If it like your Grace not far off. Then*, saith he, *Fetch him, and he ſhall come and go ſafe without peril, and no man ſhall do him harm*. Saying moreover, *that he had much wrong that he was from her ſo long*; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the which mean time the Cardinal was deposed, as is aforeshewed, and Mr. *More* set in his place of the Chancellorship.

Mr. Fiſh brought and gently entertained of the King.

Thus *Fiſh's* Wife, being imboldened by the Kings words, went immediately to her Husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a Mile of the Court, and brought him to the King; which appeareth to be about the year of our Lord 1530. When the King saw him, and understood he was the Author of the Book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who after long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dimitted him, and bad him take home his Wife, for she had taken great pains for him. Who answered the King again and said, he durſt not so do, for fear of Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellor, and *Stokeſley* then Biſhop of *London*. This seemeth to be about the year of our Lord 1530.

Mr. Fiſh reſtored by the King.

The King, taking the Signet off his Finger, willed him to have him recommended to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy to work him any harm. Master *Fiſh*, receiving the Kings Signet, went and declared his Meſſage to the Lord Chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his Wife; for the a little before had by chance displeased the Friers, for not suffering them to say their Goſpels in *Latine* in her house, as they did in others, unleſs they would say it in *Engliſh*. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor, though he had discharged the Man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the Wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young Daughter, which then lay sick of the Plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of the which Plague her Husband, the said Master *Fiſh*, deceasing within half a year, the afterward married to one Master *James Bainham* Sir *Alexander Bainham's* Son, a worſhipful Knight of *Glouceſterſhire*, The which foresaid Mr. *James Bainham*, not long after was burned, as incontinently after in the proceſs of this story shall appear.

Mr. Fiſh dieth of the Plague.

And thus much concerning *Simon Fiſh* the Author of the Book of Beggers, who also translated a Book, called *The ſumm of the Scripture*, out of the *Dutch*.

The Summ of the Scripture tranſlated by Mr. Fiſh.

Now cometh another note of one *Edmund Moddis* the Kings Footman, touching the same matter.

Mr. Moddis the Kings Footman.

This Master *Moddis* being with the King in talk of Religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the Seas, said, *If it might pleaſe his Grace to pardon him, and ſuch as he would bring to his Grace, he ſhould ſee ſuch a Book, as was marvel to hear of.* The King demanded what they were. He said, two of your Merchants, *George Elyot*, and *George Robinſon*. The King pointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his preſence in a privy Closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him. One of them said, *That there was a Book come to their hands, which they had there to ſhew his Grace.* When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. *Yea*, said *George Elyot, if it pleaſe your Grace to hear it. I thought ſo*, said the King, *for if need were, thou canſt ſay it without book.*

The book of Beggers brought to the King by George Elyot and George Robinſon.

The whole Book being read out, the King made a long pause, and then said, *If a man ſhould pull down an old ſtone Wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head.* And then he took the Book and put it into his Desk, and commanded them upon their Allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the Book, *&c.* The Copy of the foresaid Book, intituled *of the Beggers* here enſueth.

The King anſwer upon the book of Beggers

A certain Libel, or Book, intituled, The Supplication of Beggers, *thrown and ſcattered at the Proceſſion in* Weſtminſter, *on* Candlemas *day, before King* Henry *the Eighth, for him to read and peruſe, made and compiled by Maſter* Fiſh.

A Libel called The Supplication of Beggers.

To the King our Sovereign Lord,

MOſt lamentably complaineth their woful misery, unto your Highneſs, your poor daily Beadmen, the wretched hideous Monſters, on whom scarcely for horrour any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of Lepers, and other fore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame and sick, that live only by Alms, how that their number is daily so sore encreased, that all the Alms of all the well disposed people of this your Realm is not half enough for to ſuſtain them, but that for very conſtraint they die for hunger. And this moſt peſtilent miſchief is come upon your said poor Beadmen, by the reaſon that there is, in the times of your Noble Predeceſſors paſſed, craftily crept into this your Realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong puiſſant and counterfeit holy and idle Beggers and Vagabonds, which since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a Kingdom.

Strong, vigilant Bandys and Idle Beggers.

These are not the Herds, but the ravenous Wolves going in Herds clothing, devouring the Flock, Biſhops, Abbots, Friors, Deacons, Archdeacons, Suffragans, Prieſts, Monks, Canons, Friers, Pardoners and Sumners. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, which (setting all labour aſide) have begged ſo importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than the third part of all your Realm? The goodlieſt Lordſhips, Manors, Lands and Territories are theirs, beſides this, they have the tenth part of all the Corn, Medow, Paſture, Graſs, Wood, Colts, Calves, Lambs, Pigs, Geese and Chickens. Over and beſides, the tenth part of every ſervants Wages, the tenth part of Wooll, Milk, Hony, Wax, Cheeſe and Butter; yea, and they look ſo narrowly upon their profits, that the poor Wives muſt be countable to them for every tenth Egg, or elſe the getteth not her rights at *Eaſter*, and ſhall be taken as an Heretick. Hereto have they their four offering days. What mony pull they in by Probates of Teſtaments, privy Tithes, and by mens offerings to their Pilgrimages, and at their firſt Maſſes? every Man and Child that is buried muſt pay somewhat for Maſſes and Diriges, to be ſung for him, or elſe they will accuſe their friends and Executors of Hereſie. What mony get they by Mortuaries, by hearing of Confeſſions (and yet they keep thereof no counſel) by hallowing of

More than the third part of the Realm in the ſpiritualmens hands.

Churches, Altars, Superaltars, Chappels and Bells, by curſing of men, and abſolving them again for mony? What a multitude of mony gather the Pardoners in a year? How much mony get the Summers by extortion in a year, by aſciting the people to the Commiſſaries Court, and afterward releaſing the apparents for mony? Finally, the infinite number of begging Friers, what get they in a year?

(a) Peradventure the common count of the Parishes of England, among men, and in maps of the old time ſo went. And albeit the ſaid Pariſhes do not amount now to the ſame rate of 52000, yet nevertheleſs the number (no doubt) is great, and therefore the Quarrage of the Friers cannot be little, but riſeth to a great peny through the Realm. Whereupon the ſcope of this mans reaſon ſounderh to good purpoſe. For although he hit not perfectly on the juſt ſumme, yet it cannot be denied, but the Friers had very much, and much more than they deſerved. Again, neither can it be denied, but the more they had, the leſs redounded to the benefit needy beggers indeed. And what reaſon is it, that ſuch luſtie beggers, which may work, and yet will needs be idle, ſhould reap any piece of the Crop, which bare no burthen of the harveſt, but wilfully do ſit idle, and ſerve to no uſe neceſſary in the Commonwealth?

(b) Admit the Summa totalis cannot not to be much, yet it came to more than the Friers diſerved, which could well work, and would not, and would needs beg, and needed not; whereof read before the ſtory of Armachanus.

(a) Here if it pleaſe your Grace to mark, you ſhall ſee a thing far out of joynt. There are within your Realm of *England* 52000 Pariſh Churches. And this ſtanding, that there be but 10 houſholds in every Pariſh, yet are there 520000 houſholds. And of every of theſe houſholds hath every of the five Orders of Friers, a peny a Quarter for every Order; that is, for all the five Orders, five pence a Quarter for every houſe; that is, for all the five Orders, 20 pence a year of every houſe. *Summa*, five hundred and twenty thouſand quarters of Angels, that is, 260000 half Angels. *Summa* 130000 Angels. (b) *Summa totalis* 430333 pounds, ſix ſhillings, eight pence Sterling. Whereof not 400 years paſſed, they had not one penny.

Oh grievous and painful exaction, thus yearly to be paid; from the which, the people of your noble predeceſſors, the Kings of the ancient *Britans*, ever ſtood free. And this will they have, or elſe they will procure him that will not give it to them to be taken as an Heretick. What Tyrant ever oppreſſed the people, like this cruel and vengeable generation? What Subjects ſhall be able to help their Prince, that be after this faſhion yearly polled? What good Chriſtian people can be able to ſuccour us poor Lepers, blind, fore and lame, that be thus yearly oppreſſed? Is it any marvel that your people ſo complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the Taxes, Fifteens and Subſidies that your Grace moſt tenderly, of great compaſſion hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatned ruine of their Commonwealth, have been ſo ſlothfully, yea painfully levied, ſeeing almoſt the uttermoſt peny, that might have been levied, hath been gathered before yearly by this ravenous inſatiable generation? Neither the *Danes* nor the *Saxons*, in the time of the ancient *Britains*, ſhould ever have been able to have brought their Armies from ſo far hither into your Land to have conquered it, if they had at that time ſuch a ſort of idle Gluttons to find at home. The Noble King *Arthur* had never been able to have carried his Army to the foot of the Mountains, to reſiſt the coming down of *Lucius* the Emperor, if ſuch yearly Exactions had been taken of his people. The *Greeks* had never been able to have ſo long continued at the Siege of *Troy*, if they had had at home ſuch an idle ſort of Cormorants to find. The ancient *Romans* had never been able to have put all the whole World under their obeiſance, if their people had been thus yearly oppreſſed. The *Turk* now in your time ſhould never have been able to get ſo much ground of *Chriſtendom*, if he had in his Empire ſuch a ſort of Locuſts to devour his ſubſtance. Lay then theſe ſummes to the foreſaid third part of the poſſeſſions of the Realm, that ye may ſee whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole ſubſtance of the Realm or not; ſo ſhall ye find that it draweth far above.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle ſort, unto the number of the Lay-people, and we ſhall ſee whether it be indifferently thirled, or not, that they ſhould have half. Compare them to the number of men, ſo are they not the hundredth perſon. Compare them to Men, Women and Children, ſo are they not the four hundredth perſon in number. One part therefore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burthen is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four hundredth perſon of their number? What Tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any Commonwealth ſo ſore oppreſſed ſince the World firſt began?

And what doth all this greedy ſort of ſturdy, idle, holy Thieves, with theſe yearly Exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themſelves from the obedience of your Grace. Nothing but tranſlate all Rule, Power, Lordſhip, Authority, Obedience and Dignity, from your Grace unto them. Nothing but that all your Subjects ſhould fall into diſobedience and rebellion againſt your Grace, and be under them, as they did unto your Noble predeceſſor King *John*; which becauſe that he would have puniſhed certain Traitors that had conſpired, with the *French* King, to have depoſed him from his Crown and Dignity (among the which a Clerk called *Stephen*, whom afterward againſt the Kings will, the Pope made Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was one) interdicted his Land. For the which matter your moſt Noble Realm wrongfully (alas for ſhame) hath ſtood Tributary not unto any kind of temporal Prince, but unto a cruel deviliſh bloud-ſucker, drunken in the bloud of the Saints and Martyrs of Chriſt ever ſince.

Here were an holy ſort of Prelates, that thus cruelly could puniſh ſuch a righteous King, all his Realm and Succeſſion, for doing right. Here were a charitable ſort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole Realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural Liege Lord and King, for none other cauſe, but for his righteouſneſs. Here were a bleſſed ſort, not of meek herds, but of bloud-ſuckers, that could ſet the *French* King upon ſuch a righteous Prince, to cauſe him to loſe his Crown and Dignity, to make effuſion of the bloud of his people, unleſs this good and bleſſed King of great compaſſion, more fearing and lamenting the ſhedding of the bloud of his people, than the loſs of his Crown and Dignity, againſt all right and conſcience, ſubmitted himſelf unto them.

O caſe moſt horrible, that ever ſo Noble a King, Realm and Succeſſion, ſhould thus be made to ſtoop to ſuch a fort of bloud-ſuckers. Where was his Sword, Power, Crown and Dignity become, whereby he might have done juſtice in this matter? Where was their obedience become that ſhould have been ſubject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his ſubjects become, that for maintenance of the Commonwealth ſhould have holpen him manfully to have reſiſted theſe bloud-ſuckers, to the ſhedding of their bloud? Was it not altogether by their policy tranſlated from this good King unto them?

Yea, and what do they more? Truly nothing but apply themſelves, by all the ſleights they may, to have to do with every mans Wife, every mans Daughter, and every mans Maid, that Cuckoldry and Bawdry ſhould reign over all, among your Subjects, that no man ſhould know his own Child, that their Baſtards might inherit the poſſeſſions of every man, to put the right begotten Children clean beſides their inheritance, in ſubverſion of all eſtates and godly order. Theſe be they, that by their abſtaining from Marriage do let the generation of the people, whereby all the Realm at length, if it ſhould be continued, ſhall be made deſert and inhabitable.

Theſe be they that have made an hundred thouſand idle Whores in your Realm, which would have gotten their living honeſtly, in the ſweat of their faces, had not their ſuperfluous riches illected them to unclean luſt and idleneſs. Theſe be they that corrupt the whole Generation of Mankind in your Realm, that catch the Pox of one Woman, and bear them unto another, that be burnt with one Woman, and bear it to another, that catch the Lepry of one Woman, and bear it unto another. Yea ſome one of them ſhall boaſt among his fellows, that he hath medled with an hundred Women. Theſe be they, that when they have once drawn mens Wives to ſuch incontinency, ſpend away their Husbands Goods, make the Women to run away from their Husbands, yea, run away themſelves both with Wife and Goods, bringing both Man, Wife and Children, to Idleneſs, Theft and Beggery. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomleſs Ocean Sea, full of evils, that this miſchievous and ſinful Generation may lawfully bring upon us unpuniſhed?

Where is your Sword, Power, Crown and Dignity become, that ſhould puniſh by puniſhment of death, even as other men are puniſhed, the Felonies, Rapes, Murthers and Treaſons committed by this ſinful Generation? Where is their obedience become, that ſhould be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether tranſlated and exempt from your Grace unto them? Yes truly, (a) what an infinite number of people might have been encreaſed to have peopled the Realm, if this ſort of folk had bin married like other men? What breach of Matrimony is there brought in by them? ſuch truly as was never ſince the World began, among the whole multitude of the Heathen. Who is ſhe that will ſet her hands to work, to get three pence a day, and may have at leaſt twenty pence a day to ſleep an hour with a Frier, a Monk or a Prieſt? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at leaſt twelve-pence a day to be Bawd to a Prieſt, a Monk, or a Frier? What a ſort are there of them that marry Prieſts ſovereign Ladies, but to cloak the Prieſts incontinency, and that they may have a Living of the Prieſts themſelves for their labour? How many thouſand doth ſuch lubricity bring to beggery, theft and idleneſs, which ſhould have kept their good name, and have ſet themſelves to work, had not been this exceſſive treaſure of the Spiritualty? What honeſt man dare take any man or woman into his ſervice, that hath been at ſuch a School with a ſpiritual man?

O the grievous Shipwrack of the Commonwealth, which in ancient time, before the coming of theſe ravenous Wolves, were ſo proſperous, that then there were but few Thieves; yea Theft at that time was ſo rare, that *Ceſar* was not compelled to make penalty of death upon Felony, as your Grace may well perceive in his Inſtitutes. There was alſo at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked; for there was at that time none of theſe ravenous Wolves to aſk it from them; as it appeareth in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*. Is it any marvel though there be now ſo many Beggers, Thieves and idle people? Nay truly. What remedy? Make Laws againſt them? I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not ſtronger in your own Parliament-houſe than your ſelf? What a number of Biſhops, Abbots and Priors are Lords of your Parliament? Are not all the Learned Men of your Realm in fee with them, to ſpeak in your Parliament-houſe for them, againſt your Crown, Dignity and Commonwealth of your Realm, a few of your own learned Council only excepted? What Law can be made againſt them that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved very ſore) that for the Murther of his Anceſtor, Raviſhment of his Wife, of his Daughter, Robbery, Treſpaſs, Maim, Debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he by and by, by their wilineſs, accuſed of Hereſie; yea, they will ſo handle him ere he paſs, that except he will bear a Fagot for their pleaſure, he ſhall be excommunicate, and then be all his actions daſhed.

So captive are your Laws unto them, that no man whom they liſt to excommunicate, may be admitted to ſue any Action in any of your Courts. If any man in your Seſſions dare be ſo hardy to indict a Prieſt of any ſuch crime, he hath ere the year go out, ſuch a yoke of Hereſie laid in his Neck, that it maketh him with he had not done it. Your Grace may ſee what a work there is in *London*; how the Biſhop rageth for indicting of certain Curates of Extortion and Incontinency, the laſt year in the Wardmote Queſt. Had not *Richard Hun* commenced an Action of *Præmunire* againſt a Prieſt, he had been yet alive, and no Heretick at all, but an honeſt man. Did not divers of your Noble Progenitors, ſeeing their Crown and Dignity run into ruine, and to be thus craftily tranſlated into the hands of this mitchiewous Generation, make divers Statutes for the Reformation thereof, among which the Statute of Mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they ſhould have no more given unto them? But what availed it? Have they not gotten into their hands more Lands ſince, than any Duke in *England* hath, the Statute notwithſtanding? Yea, have they not for all that tranſlated into their hands, from your Grace, half your Kingdom throughly, the only name remaining to you for your Anceſtors ſake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I ſhould weigh all things to the uttmoſt, they would alſo take the name to them, and of one Kingdom make twain; the Spiritual Kingdom, as they call it, (for they will be named firſt) and your Temporal Kingdom. And which of theſe two Kingdoms, ſuppoſe you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly the Kingdom of the Bloud-ſuckers, for to them is given daily out of your Kingdom; and that is once given them, never cometh from them again. Such Laws have they, that none of them may either give or ſell any thing. What Law can be made to ſtrong againſt them, that they either with mony, or elſe with other policy, will not break or fet at nought? What Kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O how all the ſubſtance of your Realm, your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity and obedience of your people, runneth headlong into the unſatiable Whirlpool of theſe greedy Gulfs, to be ſwallowed and devoured!

Neither have they any other colour to gather theſe yearly Exactions into their hands, but that they ſay they pray for us to God, to deliver our ſouls out of the pains of Purgatory without whoſe prayers, they ſay, or at leaſt without the Popes pardon, we could never be delivered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reaſon that we give them all theſe things, although it were an hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the truth and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themſelves into the greateſt infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no Purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetouſneſs of the Spiritualty, only to tranſlate all Kingdoms from other Princes unto them, and that there is not one word ſpoken of it in all holy Scripture. They ſay alſo, that if there were a Purgatory, and alſo if that the Pope with his pardons may for mony deliver one ſoul thence, he may deliver him as well without mony; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thouſand; if he may deliver a thouſand, he may deliver them all, and ſo deſtroy Purgatory, and then he is a cruel Tyrant, without all charity, if he keep them there in Priſon and in pain till men will give him (b) mony.

Likewiſe ſay they of all the whole ſort of the Spiritualty, That if they will pray for no man but for them that give them mony, they are Tyrants, and lack charity, and ſuffer thoſe ſouls to be puniſhed and pained unchariably for lack of their prayers. This ſort of folks they call Hereticks, theſe they burn, theſe they rage againſt, put to open ſhame, and make them bear Fagots; but whether they be Hereticks or no, well I wot, that this Purgatory, and the Popes Pardons are all the cauſe of the tranſlation of your Kingdom ſo faſt into their hands. Wherefore it is manifeſt it cannot be of Chriſt; for he gave more to the temporal Kingdom, he himſelf paid tribute to *Ceſar*, he took nothing from him, but taught that the high Powers ſhould be always obeyed; yea himſelf (although he were moſt free Lord of all, and innocent) was obedient unto the high powers unto death. This is the great skab why they will not let the New Teſtament go abroad in your Mother Tongue, leſt men ſhould eſpy that they by their cloaked hypocriſie do tranſlate thus faſt your Kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful and hypocrites; that they ſeek not the honour of Chriſt, but their own; that remiſſion of ſins is not given by the Popes pardon, but by Chriſt, for the ſure faith and truſt that we have in him.

{KING Hen.8.}

(a) *The Realm of England is diminiſhed and decayed by the number of 200000 perſons at leaſt, or elſe repleniſhed with ſo many whores and whoremaſters, by refraining of Marriages from Prieſts, Monks, Friers, Nuns, Colleges, Hoſpitals, Beadmen, and ſuch like Orders, within the Realm of England. The increaſe of which number might be recovered, and the Realm more peopled, and alſo Gods Commandments better kept, if thoſe Vows of bondage were broken, and Matrimony permitted free to all men.*

The rude ſt Kings impaired by the Popes Clergy.

Prieſts and Dones make ſoul houſes.

The Popes Clergy a ſhipwrack to all Commonwealths

The cauſe of ſo many beggers, theives and idle people in *England*.

The Popes clergy ſtronger in Parliament than Princes, as hath appeared by their cruel laws againſt the poor Goſpellers.

No Law not remedy againſt the Clergy.

All laws and actions captive to the Clergy men.

Of *Richard Hun*, read before.

K. John ſubmitted himſelf unto the Pope, read before.

Triſh be not true in the whole, I would the greateſt part were not falſe.

100000 idle Whores made in England by the Popes Clergy.

The Statute of Mortmain.

Half the profit of the Realm in the Clergy hands.

The moſt good the Popes Clergy doth in *England*, is to pray without whoſe mens ſouls out of Purgatory.

Purgatory denied.

(b) *If the Pope may deliver ſouls out of Purgatory for mony, he may then as well deliver them without mony, if it tranſled him.*

Again, if he deliver not, he can deliver a thouſand, if he can deliver a thouſand, he can deliver all, and ſo make a Gaol-deliverance a clean diſpatch of all Purgatory. If he would; and if he will not when he may, then is there no charity in him.

Chriſt ſubmitted himſelf under temporal government

The cauſe touched why the Popes Clergy will not let the new Teſtament go abroad in the Mother tongue

(a) Peradventure the common count of the Pariſhes of England, among men, and in maps of the old time ſo went. And albeit the ſaid Pariſhes do not amount now to the ſame rate of 52000, yet nevertheleſs the number (no doubt) is great, and therefore the Quarrage of the Friers cannot be little, but riſeth to a great peny through the Realm. Whereupon the ſcope of this mans reaſon ſounderh to good purpoſe. For although he hit not perfectly on the juſt ſumme, yet it cannot be denied, but the Friers had very much, and much more than they deſerved. Again, neither can it be denied, but the more they had, the leſs redounded to the benefit needy beggers indeed. And what reaſon is it, that ſuch luſtie beggers, which may work, and yet will needs be idle, ſhould reap any piece of the Crop, which bare no burthen of the harveſt, but wilfully do ſit idle, and ſerve to no uſe neceſſary in the Commonwealth?

(b) Admit the Summa totalis cannot not to be much, yet it came to more than the Friers diſerved, which could well work, and would not, and would needs beg, and needed not; whereof read before the ſtory of Armachanus.

Oh grievous &c. Theſe words, ſaith Maſter More, the ſouls themſelves did bear even into Purgatory. Belike Maſter More himſelf ſtood behind Purgatory door the ſame time, or elſe how could he tell that the ſouls did bear him?

He meaneth all this only of idle Friers.

An unequal diſtribution that the Friers ſhould have half with the multitude, ſeeing they be not the four hundredth perſon of the number.

Here may your Grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocrifie to be diſcloſed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, ſo long ſhall it ſeem to every man to be a great impiety, not to give them. For this I am ſure, your Grace thinketh (as the truth is) I am as good a man as my Father; why may I not as well give them as much as my Father did? And of this mind, I am ſure are all the Lords, Knights, Squires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen in *England*; yea, and until it be diſcloſed, all your people will think that your Statute of *Mortmain* was never made with any good conſcience, ſeeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their ſouls out of Purgatory by giving to the Spiritualty, as their Predeceſſors did in times paſt.

Mr. *More* here playeth the caviller, noting the Author of this Supplication to deſire leave to rail on the whole Clergy, as though the hypocriſie of the Friers could not otherwiſe be diſcloſed with our railing on the whole Clergy.

Wherefore if ye will eſchew the mine of your Crown and Dignity, let their hypocriſie be uttered, and that ſhall be more ſpeedeful in this matter, than all the laws that may be made, be they never ſo ſtrong; for to mak a Law to puniſh any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit ſuch like offence, what ſhould it avail? Did not Doctor *Allen* moſt preſumptuouſly now in your time, againſt his Allegiance, all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of ſuch Pleas as belong unto your High Courts, unto another Court, in derogation of your Crown and Dignity? Did not alſo Doctor *Horſey* and his Complices, moſt heinouſly (as all the World knoweth) murder in Priſon that honeſt Merchant *Richard Hun*, for that he ſued your Writ of *Præmunire* againſt a Prieſt that wrongfully held him in Plea in a Spiritual Court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high Courts? And what puniſhment was there done that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred Pounds (as it is ſaid) to the building of your Chamber; and when that payment was once paſſed, the Captains of his Kingdom, becauſe he fought ſo manfully againſt your Crown and Dignity, have heaped to him Benefice upon Benefice, ſo that he is rewarded * Ten times as much. The other (as it is ſaid) paid ſix hundred pound for him and his Complices; which, becauſe that he had likewiſe fought ſo manfully againſt your Crown and Dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your moſt gracious Pardon, promoted by the Captains of the Kingdom, with Benefice upon Benefice, to the value of 4 times as much. Who can take example of puniſhment to beware of ſuch like offence? Who is he of their Kingdom that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, ſeeing the promotions that fell to theſe men for their ſo offending? ſo weak and blunt is your ſword to ſtrike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverſe generation.

Of Dr. *Allen* the Cardinals Chancellor, read before.

Of this Dr. *Horſey*, the Biſhop of *London*'s Chancellor, read before.

* *Ten times, that is, ten times as much as he had in Benefices before, and not as he paid to the King. And although theſe fourth-eyes of Hun were not recompenſed with ten times, or with four times as much, (which More denieth) yet can he never be able to deny the ſubſtance of the ſtory, that is, that Hun by theſe wiſe brought to his death; and that they, being put to their Fines, were afterward ſufficiently recompenſed with Benefices upon Benefices.*

Inconvenient for a ſpiritual man to be Lord Chancellor.

And this is by reaſon that the chief inſtrument of your Law, yea the chief of your Council, and he which hath your Sword in his hand, to whom alſo all the other inſtruments are obedient, is always a ſpiritual man, which hath ever ſuch an inordinate love unto his own Kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal Kingdoms and Commonwealths of the World ſhould therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greateſt matter of all, leſt that we declaring ſuch an horrible carrion of evil againſt the Miniſters of Iniquity, ſhould ſeem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our beſt beloved Miniſter of righteouſneſs, which is to be hid till he may be learned by theſe ſmall enormities that we have ſpoken of, to know it plainly himſelf.

More expounded this to mean the abuſe of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Prieſts turn the Hoſpitals to their own profit.

But what remedy to relieve us your poor, ſick, lame, and ſore Beadmen? To make many Hoſpitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay truly. The more the worſe: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the Prieſts Beards. Divers of your noble Predeceſſors, Kings of this Realm, have given Lands to Monaſteries, to give a certain ſumm of mony yearly to the poor people, whereof for the ancient of the time they give never one peny. They have likewiſe given to them, to have a certain of Maſſes ſaid daily for them, whereof they ſay never one. If the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* ſhould {KING Hen. 8.} ſing every day as many Maſſes for his Founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thouſand Monks were too few. Wherefore if your Grace will build a ſure Hoſpital that never ſhall fail, to relieve us all your poor Beadmen, then take from them all theſe things. Set theſe ſtrafy Loobies abroad in the World to get them Wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the ſweat of their faces, according to the Commandment of God, *Geneſis* the firſt, to give other idle people, by their example occaſion to go to labour.

What wrath and goodneſs cometh to the Realm by putting out Monks, Friers and Chantries.

Ty theſe holy idle Thieves to the Carts, to be whipped naked about every Market Town, till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging, take not away the Alms that the good Chriſtian people would give unto us, fore, impotent, miſerable people, your Bead-men. Then ſhall as well the number of our forefaid monſtrous ſort, as of the Bawds, Whores, Thieves, and idle people decreaſe. Then ſhall theſe great yearly Exactions ceaſe. Then ſhall not your Sword, Power, Crown, Dignity, and Obedience of your People be tranſlated from you. Then ſhall you have full obedience of your people. Then ſhall the idle people be fet to work. Then ſhall Matrimony be much better kept. Then ſhall the Generation of your people be increaſed. Then ſhall your Commons increaſe in riches. Then ſhall the Goſpel be preached. Then ſhall none beg our Alms from us. Then ſhall we have enough, and more than ſhall ſuffice us; which ſhall be the beſt Hoſpital that ever was founded for us. Then ſhall we daily pray to God for your moſt noble eſtate long to endure.

The ſuppliſation of Purgatory, made by ſix Theſtures, againſt the Book of Beggers.

Againſt this Book *of the Beggers*, above prefixed, being written in the time of the Cardinal, another contrary Book or Supplication was deviſed and written ſhortly upon the ſame, by one Sir *Thomas More* Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, under the Name and Title of, *The poor ſilly ſouls pewling out of Purgatory*. In the which Book, after that the ſaid Matter *More*, Writer thereof, had firſt divided the whole World into four parts, that is, into Heaven, Hell, Middle-Earth, and Purgatory; then he maketh the ſouls mens ſouls, by a Rhetorical *Proſopopeia*, to ſpeak out of Purgatory pin-fold, ſometimes lamentably complaining, ſometimes pleaſantly dallying and ſcoffing at the Author of the Beggers Book; ſometimes ſcolding and railing at him, calling him Fool, Witleſs, Frantick, an Aſs, a Gooſe, a mad Dog, an Heretick, and all that naught is. And no marvel, if theſe filly ſouls of Purgatory ſeem ſo fumiſh and teſty; for heat (ye know) is teſty, and ſoon inflameth choler. But yet theſe Purgatory ſouls muſt take good heed how they call a man Fool and Heretick ſo often; for if the ſentence of the Goſpel do pronounce them guilty of Hell Fire, which ſay, *Fatue, Fool*, it muſt be doubted, leſt thoſe poor ſilly melancholy ſouls of Purgatory, calling this man Fool ſo oft as they have done, do bring themſelves thereby out of Purgatory fire to the fire of Hell, by that juſt ſentence of the Goſpel, ſo that neither the five wounds of Saint *Francis*, nor all the merits of Saint *Dominick*, nor yet of all the Friers, can releaſe them poor wretches. But yet forſomuch as I do not, nor cannot think that thoſe departed ſouls either would ſo far overſhoot themſelves if they were in Purgatory, or elſe that there is any ſuch fourth place of Purgatory at all (unleſs it be in Maſter *More*'s *Utopia*) as Maſter *More*'s Poetical Vein doth imagine, I ceaſe therefore to burden the ſouls departed, and lay all the wit on Maſter *More*, the Author and Contriver of this Poetical Book, for not keeping *Decorum perſonæ*, as a perfect Poet ſhould have done. They that give precepts of Art do note this in all Poetical Fictions, as a ſpecial obſervation, to fore-ſee and expreſs what is convenient for every perſon, according to his degree and condition to ſpeak and utter. Wherefore if it be true that Maſter *More* ſaith in the ſequel of his Book, that grace and charity increaſeth in them that lie in the pains of Purgatory, then is it not agreeable, that ſuch ſouls lying ſo long in Purgatory, ſhould ſo ſoon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their Supplication ſo furniſhly, both againſt this man with

Matth. 5.

Utopia, that is to ſay, *Nuſquam*, no place.

A Poet, ſaith *Horace*, *Reddere perſonæ, ſcit convenientia cuique.*

{KING Hen. 8.} with ſuch oppróbrious and unfitting terms, and alſo againſt *John Badby*, *Richard Hownden*, *John Gooſe*, Lord *Cobham*, and other Martyrs of the Lord burned for his Word; alſo againſt *Luther*, *William Tindal*, *Richard Hun*, and other more, falſly belying the Doctrine by them taught and defended; which is not like that ſuch charitable ſouls of Purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that caſe; which indeed, though their Doctrine were falſe, ſhould redound to the more increaſe of their pain. Again, where the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* defineth the Angels to be Miniſters to Purgatory ſouls, ſome will think peradventure Maſter *More* to have miſſed ſome part of his *Decorum*, in making the evil Spirit of the Author, and the Devil to be meſſenger, between middle-Earth and Purgatory; in bringing tidings to the priſoned ſouls, both of the Book, and of the name of the maker.

Mr. *More*'s Antickes.

Now, as touching the manner how this Devil came into Purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnaſhing his teeth, in ſooth it makes me to laugh, to ſee the merry Antickes of Maſter *More*. Belike then this was ſome merry Devil, or elſe had eaten with his teeth ſome *Naſturcium* before; which coming into Purgatory, to chew the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. But this was (faith he) an envious and an envious laughing, joyned with grinning and gnaſhing of teeth. And immediately upon the ſame, was contrived this ſcoffing and railing Supplication of the pewling ſouls of Purgatory, as he himſelf doth term them. So then, here was enmying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnaſhing of teeth, pewling, ſcoffing, railing and begging, and all together to make a very black *Sanctus* in Purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, *that there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth in Hell*, where the ſouls and bodies of men ſhall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil Angel of this man that made the Book of Beggers, being a ſpiritual and no corporal ſubſtance, had teeth to gnaſh, and a mouth to grin? But where then ſtood Maſter *More*, I marvel all this mean while, to ſee the Devil laugh with his mouth ſo wide, that the ſouls of Purgatory might ſee all his teeth? Belike, this was in *Utopia*, where Maſter *More*'s Purgatory is founded; but becauſe Mr. *More* is hence departed, I leave him with his merry Antickes.

Satan Naſturcium.

A black Sanctus in Purgatory.

The anſwer of *J. Frith* againſt Mr. *More*'s Purgatory.

And as touching his Books of Purgatory, which he hath left behind, becauſe *John Frith* hath learnedly and effectuouſly overthrown the ſame, I will therefore refer the Reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the Hiſtory.

After that the Clergy of *England*, and eſpecially the Cardinal, underſtood theſe Books of the *Beggers Supplication* aforeſaid, to be ſtrawn abroad in the Streets of *London*, and alſo before the King, the ſaid Cardinal cauſed not only his ſervants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they ſhould not come into the Kings hands, but alſo when he underſtood, that the King had received one or two of them, he came unto the Kings Majeſty, ſaying, *If it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, here are divers ſeditious perſons which have ſcattered abroad Books containing manifeſt Errors and Hereſies; deſiring his Grace to beware of them.* Whereupon the King, putting his hand in his boſom, took out one of the Books, and delivered it unto the Cardinal. Then the Cardinal, together with his Biſhops, conſulted how they might provide a ſpeedy remedy for this miſchief, and thereupon determined to give out a Commiſſion to forbid the reading of all *Engliſh* Books, and namely, this Book of Beggers, and the New Teſtament of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, which was done out of hand by *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, who ſent out his Prohibition unto his Archdeacons with all ſpeed, for the forbidding of that Book and divers other more; the tenor of which Prohibition here followeth.

Proviſion by the Biſhops againſt Engliſh books.

¶ *A Prohibition ſent out by* Cuthbert Tonſtal, *Biſhop of* London, *to the Archdeacons of his Dioceſs, for the calling in of the New Teſtaments tranſlated into* Engliſh, *with divers other Books; the Catalogue whereof hereafter inſueth.*

A Prohibition againſt *Engliſh* Books.

'CUTHBERT by the permiſſion of God, Biſhop 'of *London*, unto our wellbeloved in Chriſt, the 'Archdeacon of *London*, or to his Official, Health, Grace 'and Benediction. By the duty of our Paſtoral office, 'we are bound diligently with all our power to foreſee, 'provide for, root out, and put away all thoſe things, 'which ſeem to tend to the peril and danger of our 'Subjects, and ſpecially the deſtruction of their ſouls. 'Wherefore we having underſtanding, by the report of 'divers credible perſons, and alſo by the evident appear'rance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, 'maintainers of *Luther*'s Sect, blinded through extream 'wickedneſs, wandring from the way of truth, and the 'Catholick Faith, craftily have tranſlated the New Te'ſtament into our *Engliſh* Tongue, intermedling there'with many Heretical Articles, and erroneous Opinions, 'pernicious and offenſive, ſeducing the ſimple people, 'attempting by their wicked and perverſe interpretations, 'to prophanate the Majeſty of the Scripture, which hi'therto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuſe 'the moſt holy Word of God, and the true ſenſe of the 'ſame, of the which Tranſlation there are many Books 'imprinted, ſome with gloſſes, and ſome without, con'taining in the *Engliſh* Tongue that peſtiferous and 'moſt pernicious poiſon diſperſed throughout all our 'Dioceſs of *London* in great number; which truly, with'out it be foreſeen, without doubt will contaminate and 'infect the flock committed unto us, with moſt deadly poiſon and Herefie, to the grievous peril and danger 'of the ſouls committed to our charge, and the offence 'of Gods Divine Majeſty: Wherefore, we *Cuthbert*, 'the Biſhop aforeſaid, grievouſly ſorrowing for the pre'miſes, willing to withſtand the craft and ſubtilty of the 'ancient enemy and his miniſters, which ſeek the de'ſtruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take 'heed unto the flock committed to my charge, deſiring 'to provide ſpeedy remedies for the premiſſes, do charge 'you joyntly and ſeverally, and by vertue of your obe'dience ſtraitly injoyn and command you, that by our 'authority you warn, or cauſe to be warned all and ſin'gular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling with'in your Archdeaconries, that within thirty days ſpace, 'whereof ten days ſhall be for the firſt, ten for the ſe'cond, and ten for the third and peremptory term, un'der pain of Excommunication, and incurring the ſuſ'picion of Herefie, they do bring in, and really deliver 'unto our Vicar general, all and ſingular ſuch Books 'as contain the Tranſlation of the New Teſtament in 'the *Engliſh* Tongue; and that you do certifie us, or 'our ſaid Commiſſary, within two Months after the 'day of the date of theſe Preſents, duly, perſonally, or by 'your Letters, together with theſe preſents, under your 'ſeals, what you have done in the premiſſes, under pain 'of contempt.

'Given under our Seal, the three 'and twentieth of *October*, in 'the fifth year of our Conſecra'tion, *Anno* 1526.

The like Commiſſion in like manner and form was ſent to the other three Archdeacons of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex* and *Colcheſter*, for the execution of the ſame matter, under the Biſhops Seal.

¶ The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

Books condemned and forbidden.

THE Supplication of Beggers.
The Revelation of Antichriſt, of Luther.
The New Teſtament of Tindal.
The wicked Mammon.
The obedience of a Chriſtian Man.
An Introduction to Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans.
A Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son.
Oeconomicæ Chriſtianæ.
Unio diſſidentium.
Piæ Precationes.
Captivitas Babylonica.
Joannes Hus in Oſeam.
Zuinglius in Catabaptiſtas.
De pueris inſtituendis.
Brentius de adminiſtranda Republica.
Luther. ad Galatas.
De libertate Chriſtiana.
Luther's Expoſition upon the Pater Noſter.

¶ Beſides theſe Books here before mentioned, within a ſhort time after there were a great number more of other Books in like manner prohibited by the Kings Proclamation; but yet by the Biſhops procurement, *Anno* 1529. The Catalogue whereof, with the Names and the Authors, are here to be ſeen.

¶ Libri Sectæ ſive Factionis Lutherianæ importati ad Civitatem London. per fautores ejuſdem Sectæ, quorum nomina & Auctores ſequuntur.

JOANNIS Wicleffi viri piiſſimi Dialogorum libri quatuor, quorum primus divinitatem & ideas tractat.
Secundus verum univerſarum creationem complectitur. Tertius de virtutibus vitiiſque ipſis contrariis copioſiſſime loquitur. Quartus Romanæ Eccleſiæ Sacramenta, ejus peſtiferam dotationem, Antichriſti Regnum, Fratrum fraudulentam originem atque eorum hypocriſim demonſtrat.
De bono operibus Doctoris Mart. Lutheri.
Epiſtola Lutheri ad Leonem X. ſummum Pontificem.
Teſſaradeca conſolatoria pro laborantibus & oneratis Mart. Lutheri.
Tractatus Lutheri de libertate Chriſtiana.
Sermo Doctoris Martini Lutheri.
Enarrationes Martini Lutheri in Epiſtolas D. Petri.
Reſponſio Martini Lutheri ad librum Magiſtri Bartholomæi Catharini defenſoris Silveſtri Pontificis, cum expoſita Viſione Danielis 8. De Ant. Chriſti.
De operibus Dei, Martino Cellario autore.
Deuteronomos Moſis ex Hebræo caſtigatus, cum annotationibus Mart. Lutheri.
Lutheri Catechiſmus Latina donatus civitate, per Johannem Lonicerum.
Jonæ Prophetæ, Martini Lutheri commentariolo explicatus.
In Epiſtolam Pauli ad Galatas, Mart. Lutheri commentarius.
Martini Lutheri Epiſtolarum farrago pietatis & eruditionis plena, cum Pſalmorum aliquot interpretatione.
Enarrationes ſeu Poſtillæ Martini Lutheri in lectiones quæ ex Evangelicis Hiſtoriis, Apoſtolorum ſcriptis, aliiſque ſacræ Scripturæ literis deſumptæ per univerſum annum, tam diebus Dominicis, quam dvvorum memoriæ ſacris, ſuper miſſam faciendam recitantur.
Concluſiones ſedecim R. patris Domini Martini Lutheri, de fide & ceremoniis.
Ejuſdem de Fide & Operibus ſaluberrima declaratio.
Ceremoniarum eruditiſſima reſolutio, quid ſint & quo modo eis utendum. {KING Hen.8.}
Concluſiones quinquaginta ejuſdem pro timoratis conſcientiis.
Reſolutio Lutheriana ſuper propoſitionem ſuam 13. De poteſtate Papæ.
Didimi Faventini adverſus Thomam Placentinum, pro Martino Luthero theologo oratio.
Enarrationes novæ Domini M. Lutheri in Jonam Prophetam.
De votis Monaſticis, Martini Lutheri judicium.
Enchiridion piarum precationum Martini Lutheri.
Concinnculæ quædam Martini Lutheri in deiparæ Virginis, & aliquot feſtos dies, nuper e populari lingua Latine factæ.
In Eſaiam Prophetam commentarius Joannis Oecolampadii.
In Danielem Prophetam Joannis Oecolampadii libri duo.
Apologetica Joannis Oecolampadii de dignitate Euchariſtiæ.
Item, Sermones duo ad Theobaldum Billicanum, quinam in verbis Cœnæ alienum ſenſum inferant.
De non habendo pauperum delectu, Joannes Oecolampadius.
In poſtremos tres Prophetas, nempe Haggeum, Zachariam & Malachiam, Commentarius Johannis Oecolampadii.
Quid de Euchariſtia veteres tum Græci, tum Latini ſenſerint dialogus: in quo Epiſtolæ Philippi Melanchthonis & Johannis Oecolampadii inſertæ ſunt.
Apologetica Joannis Oecolampadii de dignitate Euchariſtiæ.
Joannes Oecolampadius de genuina verborum Domini, Hoc eſt corpus meum, ſignificatione.
In Epiſtolam Pauli Apoſtoli adnotationes a Joanne Oecolampadio recognitæ.
Acuta exegeſis, id eſt, Expoſitio Euchariſtici negotii ad Martinum Lutherum, Huldrico Zuinglio authore.
Complanationes Eſaiæ Prophetæ fœtura prima, cum Apologia per Huldricum Zuinglium.
Farrago annotationum in Geneſim, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii. Annotationvelæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Zuinglii in utramque Pauli ad Corinthios Epiſtolam.
Ad Philippenſes annotatiuncvlæ per Leonem Judam, ex ore Huldrici Zuinglii exceptæ.
Ad illuſtriſſimos Germaniæ principes Auguſtæ congregatos de convitiis Ecchii.
In Catabaptiſtarum Strophas Elenchus Huldrici Zuinglii.
De veteri & falſa Religione Huldrici Zuinglii Commentarius.
Ad illuſtriſſimum Cattorum principem Philippum, Sermones de providentia Dei, Huldricho Zuinglio authore.
Complanationes Jeremiæ Prophetæ fœtura prima cum Apologia, per Huldricum Zuinglium.
Ad Theobaldi Billicani & Urbani Regii Epiſtolas reſponſio Huldrici Zuinglii.
Quo pacto ingenui adoleſcentes formandi ſunt, præceptiones pauculæ, Huldrico Zuinglio authore.
Annotationes Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani in Epiſtolas Pauli ad Galatas, Epheſios, Philippenſes, Coloſſenſes, Theſſalonicenſes, primam & ſecundam.
In Regum duos ultimos libros annotationes Joannis Bugenhagii Pomerani poſt Samuelem, jam primum emiſſæ.
Johannis Bugenhagii Pomerani annotationes in Deuteronomium, & in Samuelem Prophetam, id eſt, duos libros Regum.
De conjugio Epiſcoporum & Diaconorum, ad venerandum Doctorem Wolfgangum Ryeſenbuſt, per Johannem Bugenhagium Pomeranum.
Explicatio brevis, ſimplex, & canonica Libelli Ruth, ea forma qua totius veteris teſt. Canonici Libri expoſiti ſunt, authore Conrado Pellicano.

Pſal-

{KING Hen.8.} Pſalterium Davidis, Conradi Pellicani opera elaboratum: non eſſe ferendas in templis Chriſtianorum imagines & ſtatuas coli ſolita, authoribus Eccleſiaſticis Argentoraten.
Epiſtola Martini Buceri, Evangeliſtarum enarrationes nuncupata. De hebdomadis quæ apud Danielem ſunt opuſculum, in quo tractatur de ſacrificio miſſæ abolendo, incerto authore.
Novæ Doctrinæ ad veterem collatio per Urbanum Regium, in quo tractat de ſacris Eccleſiæ.
Collectaneæ Communium Troporum ſacroſanctæ Scripturæ, Bartholomæo Weſthemero collectore.
In Epiſtolam ad Romanos, Andreæ Knophen Coſtermenſis interpretatio, Adjecta eſt Epiſtola a Philippo Melanct.
Loci utriuſque Teſtamenti complectentes præcipua capita totius Chriſtianiſmi, cum adjectis ſcholiis.
Epiſtola Pauli ad Titum jam recens per Joann. Agricolam ſcholiis novis illuſtrata.
In Hoſeam Prophetam quinque Sermones Capitonis.
Diſpoſitio orationis in Epiſtolam Pauli ad Romanos Phil. Melanct. Autore.
Sancti Pauli ad Coloſſenſes Epiſtola, cum commentariis Phil. Melanchthonis.
Nova ſcholia Philip. Melanchthon. in Proverbia Salomonis.
De authoritate, officio & poteſtate Paſtorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ex Phil. Melanct. editione.
Philippi Melanchthonis Annotationes in Johannem.
Annotationes Philippi Melanchthonis in Evangelium Matthæi.
Enarrationes perpetuæ in ſacra quatuor Evangelia per Martinum Bucerum.
In ſancti Pauli Epiſtolam ad Epheſios, Martinus Bucerus.
In Theophaniam, quem Sophoniam vulgo vocant, Epitomographus ad Hebraicam veritatem verſus, per Martinum Bucerum.
Job cum Commentariis Joannis Brentii.
Eccleſiaſtes Salomonis cum Commentariis Joannis Brentii.
In Divi Joannis Evangelium Joannis Brentii exegeſes.
Franciſci Lamberti Avinionenſis, in divi Lucæ Evangelium Commentarii.
Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii de Prophetia, Eruditione & Linguis, deque Litera & Spiritu.
In Regulam Minoritarum, & contra univerſas perditionis Sectas, Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii.
Ejuſdem libellus de differentia ſtimuli carnis ſathanæ nuncii, & uſtionis.
In Cantica Canticorum Salomonis, libellum quidem ſenſibus altiſſimis, in quo ſublimia ſacri conjugii myſteria, quæ in Chriſto, & Eccleſia ſunt, pertractantur, Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii.
In Amos, Abdiam, & Jonam, Prophetas, Commentarii Franciſci Lamberti.
Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii in IV ultimos Prophetas, nempe Sophoniam, Aggeum, Zachariam & Malachiam.
Weſſelius de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ, & de audienda miſſa. Farrago Weſſeli Groning. Lux mundi olim vulgo dicta, in qua tractatur de providentia Dei, de dignitate & pietate Eccleſiaſtica, de Sacramento pœnitentiæ, & quæ ſunt claves Eccleſiæ, & de Purgatorio.
Weſſelii Epiſtola adverſus M. Eugelbertum Lerdens, in qua tractatur quid ſit tenendum de ſpirituum & mortuorum apparitionibus, ac de ſuffragiis & celebrationibus.
Tractatus Weſſelii de Oratione & modo orandi.
De Chriſti Incarnatione, de magnitudine, & amaritudine dominicæ paſſionis, libri duo, Weſſelio Groningenſi autore.
In Dei gratiæ & Chriſtianæ Fidei commendationem, contra falſam & Phariſaicam multorum de juſtitiis & meritis operum doctrinam & gloriationem, fragmenta aliquot D. Joannis Goccbii, nunquam antehac excuſa.
Dialogus D. Joannis Gocchii Mechlinienſis, de quatuor erroribus circa Evangelicam legem exortis.
Quod non ſit omeroſa confeſſio peccatorum. Joannis Oecolampadii. De celibatu, monachatu, & viduitate, Domino Andreæ Caroloſtadio Autore.
Franciſci Lamberti Commentarii de cauſis excæcationis multorum ſeculorum, ac veritate denuo & noviſſime Dei miſericordia revelata, &c. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

The New Teſtament, in the Catalogue above recited, began firſt to be tranſlated by *William Tindal*, and ſo came forth in Print, about the year of our Lord 1529. wherewith *Cuthbert Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*, with Sir *Thomas More*, being ſore aggrieved, deviſed how to deſtroy that falſe erroneous Tranſlation, as he called it. It happened that one *Auguſtine Packington* a Mercer, was then at *Antwerp*, where the Biſhop was. This man favoured *Tindal*, but ſhewed the contrary unto the Biſhop. The Biſhop, being deſirous to bring his purpoſe to paſs, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Teſtaments. *Packington* hearing him ſay ſo, ſaid, *My Lord, I can do more in this matter, than moſt Merchants that be here, if it be your pleaſure; for I know the* Dutchmen *and ſtrangers that have bought them of* Tindal, *and have them here to ſell; ſo that if it be your Lordſhips pleaſure, I muſt diſburſe money to pay for them, or elſe I cannot have them; and ſo I will aſſure you to have every Book of them that is printed and unſold.* The Biſhop thinking he had God by the Toe, ſaid, *Do your diligence, gentle Maſter* Packington, *get them for me, and I will pay whatſoever they coſt; for I intend to burn and deſtroy them all at* Pauls Croſs. This *Auguſtine Packington* went unto *William Tindal*, and declared the whole matter, and ſo, upon compact made between them, the Biſhop of *London* had the Books, *Packington* had the thanks, and *Tindal* had the money. After this *Tindal* corrected the ſame New Teſtaments again, and cauſed them to be newly imprinted, ſo that they came thick and threefold over into *England*. When the Biſhop perceived that, he ſent for *Packington*, and ſaid to him, *How cometh this that there are ſo many New Teſtaments abroad? you promiſed me that you would buy them all.* Then anſwered *Packington*, *Surely, I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive they have printed more ſince. I ſee it will never be better ſo long as they have Letters and Stamps: Wherefore you were beſt to buy the Stamps too, and ſo you ſhall be ſure.* At which anſwer the Biſhop ſmiled, and ſo the matter ended.

Auguſtine Packington the Biſhop of London's Merchant.

In ſhort ſpace after, it fortuned that *George Conſtantine* was apprehended by Sir *Thomas More*, which was then Chancellor of *England*, ſuſpected of certain Hereſies during the time that he was in the cuſtody of Maſter *More*. After divers communications, amongſt other things, Maſter *More* asked of him, ſaying, *Conſtantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promiſe thee, I will ſhew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accuſed. There is beyond the Sea,* Tindal, Joy, *and a great many of you, I know they cannot live without help. There are ſome that help and ſuccour them with money, and thou being one of them hadſt thy part thereof, and therefore knoweſt from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that help them thus? My Lord,* quoth *Conſtantine, I will tell you truly; It is the Biſhop of* London *that hath holpen us, for he hath beſtowed among us a great deal of money upon New Teſtaments to burn them, and that hath been, and yet is our only ſuccour and comfort. Now by my truth,* quoth *More, I think even the ſame; for ſo much I told the Biſhop before he went about it.*

George Conſtantine.

Of this *George Conſtantine*, moreover it is reported by Sir *Thomas More*, that he being taken and in hold, ſeemed well contented to renounce his former Doctrine, and not only to diſcloſe certain other of his fellows, but alſo ſtudied and deviſed, how theſe Books, which he himſelf, and other of his fellows had brought and ſhipped,

Out of More's Book of Hereſies againſt Tindal.

Shipped, might come to the Biſhops hands to be burned, and ſhewed to the aforeſaid Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor, the Ship-mans name that had them, and the marks of the Fardels, by the which the Books afterward were taken and burned. Beſides this, he is reported alſo to have diſcloſed divers of his Companions, of whom ſome were abjured after, ſome had abjured before, as *Richard Nefton*, who was committed to *Newgate* upon the ſame, and is thought there to have died in priſon, or elſe had not eſcaped their hands, but ſhould have ſuffered burning, if the report of Maſter *More* be to be credited. *More* in his Preface againſt *Tindal*.

George Conſtantine a diſcloſer of his fellows.

Notwithſtanding the ſame *Conſtantine* afterward, by the help of ſome of his friends, eſcaped out of priſon over the Seas, and after that, in the time of King *Edward*, was one of them that troubled the good Biſhop of St. *Davids*, which after in Queen *Maries* time was burned. But of *Conſtantine* enough.

George Conſtantine a troubler of Farrar Biſhop of St. Davids.

Mention was made in the leaf before, how the Biſhops had procured of the King a Proclamation to be ſet forth in the year of our Lord 1529, for the abolithing of diverſ Books aforenamed, and alſo for the withſtanding of all ſuch as taught or preached any thing againſt the dignity and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*. Upon this Proclamation inſued great perſecution and trouble againſt the poor innocent flock of Chriſt, as here following you may ſee, with the ſaid Proclamation alſo prefixed before the ſame, the tenour whereof is this.

A Proclamation for reſiſting and withſtanding of moſt damnable Hereſies, ſown within this Realm by the Diſciples of Luther, *and other Hereticks, perverters of Chriſts Religion.*

This Proclamation was made throughout all England the year of our Lord, 1529, and the 21 year of K. Henry the Eighth.

THE King our Soveraign Lord, of his moſt vertuous and gracious diſpoſition, conſidering that this noble Realm of *England* hath of long time continued in the true Catholick Faith of Chriſts Religion, and that his noble Progenitors, Kings of this his ſaid Realm, have before this time made and Enacted many devout Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, for the maintenance and defence of the ſaid Faith againſt the malicious and wicked Sects of Hereticks and *Lollards*, who by perverſion of Holy Scripture do induce Erroneous opinions, ſow ſedition amongſt Chriſtian people, and finally diſturb the peace and tranquility of Chriſtian Realms, as lately happened in ſome parts of *Germany*, where by the procurement and fedition of *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks, were ſlain an infinite number of Chriſtian people; conſidering alſo, that as well by the corruption and malice of indiſcreet Preachers, fautors of the ſaid Erroneous Sects, as by certain Heretical and blaſphemous Books lately made, and privily ſent into this Realm, by the Diſciples, fautors and adherents of the ſaid *Martin Luther*, and other Hereticks the Kings ſubjects, are like to be corrupted, unleſs his Highneſs (as the Defender of the Faith) do put to his moſt gracious help and Authority Royal, to the due and ſpeedy reformation thereof: his Highneſs therefore like a moſt gracious Prince, of his bleſſed and vertuous diſpoſition, for the incomparable zeal which he hath to Chriſts Religion and Faith, and for the ſingular love and affection that he beareth to all his good ſubjects of this his Realm, and ſpecially to the ſalvation of their ſouls, according to his office and duty in that behalf, willeth and intendeth to provide with all convenient expedition, that this his noble Realm may be preſerved from the ſaid peſtiferous, curſed, and ſeditious errors. And foraſmuch as his Highneſs is credibly informed, that ſome of the ſaid Errors be already ſown and ſpread within this his Realm, partly by the corruption of indiſcreet Preachers, partly by Erroneous Books, compiled, printed and written, as well in the *Engliſh* Tongue, as in *Latin* and other Languages, repleat with moſt venemous Hereſies, blaſphemies, and ſlanders, intolerable to the clean ears of any good Chriſtian man: his Highneſs therefore like a moſt Gracious and Chriſtian Prince, only intending the ſafeguard of this his Realm, the preſervation of his ſubjects, and ſalvation of their ſouls, willeth now to put in execution, with all diligence poſſible, all good Laws, Statutes and Ordinances, concerning the preſſiſſes before this time provided, made, and ordained by his moſt noble Progenitors, Kings of *England* for that purpoſe and intent. Which Laws and Statutes by our Soveraign Lord, and his moſt Honourable Council, by long and deliberate advice for the extirpation, ſuppreſſing and withſtanding of the ſaid Hereſies, have been ſeen, examined, and by them in every part thought good and neceſſary to be put in execution.

{KING Hen. 8.}

Wherefore his Highneſs chargeth and ſtraitly commandeth all and every his Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Judges, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and all other his Officers, Miniſters, and all his true and loving ſubjects, that all favour, affection, and partiality laid apart, they effectually, with all diligence and ſtudy endeavour themſelves ſubſtantially for the executing of all and every of the Articles hereafter enſuing, without diſſimulation, intermiſſion, or excuſe, as they will avoid his high indignation and diſpleaſure.

Firſt, That no man within the Kings Realm, or other his Dominions ſubject to his Highneſs, hereafter preſume to preach, teach, or inform any thing openly or privily, or compile and write any Book, or hold, exerciſe, or keep any Aſſemblies or Schools, in any manner of wiſe, contrary to the Catholick Faith, or determination of Holy Church; nor that any perſon within this his ſaid Realm and Dominions do preſume to preach openly or ſecretly, without they have firſt obtained license of the Biſhop of the Diocеſe where they intend to preach; Curates in their Pariſhes, perſons priviledged, and other by the Law of the Church only except.

Alſo that no man wittingly hereafter, favour, ſupport, or maintain any perſon, which preacheth in form aforeſaid, or maketh any ſuch or like Conventicles and Aſſemblies, holdeth or exerciſeth any Schools, maketh, writeth, or publiſheth any ſuch Book, teacheth, informeth, or ſtirreth the people, or any of them, in any manner of form to the ſaid errors. Moreover, that all and every perſon and perſons, having any Books or writings of any ſuch errors, erroneous Doctrine, and opinion, do deliver or cauſe to be delivered, effectually and actually, all and every ſuch Books and writings, to the Biſhop of the Diocеſs, or to the Ordinary of the place, within fifteen days after this Proclamation pronounced. And in caſe any perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, condition, or degree ſoever they be, do or attempt any thing contrary to this Act and Proclamation, or do not deliver or cauſe to be delivered ſuch Books, within the time aforeſaid, that every Biſhop in his Diocеſs, or Ordinary, ſhall cauſe that perſon or perſons, and every of them in that behalf defamed or evidently ſuſpected, to be arreſted, and detain and keep them under ſafe cuſtody in their Priſons, until ſuch time that the ſaid perſons, and every of them, either have purged themſelves of the ſaid errors, or elſe do abjure the ſaid Erroneous Sects, Preachings, Doctrines, or opinions, as the Law of Holy-Church doth require.

Penalty.

Furthermore, if any perſon by the Law of Holy-Church be convicted before the Biſhop of the Diocеſs, or his Commiſſary, in any caſe above expreſſed, that the ſaid Biſhop may keep in priſon the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo convicted, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to his diſcretion, after the grievouſneſs or quality of the crime. And further, may ſet a fine to be paid to the behoof of the King, by the perſon or perſons convicted, as it ſhall be thought convenient to the ſaid Biſhop, having reſpect to the grievouſneſs of the offence of the ſaid perſon or perſons: the ſaid fine to be certified by the Biſhop into the Kings Exchequer, there to be levied to the Kings uſe, except in ſuch caſes in which by the Laws of Holy Church, the ſaid perſons convict of Hereſies ought totally to be left to the Secular juriſdiction.

Alſo if any perſon within this his Realm of *England*, or other his Dominions, be by ſentence judicial convicted of the ſaid Preachings and Doctrines prohibited, Erroneous opinions, Schools, and informations, or any of them, and

{KING Hen. 8.}

Extrav. de hæret. Super eo.

and before the Biſhop or his Commiſſary do abjure, according to the form of the Laws of Holy Church, the foreſaid erroneous Sects, Doctrines, Schools, or informations, or elſe be pronounced by the Biſhops or their Commiſſaries after their Abjuration by them before made, to be relapſed, ſo that after the Laws of Holy Church, they ought to be relinquiſhed to the juriſdiction ſecular, (whereof in faith is to be given to the Biſhop or his Commiſſaries in that behalf) then the Sheriff of the County, Mayor, Sheriffs, or Mayor and Bailiffs of the ſame City, Town, or Borrough, next unto the ſaid Biſhop or Commiſſaries, ſhall be perſonally preſent at the ſentence given, by the ſaid Biſhop or Commiſſaries thereunto required, and after the ſaid ſentence given, ſhall receive the ſaid perſons, and every of them, and put them to further execution, according to the Laws of this Realm.

Sheriffs to be preſent at the ſentence.

Alſo the Chancellor, Treaſurer of *England*, the Juſtice of the one Bench and the other, Juſtices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, and Bailiffs of Cities and Towns, and other Officers having governance of the people which now be, or for the time hereafter ſhall be, ſhall make Oath in taking their charge and miniſtration, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make utterly to ceaſe, and deſtroy all manner of Hereſies and errors, commonly called *Lollardies*, within the precincts of their offices and adminiſtrations, from time to time with all their power.

Alſo they ſhall aſſiſt the Biſhops and their Commiſſaries, and them ſhall favour and maintain as oftentimes as that to do they or any of them ſhall be required by the ſaid Biſhops or their Commiſſaries; ſo that the Biſhops or their Commiſſaries ſhall bear and pay the reaſonable coſts of the ſaid Officers and Miniſters, when, and as often as they ſhall travel or ride to arreſt Hereticks and *Lollards*, or to aſſiſt the ſaid Biſhops or Commiſſaries, by vertue of the Kings Laws and Statutes.

Inquiſition at Seſſions.

Moreover, The Juſtices of the *Kings-Bench*, Juſtices of Peace, and Juſtices of Aſſiſe, ſhall enquire at their Seſſions and ſittings, of all thoſe that hold any Errors or Hereſies, and who be their maintainers, recepters, favourers, and ſupporters, common writers of Books, as alſo of their Sermons, Schools, Conventicles, Cougregations, and Confederacies.

Furthermore, if any perſon be Indicted of any of the points abovеſaid, the Juſtices of the Peace have power to award againſt them a *Capias*, and the Sheriffs be bound to arreſt ſuch perſons ſo Indicted, ſo ſoon as they may be found by themſelves, or by their Officers. And foraſmuch as cogniſance of Hereſies, Errors and *Lollardies*, appertaineth to the Judg of Holy Church, and not to the Judg ſecular, the perſons ſo Indicted to be delivered to the Biſhops of the places, or their Commiſſaries, by Indenture between them to be made within ten days after their arreſt, or ſooner, if it can be done, thereof to be acquit or convict by the Laws of Holy Church, in caſe that thoſe perſons be not indicted of other things, whereof the knowledg appertains to the Judges and Officers ſecular. In which caſe, after they be acquit and delivered afore the Juſtice ſecular, of thoſe things pertaining to the Judg ſecular, that they be conveyed in ſafe guard to Ordinaries or their Commiſſaries, and to them to be delivered by Indentures (as is above ſaid) there to be acquit or convicted of the ſaid Hereſies, Errors, and *Lollardies* (as is above ſaid) after the Laws of Holy Church; provided that the Indictments be not taken in evidence, but for an information afore the Judges Spiritual, againſt ſuch Indict, but that the Ordinaries commence their proceſs againſt thoſe Indicts, in the ſame manner as no Indictment had been, having no regard to ſuch Indictments.

Moreover, That no manner of perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition he or they be, do from henceforth preſume to bring into this Realm, or do ſell, receive, take, or detain any Book or Work, printed or written, which is made, or hereafter ſhall be made againſt the Faith Catholick, or againſt the holy Decrees, Laws, and Ordinances of Holy Church, or in reproach, rebuke, or ſlander of the King, his honourable Council, or his Lords Spiritual or Temporal. And in caſe they have any ſuch Book or Work, they ſhall incontinent, upon the having of them, bring the ſaid Book or Work to the Biſhop of the Diocеſs, without concealment or fraud: or if they know any perſon having any of the ſaid Books, they ſhall detect them to the ſaid Biſhop, all favour or affection laid apart, and that they fail not thus to do, as they will avoid the Kings high indignation and diſpleaſure.

The Books which in this Proclamation generally are reſtrained and forbidden, be afterward in the Regiſter more eſpecially named by the Biſhops. Whereof the moſt part were in *Latin*, as are above recited, and ſome were in *Engliſh*, as theſe and other, partly alſo above expreſſed.

A Diſputation between the Father and the Son.
A Book of the old God and new.
Godly Prayers.
The Chriſtian ſtate of Matrimony.
The burying of the Maſs.
The ſum of the Scripture.
Mattens and Even-ſong, vii Pſalms, and other Heavenly Pſalms, with the Commendations, in Engliſh.
An Expoſition upon the ſeventh Chap. of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinth.
The Chapters of Moſes, *called* Geneſis.
The Chapters of Moſes, *called* Deuteronomos.
The Matrimony of Tyndal.
Davids *Pſalter in* Engliſh.
The Practiſe of Prelates.
Hor lutus animæ in Engliſh.
A. B. C. *againſt the Clergy.*
The Examination of William Thorpe, *&c.*

Although theſe Books with all other of their like ſort by the vertue of this Proclamation were inhibited to all *Engliſhmen* to uſe or to read; yet License was granted before to Sir *Thomas More*, by *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *London*. *Anno* 1527, that he notwithſtanding might have and peruſe them, with a Letter alſo ſent to him from the ſaid Biſhop, or rather by the advice of other Biſhops, deſiring him, that he would ſhew his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a *Demoſthenes*, in expugning the Doctrine of theſe Books and opinions: who albeit he was no great Divine, yet becauſe he ſaw ſome towardneſs in him by his Book of *Utopia*, and other fine Poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpoſe, to withſtand the proceedings of the Goſpel, either in making ſome apparance of reaſon againſt it, or at leaſt to out-face it, and daſh it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to ſerve the Biſhops turn, ſo far forth as all his Rhetorick could reach: filling up with fineneſs of wit, and ſcoffing terms, where true knowledg and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings againſt *Bilney*, *Tyndal*, *Frith*, *Fiſh*, *Barns*, *Luther*, *&c.* may ſoon be diſcerned, if the reaſons, and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchſtone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our ſtory again.

Maſter More the Biſhops agent in it, a confuting the Lutherans.

Upon this fierce and terrible Proclamation aforeſaid, thus deviſed and ſet out in the Kings name, *Anno* 1525, the Biſhops which were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have: neither did there lack on their part any ſtudy unapplied, any ſtone unremoved, any corner unſearched for the diligent execution of the ſame. Whereupon enſued a grievous perſecution, and ſlaughter of the faithful. Of whom the firſt that went to wrack was *Thomas Bilney*, of whom ſufficiently afore hath been ſaid; and the next was *Richard Bayfield*, as in the ſtory here followeth.

Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

FOllowing the order of years and of times, as the courſe of our Hiſtory requireth, next after the conſummation of *Thomas Bilney*, we have to intreat of the Martyrdom of *Richard Bayfield*, which in the month of *November*, the ſame year, which was the year of our Lord, 1532, was burned in *Smithfield*.

This

Maxwell and Stacy, Londoners.

This *Richard Bayfield*, sometime a Monk of *Bery*, was converted by Doctor *Barns*, and two godly men of *London*, Brickmakers, Master *Maxwell*, and Master *Stacy*, Wardens of their Company. Who were grafted in the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation of life, converted many men and women, both in *Lincolnshire* Country: and once a year of their own cost, went about to visit the Brethren and Sisters scattered abroad. Doctor *Barns* at that time, much resorted to the Abbey of *Bery*, where *Bayfield* was, to one Doctor *Ruffam*, who had been at *Louvane* together Students. At that time it happened that this *Bayfield* the Monk was Chamberlain of the house to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained: who delighted much in Doctor *Barns* talk, and in the other lay-mens talk, afore rehearsed; and at the last, Doctor *Barns* gave him a New Testament in *Latin*, and the other two gave him *Tyndals* Testament in *English*, with a Book called, *The wicked Mammon*, and *the obedience of a Christian man*: wherein he prospered so mightily in two years space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, there fore whipped, with a Gag in his mouth, and then flocked, and so continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Doctor *Barns* could get him out; which he brought to pass, by the means of Doctor *Ruffam* aforesaid, and so he was committed to Doctor *Barns* to go to *Cambridge* with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he tasted so well of good Letters, that he never returned home again to his Abbey, but went to *London* to *Maxwell* and *Stacy*, and they kept him secretly a while, and so conveyed him beyond the Sea; Doctor *Barns* being then in the *Fleet* for Gods Word. This *Bayfield* mightily prospered in the knowledg of God, and was beneficial to Master *Tyndal*, and Master *Frith*; for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works, and the *Germans* works, both in *France* and in *England*; and at the last coming to *London*, to Mr. *Smiths* house in *Bucklers-Bury*, there was he bewrayed, and dogged from that house to his Book-binders in *Mark-Lane*, and there taken, and carried to *Lollards* Tower, and from thence to the Coalhouse, by reason that one Parson *Patmore*, Parson of *Muchhadam* in *Essex*, then lying in *Lollards* Tower, was in the Dungeon and in the Kingdom of Christ there confirmed by him. This Parson *Patmore*, after long trouble was abjured and condemned by the Bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterward by the Kings pardon, as more appeareth in the sequel of his story among abjurers, *&c.* He was taken, because he married his Priests in those days. He had always Corn plenty, and when the Markets were very dear, he would send plenty of his Corn thither to pluck down the prices thereof.

Richard Bayfield, Monk and Chamberlain of the Abbey of Bury.

R. Bayfield whipped and prisoned amongst the Friers.

R. Bayfield a ministrar of Tyndal and Frith.

Parson Patmore died in Lollards Tower.

The cruel handling of R. Bayfield in the Coalhouse.

This *Richard Bayfield* being in the Colehouse, was worse handled than he was before in the *Lollards* Tower; for there he was tyed both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manicled, to accuse other that had bought his Books; but he accused none, but stood to his Religion and Confession of his Faith, even unto the very end, and was in the Consistory of *Pauls* thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said he would dispute for his Faith, and so did to their great shame; *Stokesley* then being his Judg, with the assistance of *Winchester*, and other Bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

The Articles laid to *Richard Bayfield*, by the foresaid Bishops, were these, *Anno* 1531. *November* 10.

Articles laid to *Richard Bayfield*.

Articles objected against Rich. Bayfield.

1. FIrst, *That he had been many years a Monk, professed of the Order of Saint* Bennet, *of Saint* Edmundsbury *in the Diocess of* Norwich.

2. *That he was a Priest, and had ministred and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.*

3. *That since the Feast of Easter last, he being beyond the Sea, bought and procured to have divers and many Books and Treatises of sundry sorts, as well of* Martin Luthers *own Works, as of divers other of his damnable Sect, and of* Oecolampadius *the great Heretick, and divers other Hereticks, both in* Latin *and* English: *the names of which Books were contained in a little Bill written with his own hand.*

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4. *That in the year of our Lord* 1528, *he was detected and accused to* Cuthbert *then Bishop of* Londoin, *for affirming and holding certain Articles contrary to the Holy Church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to Saints or Creatures.*

A rank like resin in the Popes Church, to give all laud and praise to God alone.

5. *That every Priest might preach the Word of God by the authority of the Gospel, and not to run to the Pope or Cardinals for licence, as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said Bishop.*

6. *That he judicially abjured the said Articles before the said Bishop, and did renounce and forswear them and all other Articles contrary to the determination of Holy Church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.*

7. *That he made a solemn Oath upon a Book, and the Holy Evangelists, to fulfill such penance as should be enjoyned him by the said Bishop.*

8. *After his Abjuration it was enjoyned to him for penance, that he should go before the Cross in procession, in the Parish-Church of Saint* Butolphs *at* Billingsgate, *and to bear a Fagot of wood upon his shoulder.*

9. *It was enjoyned him in penance, that he should provide an habit requisite and meet for his Order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go no where without such an habit: the which he had not fulfilled.*

10. *That it was likewise enjoyned him in penance, that he should sometime before the Feast of the* Ascension, *then next ensuing his Abjuration, go home unto the Monastery of* Bury, *and there remain according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.*

11. *That he was appointed by the said Bishop of* London *to appear before the said Bishop, the five and twentieth day of* April *next after his Abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance, and after his Abjuration, he fled beyond the Sea, and appeared not.*

12. *That the twentieth day of* June *next following his Abjuration, he did appear before the said Bishop* Tonstall, *in the Chappel of the Bishop of* Norwiches *place, and there it was newly enjoyned him in part of penance, that he should provide him an habit convenient for his Order and profession, within eight days then next following; which he had not done.*

13. *That it was there again enjoyned him, that he should depart from the City, Diocess, and Jurisdiction of* London, *and no more to come within it, without the special license of the Bishop of* London, *or his successor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled.*

The *Answer of* Richard Bayfield *to the Articles prefixed.*

The answer of Ric. Bayfield to the Articles.

TO the first Article he confessed, that he was professed a Monk in the Monastery aforesaid, in the year 1514.

To the second Article he answered, That he was a Priest and took Orders, *Anno* 1518.

To the third Article he confessed the Bill and Schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought over the said Books and Works a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort. Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the Realm; he answered, To the intent that the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this Realm amongst Christian people; and that he had sold and dispersed many of those Books before named, to sundry persons within this Realm, and to divers of the Diocess of *London*. Being further demanded, whether *Martin Luther* was condemned as an Heretick by the Pope? he answered, That he heard say, that *Martin* with all his Sect and adherents, were, and are condemned as Hereticks by the Pope. And being demanded, whether *Zuinglius* was of *Luthers* Sect; he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether *Zuinglius* was a Catholick; he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired

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inquired whether the Books contained in the Schedules did contain any errors in them; he said, he could not tell, neither could he judg. Also he confessed, That the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that *Oecolampadius* and *Zuinglius* be Hereticks; also that such as lean to *Martin Luther* be Hereticks. Also he confessed, That being beyond the Sea, he heard say before he brought into this Realm the Books contained in the said Bills, that the King had by Proclamation prohibited, That no man should bring into this Realm any of *Martin Luthers* Books, or of his Sect.

Which Confession thus ended, the Bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday being the eleventh of *November*, *Richard Bayfield* appeared, and acknowledged the answers that he had made in the Session the day before. Which thing done, the Official objected the fourth Article unto him. Whereunto he answered, That he could not tell whether there be any Heresies in them; for he had read no Heresies in them. And being demanded whether he had read any of those Books; he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout.

He was demanded, whether he believed the fornamed Books to be good, and of the true Faith. He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true Faith. Being inquired what Books he read in the Realm; he said, that he had read the New Testament in *Latin*, and other Books mentioned in the Bills, but he said, that he read none translated: notwithstanding he confessed that he had read a Book called *Thorp*, in the presence and audience of others, and also a Book of *John Frith's* Purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a Book called, *The pratise of Prelates*; and also said, that he had read a Book called, *The Parable of the wicked Mammon*, but in the presence and hearing of others which he knew not.

The Book of Thorpe Examination. The Book of John Frith against Purgatory. The Pratise of Prelates, and wicked Mammon. The Book of Obedience. The sum of Holy Scripture. A Dialogue between the Plowman and the Gentleman.

Also he confessed that he had read the *Obedience of a Christian man*, and the *Sum of Scripture* among company, and also the Dialogue betwixt the *Plowman* and the *Gentleman*, among company as he thought: also he had read a piece of the answer of *Tindal* made to Sir *Thomas More*; likewise he had read the Dialogue of *Frith* to himself: he had read also the Prologues of the five Books of *Moses*, contained in the long Schedule, and in company as he thought.

All which Books he had read under manner aforesaid within these two years last past. And as for the New Testament in *English*, he read it before he had read these Books specified in the Schedule before rehearsed.

To the third Article as touching *Zuinglius* and others, he supposed that they held the same Doctrine that *Luther* did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The sixteenth day of *November*, *Richard Bayfield* appeared again before the Bishop, who inquired of him of what sect *Zuinglius* was. He said, he thought that he held with *Luther* in some points, *&c.*

Also he confessed, that first he brought Books of the sorts above named into this Realm, about *Midsummer* was twelve month, and landed them at *Colchester*, and afterward brought part of them to this City, and some he dispersed and sold in this City. The second time that he brought Books was about *All-Hallontide* was twelve month, and landed them at St. *Catharines*; the which Books the Lord Chancellor took from him. Also that at *Easter* last was the third time that he brought over the Books now shewed unto him, and contained in these two Bills, and landed with them in *Northfolk*, and from thence brought them to the City of *London* in a Male.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh Articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoyed him as is contained in the Article; the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoyned him that he should go to the Abbey of *Bury*, and there continue: the which he said he did three times; but he did not wear his Monks Cowl, as he was enjoyned.

The eleventh Article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, that he did not wear his Monks habit according to the Abjuration, he referred himself to the Acts whether he were so enjoyned or no.

To the thirteenth Article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the Acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no license of the Bishop of *London* to come to the City or Diocess of *London*, nor to make any abode there.

Ex Registro Londi.

The Sentence given against him in a case of Relapse.

The sentence given against Richard Bayfield.

IN the Name of God, *Amen.* VVe *John* by the sufferance of God, Bishop of *London*, in a case of Inquisition of Heresie, and relapse of the same, first begun before Mr. *Rich. Fosstard*, Doctor of both Laws, our Official, now depending before us undecided, against thee *Richard Bayfield* Priest and Monk, professed to the order and rule of Saint *Benedict*, in the Monastery of Saint *Edmundsbury*, in the Diocess of *Norwich*, and by means of the causes within written under our jurisdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the causes of this Inquisition heard, weighed, understood, and fully discussed by us the said Bishop, reserving unto our selves that which by Law ought to be reserved; have thought good to proceed in this manner to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

Forsomuch as by the Acts inacted, inquired, propounded, and alledged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain Errors and Heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend Fellow and Brother, then thy Ordinary, according to the form and order of the Church: and that one *Martin Luther*, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as an Heretick by the authority of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the Apostolick See, and the Books and all writings, Schedules and Sermons of the said *Martin Luther*, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in *Latin*, or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold Heresies and Errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reproved, and utterly rejected, and inhibition made by the authority of the said See, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of Excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf to be incurred by the Law, that no man by any means presume to read, teach, hear, imprint, or publish, or by any do means defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other publick or private places, any such manner of Writings, Books, Errors, or Articles, as are contained more at large in the Apostolick Letters, drawn out in form of a publick Instrument; whereunto and to the contents thereof we refer our selves as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forsomuch as we do perceive that thou didst understand the premisses, and yet thou these things notwithstanding after thy Abjuration made (as is aforesaid) thou hast brought in divers and sundry times many Books of the said *Martin Luther*, and his adherents and complices, and of other Hereticks, the names, Titles and Authors of which Books here follow, and are these, *Martin Luther, Of the abrogating of the private Mass.* The Declarations of *Martin Luther* upon the Epistles of St. *Peter*. *Luther* upon the Epistles of Saint *Paul* and *Jude*. *Luther* upon Monastical Vowers. *Luthers* Commentary upon the Epistle of Saint *Paul* to the *Galatians*. *Johannes Oecolampadius*, upon the Expotition of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*. The Annotations of *Oecolampadius* upon the Epistles of Saint *Paul* unto the *Romans*. *Oecolampadius* his Commentary upon the three last Prophets, *Aggeus*, *Zacharys*, and *Malachy*. The Sermons of *Oecolampadius* upon the Catholick Epistles of *John*. A Book of Annotations upon *Genesis*, gathered by *Huldricus Zuinglius*. The Commentaries of *Pomeran*, upon four Chapters of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. Annotations of *Pomeran* upon *Deuteronomy* and *Samuel*. *Pomeran* upon the *Psalms*.

A Catalogue of the Books brought in by Richard Bayfield.

The

The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* of *Avinion*, upon the Gospel of Saint *Luke*. A Congest of all matters of Divinity by *Francis Lambert*. The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* upon the Prophet *Joel*. The Commentaries of *Francis Lambert* upon the Prophets, *Micheas*, *Naum*, *Abacuc*, *Sophonias*, *Aggeus*, *Zacharias*, *Amos*, *Abdias*, *Jonas*, and *Osee*. A new Gloss of *Philip Melanæthon* upon the Proverbs of *Solomon*. The Commentaries of *Philip Melanæthon* upon the Epistle of Saint *Paul* to the *Colossians*. The Annotations of *Philip Melanæthon* upon the Epistle of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, and upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*. *Solomons* Sentences, translated according to the *Hebrew* by *Philip Melanæthon*. Most wholsome Annotations upon the Gospel of Saint *Mark*, by *Christopher Hegendrophinus*. The Commentaries of *John Brentius* upon *Job*. The Commentary of *John Brentius* upon *Ecclesiasticus* of *Solomon*. Homilies of *Brentius* upon the Gospel of Saint *John*. The Annotations of *Andreas Althomarus* and *Brentius* upon the Epistle of Saint *James*. The Commentaries of *Bucer* upon *Sophonias*. *Bucer* upon the four Evangelists. The process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of *John Hus*. A brief Commendatory of *Martin Luther*, unto *Otho Brunfelsius*, as touching the life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of *John Hus*. *Felinus* upon the *Psalter*. His Exposition upon *Esay*. His Expositions upon *Jeremy*. *Capito* upon *Osear*. *Capito* upon *Abacuc*. *Unio dissidentium*. The Pandect of *Otho*. The Catalogue of famous men. An answer of *Tindal* unto Sir *Thomas More*. A Disputation of Purgatory, made by *John Frith* in *English*. A Prologue to the fifth Book of *Moses* called *Deuteronomy*. The first Book of *Moses* called *Genesis*. A Prologue to the third Book of *Moses* called *Leviticus*. A Prologue to the fourth Book of *Moses* called *Numbers*. A Prologue to the second Book of *Moses* called *Exodus*. The practice of Prelates. The New Testament in *English*, with an Introduction to the *Romans*. The Parable of the wicked *Mammon*. The Obedience of a Christian man. A, B, C, of *Thorpe*. The Sum of Scripture. The Primer in *English*. The *Psalter* in *English*. A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Plowman.

The Primer and Psalter in English Forbidden.

Of all which kind of Books, both in *Latin* and *English*, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not only *Lutherian* Heresies, but also the damnable Heresies of other Hereticks condemned; forasmuch as thou hast brought over from the parties beyond the Sea, a great number into this Realm of *England*, and specially to our City and Diocese of *London*, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over, also hast kept by thee, and studied those Books, and hast published and read them unto divers Christian men, and many of those Books also hast dispersed and given unto divers persons dwelling within our City and Diocese of *London*, and hast confessed and affirmed before our Official, That those Books of *Martin Luther* and other Hereticks his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them are good and agreeable to the true Faith: saying thus, That they are good, and of the true Faith: And by this means and pretence hast commended and praised *Martin Luther*, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and believed their Errors, Heresies, and opinions. Therefore we *John* the Bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the Name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes; by the counsel and consent of the Divines and Lawyers, with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee the aforesaid *Richard Bayfield*, otherwise called *Somersam*, for the contempt of thy Abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid *Martin Luther*, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned Hereticks, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving and dispersing the Books and Writings, as well of the said *Martin Luther*, his adherents, and disciples, as of other Hereticks before named, and also for crediting and maintaining the Errors, Heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said Books and Writings, worthily to be and have been an Heretick; and that thou by the pretence of the premisses art fallen again most damnably into Heresie; and we pronounce that thou art and hast been a relapsed Heretick, and hast incurred and oughtest to incur the pain and punishment of a relapse: and we so decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereunto, and that by the pretence of the premisses, thou hast even by the Law incurred the sentence of the greater Excommunication; and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be Excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all priviledg and prerogative of the Ecclesiastical Orders, and also deprive thee of all Ecclesiastical Office and Benefice; also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth.

If Christ were before your eyes, ye would not condemn this good man for those good Books.

{KING Hen.8.}

The Sentence of Degradation against blessed Bayfield.

IN the Name of God, Amen. We John *by the permission of God Bishop of* London, *rightfully and lawfully proceeding in the behalf, do dismiss thee* Richard Bayfield, *alias* Somersham, *being pronounced by us a relapsed Heretick, and degraded by us from all Ecclesiastical priviledg out of the Ecclesiastical Court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment to be done upon thee, and against thee in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness, but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and confusion of all other Hereticks unto the unity of the Catholick Faith. Thus our final decree by this our sentence definitive we have caused to be published in form aforesaid.*

And they shall cast you out of their Synagogue for my names sake.

{ANNO 1532}

Monday the twentieth of *November* 1532, in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, before the said *John* Bishop of *London* judicially sitting, being affilted with *John* Abbot of *Westminster*, and *Robert* Abbot of *Waltham*, *Nicholas* Prior of *Christ-Church* in *London*, these Honourable Lords being also present, *Henry* Earl of *Essex*, *Richard Gray*, Brother to the Marquess of *Sommerset*, *John Lambert* Mayor of *London*, *Richard Gresham*, and *Edward Altam* Sheriffs, (the which Mayor and Sheriffs were required to be there present by the Bishop of *London*) Letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a Statute of King *Henry* the Fourth, King of *England*) also in the presence of divers Canons, the Chancellor, Official, and the Archdeacon of *London*, with the Bishops Chaplains, and a great number both of the Clergy and Laity; *Matthew Gresham* the Register, being also there present: Master *Richard Bayfield*, alias *Somersam*, was brought forth by *Thomas Turner* the Apparator his Keeper, in whose presence the transumpe of the Apostolick Bull of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, upon the condemnation of *Martin Luther* and his adherents, was brought forth and shewed, sealed with the seal of *Thomas Wolsey* late Legate *de Latere*, and subscribed with the sign and name of Master *Robert Tunnes*, publick Notary, and also the Decree upon the condemnation of certain Books brought in by him, sealed with the Seals of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and subscribed by three Notaries.

Of this Statute read before.

Mr. Rich. Bayfield again brought before the Bishop.

Then the Bishop of *London* repeated in effect before him his Abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done beside his Abjuration: And the said *Bayfield* said, That he was not culpable in the Articles that were objected against him, and denied that the Heresies contained in the Books which he brought over might be declared in open audience. Then the Bishop after certain talk had with the said *Bayfield* as touching the defect of his cause, asked him, VVhether he could shew any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said *Bayfield* declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those Books for lack of money, and not to sow any Heresies. And incontinent the said *Bayfield* with a vehement spirit (as it appeared) said unto the Bishop of *London*. The life of you of the Spirituality is so evil, that ye be Hereticks, and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do let, that what true living is may not be known; and said, that their living is against Christs Gospel, and that their belief was never taken of Christs Church. Then the said Bishop, after long deliberation had, for so much as the said

The saying of Richard Bayfield to the Bishop of London.

{KING Hen.8.} said *Richard Bayfield*, he said, could shew no cause why he should not be declared as a relaps, read the Decree and sentence against him: by the which amongst other things he condemned him as an Heretick, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into Heresie, and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

Sentence against Richard Bayfield.

The foresaid sentence being so read by the Bishop of *London*, he proceed immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said *Rich. Bayfield*, alias *Somersam*, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; the which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the Ecclesiastical Court. Whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any Writ in that behalf obtained, but only by vertue of the Bishops Letters by the Statute of King *Henry* the Fourth, in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the Bishops Seal. The tenor of which Letters hereafter follow.

The Letters of requiry directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London, *that they should be present that day, when the sentence should be given, to receive the Heretick (as they called him) that was condemned.*

The Letters of requiry to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London.

JOhn *by the permission of God Bishop of* London, *unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the right honourable Lord Mayor of the City of* London, *and the Sheriffs of the same, Health, Grace, and Benediction. Whereas we have already by our Vicar general, proceeded in a certain cause of Heresie, and relaps into the same against one* Richard Bayfield *alias* Somersam, *and intend upon* Monday *next being the twentieth day of this present month of* November, *to give a sentence definitive against the said* Richard Bayfield *alias* Somersam, *and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power: We require you the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs aforesaid, the Kings Majesties Vicegerents, even in the bounds of Jesus Christ, that according to the form and effect of the Statute of our most Noble and famous Prince in Christ our Lord, the Lord* Henry *the Fourth, by the Grace of God late King of* England, *you will be personally present in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint* Paul, *with your favourable aid and assistance in this behalf, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said* Richard Bayfield, *alias* Somersam, *after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our Officers, and to do further according to the tenor and effect of the said Statute; as far as shall be required of you according to the Canonical sanctions, and the laudable custom of the famous Kingdom of* England, *in this behalf accustomed. In witness whereof we have set our Seal unto this present. Dated the nineteenth day of* November, Anno 1531, *and in the first year of our consecration.*

Rich. Bayfield given to the secular powers.

On *Monday* the 20 day of *November* in the year aforesaid in the Quire of the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, the Bishop of *London* calling unto him *John Abbat* of *Westminster*, *Robert Abbat* of *Waltham*, *Nicholas Prior* of Christs Church of the City of *London*, Master J. *Cox* Auditor and Vicar General to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Peter Ligham*, Official of the Court of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Bagh*, Chancellor of the Church of Saint *Paul*, *William Cleefe*, Archdeacon of *London*, *John Incent* Canon Residentiary of the same, *William Briton*, *Robert Birch*, and *Hugh Aprice*, Doctors of both Laws, in the presence of us *Matthew Grifton* Register, *Anthony Hussie*, *Richard Martine*, and *Thomas Shaldwall* publick Notaries and Scribes appointed in this behalf, briefly rehearsed the answers of the same *Bayfield* in effect, and his abjuration, and other his demerits by him done beside his abjuration. The which religious persons, and other Ecclesiastical men aforesaid thought it good and agreed that the said Bishop should proceed against him in this cafe of relaps, and should pronounce, and give forth the sentence against him in case aforesaid; and so he was delivered to the Sheriffs to carry to *Newgate*, being commanded to bring him again upon *Monday* following into *Pauls* upper Quire, there to give attendance upon the Bishop of *London* with the residue till they had done with him; and by and by the Sheriffs were commanded to have him into the *Vestry*, and then to bring him forth again in Antichrists apparel to be degraded before them. When he had degraded him kneeling upon the highest step of the Altar, he took his Crosier staff, and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he sounded, and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true

Rich. Bayfield degraded.

Bayfield thrown down with the Bishops Staff.

The Martyrdome of Richard Bayfield.

sincere Church of Jesus Christ militant here in Earth; and I trust anon, said he, to be in Heaven with Jesus Christ, and the Church Triumphant for ever: and so was he led forth through the Quire to *Newgate*, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the Fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy Fire, was half an hour alive. And when the left Arm was on Fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir *Thomas More*, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceased not to after his death rake in his Ashes, to pry and spy out what sparks he could find of reproach and contumely, whereby to race out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof he hath found out two things to lay against him. The one is, that he faith, he went about to affuse himself of two Wives at once, one in *Brabant*, another in *England*. The second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter despair of his Pardon, he was content to forswear his Doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereof although there were no more to be said, yet this were enough to say, that Master *More* thus said of him, a man so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can see nothing but all fair Roses and sweet Vertues, in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his phansie, but all as black as pitch, vice, abomination, Heresie and folly, whatsoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this *Bayfield*, as also of other more, I will defer the defence of them to a several Apology by it self, hereafter God willing, to be adjoyned.

Mr. *More* a partial judge in matters of Heresie.

John Tewkesbury *Leatherseller of* London, *Martyr.*

Foh. Tewkesbury Leatherseller of London, Martyr.

John Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of *Tindals* Testament, and the wicked *Mammon*. He had the Bible written. In all points of Religion he openly did dispute in the Bishops Chapel in his Palace. Who in the Doctrine of Justification and all other Articles of his Faith was very expert, and prompt in his answers, in such sort as *Tonstal* and all his learned men were ashamed, that a Leatherseller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued a sevennight. The proces of whose Examinations, Articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the Bishops Register extracted.

Ex Regist. Lon.

On *Wednesday* the one and twentieth day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1529. *John Tewkesbury* was brought into the Consistory at *London*, before *Cuthbert* Bishop of *London*, and his assistants, *Henry* Bishop of Saint *Asse*, and *John Abbat* of *Westminster*. Unto whom the Bishop of *London* declared that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and Heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him, not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy Mother the Church. Who made answer, that in his judgment he did not err from the Doctrine of the holy Mother the Church. And at the last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said Book called the wicked *Mammon*, he answered thus; Take ye the Book and read it over, and I think in my Conscience, ye shall find no fault in it. And being asked by the said Bishop, whether he did rather give credit to his Book or to the Gospel, he answered that the Gospel is and ever hath been true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this Article, That the *Jews* of good intent and zeal slew Christ; He answered, Look ye the Book through, before and after as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it, than ye make of it; and further thought, that whosoever translated the New Testament, and made the Book, meaning the wicked *Mammon*, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

The examination of Foh. Tewkesbury before Tonstal Bishop of London.

Also being further asked, by the said Bishop of *London*, whether he would stand to the contents of his Book, he answered, Look ye the Book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it. Then being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing; He answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in Heaven; for if He should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether that Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven. He answered and said, that it was plain enough. Which things being done, the Bishop said further to *John Tewkesbury* thus; I tell thee before God and those which are here present, in examination of my Conscience, that the Articles above named, and many other more contained in the same Book are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy Church: how thinkest thou? And father, the said Bishop of *London* said unto him again, I tell thee before God and those which are here present, &c. and so asked him again, what he thought of those Articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately under pain of the Law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate Heretick according to the order of the Law. Which things so done, the Bishop asked *John Tewkesbury* again, whether the said Book, called the wicked *Mammon*, were good?

KING 1 *Hen.* 8. The Law requireth things unpossible.

No law to the just man

The Saints be friends how and to whom.

The Devil not cast out by mans merits.

The law worketh not in us the love of God.

Man by nature is condemned.

He meaneth by communication not by vindication: and yet this point seemeth to be fully gathered.

To whom Interrogatory he answereth, That he thinketh in his Conscience there is nothing in the Book but that which is true. And to this Article objected, that is, that Faith only justifieth without works, he answereth, that it is well said. Whereunto the Bishop inferreth again, that the Articles before objected, with divers other contained in the Book called the wicked *Mammon*, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reproved and condemned by the Church; and before God, and all those that were present, for the discharge of his Conscience, he had often and very gently exhorted the said *John Tewkesbury*, that he would revoke and renounce his errors: otherwise if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him an Heretick, which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the Bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should chuse what Spiritual or Temporal man he would to be his Counsellor, and gave him time as before to deliberate with himself until the next sitting.

The judgment of Foh. Tewkesbury of the Book of the wicked *Mammon*.

Also in the same month of *April*, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the Bishop of *London Cuthbert Tonstal* sitting in the Consistory, with *Nicholas* of *Ely*, *John* of *Lincoln*, and *John Bath* and *Wells*, &c. This *John Tewkesbury* was brought before them. After certain Articles being repeated unto him, the Bishop of *London* brought before him a certain Book, called the wicked *Mammon*, asking him whether the Book was of the same Impression and making, as was his Books that he had sold to others? Who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the Bishop of *London* asking him again, Whether the Book contained the same error or no? Who answered again, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the Gospel, and translation of the Testament be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass; so in reading the New Testament, he knoweth the faults of his soul. Furthermore, he was examined upon certain Points and Articles, extracted out of the said Book of the wicked *Mammon*; as followeth.

Another examination of John Tewkesbury.

Articles extracted out of the Book of the wicked *Mammon*.

FIrst, That Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your Forefathers talked of him, but Antichrist is a spiritual thing. Whereunto he answered and said, That he findeth no fault in it. Again, it was demanded of him touching the Articles, whether Faith only justifieth a man. To this he said, that if he should look to deserve Heaven by works, he should do wickedly, for works follow Faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of his passion.

His opinion of Antichrist.

Antichrist no outward thing, but a spiritual thing.

That the Devil holdeth the hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto Gods Law. To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

No man justified by merits.

That the Law of God sufficeth no merits, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God. To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the Law is; and he saith, that he findeth no ill in it.

We are aided saved by others prayers.

That

KING 1 *Hen.* 8. The Law requireth things unpossible.

That the Law of God requireth of us things impossible. To that he answered, that the Law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy Neighbour as thy self, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his Conscience.

No law to the just man

That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no Law put to him that believeth and is justified through Faith. To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof. To that he answered, it is truth.

Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven. To that he answered, that the Text is true as it lieth, and he findeth no fault in it.

The Saints be friends how and to whom.

Peter and *Paul*, and Saints that be dead are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive. To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

Alms deserve no reward of God. To that he answered, that the Text of the Book is true.

The Devil not cast out by mans merits.

The Devil is not cast out by merits of Fasting or Prayer. To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

The law worketh not in us the love of God.

We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the Law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of GOD upon us, yea where we were damned afore we were born, we cannot love God, nor cannot but hate him as a Tyrant, unrighteous and unjust, and see from him, as did *Cain*. To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

Man by nature is condemned.

We are Damned by nature, as a Tode is a Tode by nature, and a Serpent is a Serpent by nature. To that he answered, it is to be true as it is in the Book.

He meaneth by communication not by vindication: and yet this point seemeth to be fully gathered.

Item, As concerning the Article of fasting. To that he answered and said, the Book declareth it self.

Every one man is a Lord of whatsoever another man hath. To that he answered; what Law can be better than that? For it is plainly meant there.

Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another. To that he answered and said, it is plain enough of it self.

As concerning the preaching of the word of God and washing of Dishes, there is no difference as concerning Salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God. To that he answered, saying, it is a plain Text, and as for pleasing God it is all one.

For if they had known the Lord of glory, they would not have crucified him.

That the *Jews* of good intent and zeal put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the Text is plain enough.

To here is no Scripture brought to refel their opinions, but only authority to approve them.

The Sects of Saint *Francis*, and Saint *Dominick*, and others be damnable. To that he answered and said Saint *Paul* repugneth against them. Which Articles being so objected, and answer made unto them by *John Tewkesbury*, the said Bishop of *London* asked him whether he would continue in his Heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them. Who answered thus, I pray you reform your self, and if there be any error in the Book, let it be reformed, I think it is good enough. Which thing being done, the Bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master *John Coe*, Vicar general to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Master *Galfrid Worton*, *Rowland Phillippes*, *William Philows*, and *Robert Ridley*, professors of Divinity.

Another appearance of John Tewkesbury.

The thirteenth day of *April*, in the year of our Lord abovesaid, in the Chappel within the Palace of *London*, before *Cuthbert* Bishop of *London*, with his assistants, *Nicholas* Bishop of *Ely*, &c. *Tewkesbury* again appeared, and was examined upon the Articles drawn out of the Book called the wicked *Mammon*, as followeth.

First, Christ is divine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Christ is in three, and thou so knit to him inseparably, neither canst thou be Damned, except Christ be Damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved except Christ be saved with thee. To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

We are aided saved by others prayers.

Item, We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our Neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that we trust not in his Holiness. To this he answered, Take ye it as ye will, I will take it well enough.

Alms what and how they be for pleasing of Gods.

Item, Now seeth thou what Alms meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his Alms more than to be merciful, to be a Neighbour to succor his Brothers need, to do his duty to his Brother, to give his Brother that he ought him, the same is blind and seeth not Christs blood. Here he answereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the Book, but that all the Book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his Conscience.

God to be served and worshipped only as he commandeth, otherwise not.

Item, That ye do nothing to please God but that he commanded. To that he answereth, and thinketh it good, by his truth.

Item, So God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances. And to worship him otherwise than so, it is Idolatry. To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these Articles being done, the Bishop of *London* did exhort the said *John Tewkesbury* to recant his errors abovesaid: And after some other communication had by the Bishop with him, the said Bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next Session what he would do.

Foh. Tewkesbury examined.

Foh. Tewkesbury exhibiteth blasfide.

IN the next Session he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoyned Penance, as followeth; which was the eighth of *May*.

Imprimis, That he should keep well his Abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in *Pauls* Church in the open Procession, he should carry a Fagot, and stand at *Pauls* Cross with the same.

That the *Wednesday* following he should carry the same Fagot about *Newgate-Market* and *Cheapside*.

That on *Friday* after he should take the same Fagot again at S. *Peters* Church in *Cornhill*, and carry it about the Market of *Leaden-hall*.

That he should have two signs of Fagots embroidered, one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve; which he should wear all his life time unless he were otherwise dispensed withal.

That on *Whitsunday* Eve he should enter into the Monastry of S. *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, and there abide, and not come out unless he were released by the Bishop of *London*.

That he should not depart out of the City or Diocess of *London*, without the special Licence of the Bishop or his successors. Which Penance he entred into the eighth day of *May*, *An.* 1529.

Tewkesbury returned again to the truth.

And thus much concerning his first examination; which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and abjure his Doctrine. Notwithstanding, the same *John Tewkesbury*, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of *Bayfield* aforesaid, that was burned in *Smithfield*, did return and constantly abide in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same. Who recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before Sir *Tho. More*, and the Bishop of *London*; where certain Articles were objected of him: The chief whereof we intend briefly to recite, for the matter is prolix.

Articles again objected against Tewkesbury.

Imprimis, That he confessed that he was baptised, and intended to keep the Catholick Faith.

Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration, Oath, and subscription that he made before *Cuthbert*, late Bishop of *London*, was done by compulsion.

Thirdly, That he had the Books of the obedience of a Christian man, and of the wicked *Mammon*, in his custody, and hath read them since his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmeth that he suffered the two Fagots that were embroydered on his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

Fifthly, He saith, that Faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto Saints. Where upon they laid unto him this verse of the Antheme; *Salvâ Regina advocata nostra*, &c. To the which he answered, That he knew none other Advocate but Christ alone.

Christs our Purgatory.

Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no Purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

Eighthly, He affirmeth, That the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, He affirmeth, That a Priest, by receiving of Orders, receiveth more grace, if his Faith be increased, or else not.

Tenthly, And last of all, he believeth, that the Sacrament of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, is not the very body of Christ, in Flesh and Blood, as it was born of the Virgin *Mary*. Whereupon the Bishops Chancellor asked the said *Tewkesbury*, if he could shew any cause why he should not be taken for an Heretick, falling into his Heresie again, and receive the punishment of an Heretick. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again.

Then the Chancellor caused the Articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; the which the said *Tewkesbury* confessed, and thereupon the Bishop pronounced sentence against him and delivered him unto the Sheriffs of *London* for the time being, which were *Richard Gresham* and *Edward Altam*; who burned him in *Smithfield* upon Saint *Thomas* Eve, being the twentieth of *December*, in the year aforesaid, the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the Bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical pravity, and falling again thereunto by thee* John Tewkesbury, *of the Parish of Saint* Michaels *in the* Quern, *of the City of* London, *and of our Jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard, seen, and understood, and fully discussed by us* John, *by the sufferance of God, Bishop of* London; *because we do find by Inquisitions manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before* Cuthbert, *late Bishop of* London, *by Ordinary, divers and sundry Heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our Mother Holy-Church, as well special as general, and that since and beside the foresaid abjuration thou art again fallen into the same damnable Heresies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented) and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore* John *the Bishop aforesaid, the Name of God first being called upon, and the same only God set before our eyes, and with the Counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final Decree, in this behalf to be done) do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the foresaid* John Tewkesbury *of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the forsaid abjuration, and moreover, before and after the foresaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be an Heretick fallen, and to have incurred the pain of such fallen Hereticks: we do pronounce, determine, declare and condemn thee of the premises, to have incurred the danger of the great Excommunication, and also do pronounce thee to be excommunicated, and also do declare thee the said* Tewkesbury, *so damnably fallen again into Heresie, to be in the secular power and in their judgment (as the holy Canons have decreed) and here we do leave thee to the foresaid secular power, and to their judgment, beseeching them earnestly in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution, as in this behalf is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigor be used but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror fear, and rooting out of Hereticks, and their conversion to the Catholick Faith and Unity, by this our final Decree which we declare by these our writings.*

In words they pretend moderation, but their doings be clean contrary.

The death and Martyrdom of J. Tewkesbury.

This foresaid sentence definitive against *John Tewkesbury* was read and pronounced by the Bishop of *London*, the sixteenth day of the month of *December*, the year aforesaid, in the house of Sir *Thomas More* high Chancellor of *England* in the Parish of *Chelsey*. After the which sentence, the Sheriffs received the foresaid *Tewkesbury* into their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterward buried him in *Smithfield*, as aforesaid, having no Writ or the King for their Warrant.

{KING Hen.8.}

The apprehension of one Edward Freese *a Painter.*

Edward Freese was born in *York*, and was Apprentise to a Painter in the same City, and by the reason of working for his Master in *Bearsie* Abbey, or by some such occation, was known unto the Abbot of the same House, for he was a Boy of a pregnant wit, and the Abbot favoured him so much, that he bought his years of his Master, and would have made him a Monk. And the lad not liking of that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to *Colchester* in *Essex*, and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new Inn in *Colchester*, which is in the middle of the Market place, and in the upper border of the cloths he wrote certain sentences of Scripture, and by that he was plainly known to be one of them which they call Hereticks.

The story of Ed. Freese.

The cause of the taking Ed. Freese.

And on a time he being at his work in the same Inn, they of the Town, when they had seen his work, went about to take him; and he having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the Yard of the same Inn, and after this he was brought to *London*, and so to *Fulham*, to the Bishops house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of *Essex*, that is to wit, one *Johnson* and his Wife, *Wylie* and his Wife, and his Son, and Father *Bate* of *Rowsbridge*. They were fed with fine Manchet made of saw-dust, or at the least a great part thereof, and were so finarly kept, that there wives and their friends could not come to them. After the Painter had been there a long space, by much sute he was removed to *Lollards* Tower. His Wife, in the time of the sute, whiles he was yet at *Fulham*, being desirous to see her Husband, and pressing to come in at the Gate, being then bigg with Child, the Porter lift up his foot and stroke her on the belly, that at length she died of the same, but the Child was destroyed immediately.

Johnson and his Wife. Wylie, his Wife, and his Son. Father Bate.

A cruel fact of the Bishops Porters.

The Translation of the New Testament forbidden by the Bishops.

After that, they were all stocked for a long time, and then they were let loose in their Prisons again. Some had Horselocks on their legs, and some had other Irons. This Painter would ever be writing on the Walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, Doctor *Dodipoll* would make me believe the Moon were made of Green-cheese. And because he would be writing many things, he was manicled by the Wrists, so long till the flesh of his Arms was grown higher than his Irons. By the means of his manicles he could not Comb his head, and he remained so long manicled, that his Hair was folded together.

Cruelty shewed to the Painter.

After the death of his Wife, his Brother sued to the King for him, and after long sute he was brought out in the Consistory at *Pauls*, and (as his Brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man, and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing, but my Lord is a good man. And thus, when they had spoilt his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to *Bearsie* Abby; but he came away again from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: Albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day.

Valentine Freese and his Wife burned in York.

His Brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was *Valentine Freese* and his Wife, gave their lives at one stake in *York*, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Gods good Providence.

Also the Wife of the said Father *Bate*, while he was at *Fulham*, made many supplications to the King with our redress, and at the last she delivered one to his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go into *Chancery Lane*, to one, whose name (as is thought) was master *Selyard*, and at last the got a Letter of the said *Selyard* to the Bishop, and when he had it, the thought all her sute well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked Officers in those days were crafty, and desirous of

{KING Hen.8.}

of his blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs see the contents of her Letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the Bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed: for it was after this manner.

A crafty Letter of a wicked Officer.

After commendations had, *&c.* Look what you can gather against Father *Bate*, send me word by your trusty friend, Sir *William Saxie*, that I may certifie the Kings Majesty, *&c.* Thus the poor woman, when she thought her sute had been done, was in less hope of her Husbands life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him: for he got out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

Roy burned in Portugal.

In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old Registers and otherwise, Frier *Roy* was burned in *Portugal*, but what his examination, or Articles, or order of his death was, we can have no understanding: but what his Doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies, which he here left in *England*.

The Bishops commanded by the King to set forth a new Translation of the new Testament.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the Clergy made to the King, the Translation of the the New Testament, with a great number of other Books, were forbidden. For the Bishops coming into the *Star-Chamber* the five and twentieth day of *May*, and coming with the Kings Counsel, after many pretenses and long debating, alledged that the Translation of *Tindal* and *Joye* were not truly Translated, and moreover, that in them were Prologues and Prefaces, that smelled of Heresie, and railed against the Bishops; wherefore all such Books were prohibited, and commandment given by the King to the Bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the Universities, should cause a new Translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the Law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the Bishops did nothing at all, to the setting forth of any new Translation, which caused the people much to study *Tindals* Translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

This year also, in the month of *May*, the Bishop of *London* caused all the new Testaments of *Tindals* Translation, and many other Books which he had bought, to be brought unto *Pauls* Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

James Bainham, Lawyer and Martyr.

James Bainham Martyr.

James Bainham Gentleman, sonne to one Master *Bainham* a Knight of *Gloucester-shire*, being vertuously brought up by his Parents, in the studies of good Letters, had knowlege both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the Law, being a man of vertuous dispositions, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to Prayer, an earnest reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visiter of the Prisoners, liberal to Scholars, very merciful to his Clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving Counsel to all the needy, Widows, Fatherless and afflicted, without money or reward, briefly a singular example to all Lawyers.

This Master *Bainham*, as is above noted, married the Wife of *Simon Fish* aforesaid, for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir *Thomas More* Chancellor of *England*, and arrested with a Sergeant at Arms, and carried out of the middle *Temple* to the Chancellors house at *Chelsey*, where he contined in free Prison a while, till the time that Sir *Thomas More* saw he could not prevail in perverting of him to his Sect. Then he cast him into prison in his own house, and whipping him at the Tree in his Garden, called the Tree of Troth, and after sent him to the *Tower* to be wracked, and so he was, Sir *Thomas More* being present himself, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the Gentlemen of the *Temple* of his acquaintance, nor would shew where his Books lay; and because his Wife denyed them to be at his House, she was sent to the *Fleet*, and their goods confiscate.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before *John Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*, the fifteenth day of *December Anno*, 1531, in the said Town of *Chelsey*, and there examined upon theie Articles and Interrogatories insuing.

Interrogatories delivered to Bainham to Answer.

1. First, whether he believed there were any Purgatory of souls hence departed.

Whereunto he made answer as followeth: *If we walk in light, even as he is in light, we have Society together with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities.*

2. Secondly, Whether that the Saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us.

Answer.

To the which he answered on this wife: *My little children, I write this unto you, that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Just, and he is the propitiation for our sins also for the sins of the whole World.* And further upon occation of these words, *Omnes sancti Dei orate pro nobis.* Being demanded what he meant by these words, *Omnes sancti*, he answered, *That he meant them by those that were alive, as Saint* Paul *did by the* Corinthians, *and not by those that be dead: for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him.* Item, *when the whole Church is gathered together, they use to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the Will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: and I pray, said he, as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour*; Father, take this Cup from me if it be possible, yet thy Will be fulfilled.

Omnes sancti Dei.

3. Thirdly, He was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in Heaven or no.

Answer: Souls dee passed.

To this he anfwered and said, *That he believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the Faith of* Abraham, *and that herein he would commit himself to the Church.*

4. Fourthly, It was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to Salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a Priest.

Answer: Confession and Remission of sins.

Whereunto his answer was this. *That it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another. As for any other confession he knew none. And further he said, that if he came to the Sermon, or any other where, whereas the Word of God is preached, and there take repentance for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confession.*

5. Fifthly, That he should say and affirm, that the truth of the holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared not these 800 years, neither was known before now.

Answer: The truth of the Scripture long hid.

To this he said, *That he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred years past, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these six years.*

6. He was demanded further, for what cause holy Scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these 800 years before.

The truth of the Scripture long hid.

Whereunto he answered, *To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the Word of God sincerly and purely, and after the vain of Scripture, except Master* Crome *and Master* Latimer, *and said moreover, that the New Testament now Translated into English, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks should believe as the Church did believe, and then if the Church erred, men should err too. Howbeit the Church, said he, of Christ cannot err: and that there were two Churches, that is, the Church of Christ militant, and the Church of Antichrist, and that this Church of Antichrist may and doth err, but the Church of Christ doth not.*

Two Churches.

7. Seventhly, Whether he knew any perſon that dyed in the true Faith of Chriſt, ſince the Apoſtles time.

Anſwer. He ſaid, *He knew* Bayfield, *and thought that he dyed in the true Faith of Chriſt.*

Anſwer. Purgatory. 8. Eighthly, He was asked what he thought of Purgatory.

He anſwered, *If any ſuch thing had been moved to Saint* Paul *of Purgatory after this life, he thought Saint* Paul *would have condemned it for an Hereſie. And when he heard Maſter* Crome *preach and ſay, that he thought there was a Purgatory after this Life, he thought in his mind that the ſaid Maſter* Crome *lied, and ſpake againſt his Conſcience; and that there were an hundred more, which thought the ſame as he did: ſaying moreover, that he had ſeen the confeſſion of Maſter* Crome *in Print, God wot, a very fooliſh thing, as he judged.*

Crome hereſie was now ſlipt from that his had before taught.

Vows. *And as concerning Vows, he granted that there were lawful Vows, as* Ananias *vowed,* Acts 5. *for it was in his own power, whether he would have ſold his poſſeſſion or not, and therefore he did offend. But Vows of Chaſtity, and all godlineſs is given of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himſelf can keep, but it muſt be given him of God. And therefore a Monk, Frier, or Nun, that have vowed the vows of Religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promiſes that they made at Baptiſm, they may go forth and Marry, ſo that they keep, after their Marriage, the promiſe that they made at Baptiſm. And finally, he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of Baptiſm.*

9. Ninthly, He was demanded, whether *Luther* being a Frier, and taking a Nun out of Religion, and afterward marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein.

Anſwer. He anſwered, *That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no. He made anſwer, he could not ſay ſo.*

As concerning the Sacrament of Anneling, being willed to ſay his mind.

Anſwer. Extream unction. He Anſwered and ſaid, *It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man ſhould be the better for ſuch annoyling and annointing. The beſt was, that ſome good prayers he ſaw to be ſaid thereat.*

Likewiſe, touching the Sacrament of Baptiſm, his words were theſe.

Anſwer. The Sacrament of Baptiſm. *That as many as repent, and do on them Chriſt, ſhall be ſaved: that is, as many as dye concerning ſin, ſhall live by Faith with Chriſt. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Chriſt in us. And ſo whether we live or dye, we are Gods by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: That is, by keeping the promiſe made. For ye are kept by Grace and Faith, faith Saint* Paul, *and that not of your ſelves, for it is the gift of God.*

He was asked moreover of Matrimony, whether it was a Sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth Grace, being commanded in the old Law, and not yet taken away.

Anſwer. Matrimony. *His anſwer was, That Matrimony is an order or Law, that the Church of Chriſt hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women and not ſin.*

Anſwer. Laſtly, For his Books of Scripture, and for his judgment of *Tindal*, becauſe he was urged to confeſs the truth, he ſaid, *That he had the New Teſtament tranſlated into the Engliſh tongue by* Tindal *within this month, and thought he offended not God in uſing and keeping the ſame, notwithſtanding that he knew the Kings Proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church at* Pauls *Croſs. But for all that he thought the Word of God had not forbid it: confeſſing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month theſe Books; The wicked* Mammon, *The Obedience of a Chriſtian man, The Practice of Prelates, The Anſwer of* Tindal *to* Thomas More's *Dialogues, The Book of* Frith *againſt Purgatory, The Epiſtle of* George Gee, *alias* George Clerk: *adding furthermore, that in all theſe Books he never ſaw any errors. And if there were any ſuch in them, then if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the ſaid Books. And as concerning the new Teſtament in Engliſh, he thought it utterly good, and that the people ſhould have it as it is. Neither did he ever know* (ſaid he) *that* Tindal *was a naughty fellow.* And to theſe anſwers he ſubſcribed his name. This examination (as is ſaid) was the fifteenth day of *December*.

{KING 1 Hen. 8.} {KING 1 Hen. ∞}

Books forbidden.

The next day following, which was the ſixteenth day of *December*, the ſaid *James Bainham* appeared again before the Biſhop of *London*, in the foreſaid place of Sir *Thomas More* at *Ebelſey*, where, after the guiſe and form of their proceedings, firſt his former Articles with his Anſwers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they asked him whether he would perſiſt in that which he had ſaid, or elſe would return to the Catholick Church, from whence he was fallen, and to the which he might be yet received, as they ſaid: adding moreover many fair inticing and alluring words, that he would reconcile himſelf; ſaying, the time was yet that he might be received; the boſom of his Mother was open for him. Otherwiſe, if he would continue ſtubborn, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to ſave, or elſe utterly to caſt himſelf away. Which of theſe ways he would take, the caſe preſent now required a preſent anſwer, for elſe the ſentence definitive was ready there to be read, *&c.*

Bainham ſubſcribeth himſelf. To conclude long matter in few words: *Bainham* wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the Adverſaries, gave anſwer unto them that he was contented to ſubmit himſelf in thoſe things wherein he had offended, excuſing that he was deceived by ignorance. Then the Biſhop requiring him to ſay his mind plainly of his anſwers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no.

Ex Regiſt. Lon.

To this *Bainham* ſaid, that it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked of the Biſhop, whether there was any Purgatory; He anſwered and ſaid, he could not believe that there was any Purgatory after this life.

Upon other Articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth; that he could not judge whether *Bayfield* dyed in the true Faith of Chriſt or no. That a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly ſin. That a Prieſt promiſing to live chaſte, may not marry a Wife. That he thinketh the Apoſtles to be in Heaven. That *Luther* did naught in marrying a Nun. That a child is the better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keep Books prohibited by the Church, the Pope, the Biſhop, or the King: and ſaid, That he pondered thoſe points more now than he did before, *&c.*

Upon theſe anſwers, the Biſhop thinging to keep him in ſafe cuſtody, to further Tryal, committed him to one of the Counters.

{Anno 1532.} Bainham again brought before the Biſhops chancellor.

The time thus paſſing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of *February* next following, in the year of our Lord, 1532, the foreſaid *James Bainham* called for again to the Biſhops Conſiſtory, before his Vicar General and other his aſſiſtants: To whom *Foxford* the Biſhops Chancellor recited again his Articles and Anſwers above mentioned; proteſting, That he intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy Mother Church, unleſs he knew the ſaid *Bainham* to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the Catholick Faith, and to ſubmit himſelf penitently to the judgment of the Church. To whom *Bainham* ſpake to this effect, ſaying, That he hath, and doth believe the holy Church, and holdeth the Faith of the Holy Mother the Catholick Church.

Bainham again arreſted and caſt into the Tower. Wherefore the Chancellor offering to him a Bill of his abjuration, after the form of the Popes Church conceived, required him to read it. Who was contented; and read to the clauſe of the abjuration, containing theſe words; I voluntarily, as a true penitent perſon returned from my Hereſies, utterly abjure, *&c.* And there he ſtayed and would read no further, ſaying, that

{KING 1 Hen. 8.} that he knew not the Articles contained in his Abjuration to be Hereſie, therefore he could not ſee why he ſhould refuſe them. Which done, the Chancellor proceeded to the reading of the ſentence definitive, coming to this place of the ſentence; The Doctrine and determination of the Church, *&c.* and there pauſed, ſaying, He would reſerve the reſt till he ſaw his time. Whom then *Bainham* deſired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a Purgatory; that the Souls of the Apoſtles were in Heaven, *&c.* Then Began he again to read the ſentence: but *Bainham* again deſired him to be good to him. Whereupon he ceaſed the ſentence, and ſaid that he would accept this his confeſſion for that time as ſufficient.

So *Bainham* for that preſent was returned to his Priſon again. Who then the fifth day after, which was the eighth day of *February*, appeared, as before, in the Conſiſtory. Whom the foreſaid Chancellor repeating again his Articles and Anſwers, asked if he would abjure and ſubmit himſelf. Who anſwered, That he would ſubmit himſelf as a good Chriſtian Man ſhould. Again, the Chancellor the ſecond time asked if he would Abjure. I will (ſaid he) forſake all my Articles, and will meddle no more with them; and ſo being commanded to lay his hand upon the Book, read his Abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burſt out into theſe words, ſaying, That becauſe there were many words in the ſaid Abjuration, which he thought obſcure and difficile, he proteſted that by his Oath he intended not to go from ſuch defence, which he might have had before his Oath. Which done, the Chancellor asked him why he made that proteſtation. *Bainham* ſaid, For fear, leſt any Man of ill will do accuſe me hereafter. Then the Chancellor taking the definitive ſentence in his hand, diſpoſing himſelf (as appeared) to read the ſame; Well Maſter *Bainham*, ſaid he, take your Oath, and kiſs the Book, or elſe I will do mine office againſt you: and ſo immediately he took the Book in his hand and kiſſed it, and ſubſcribed the ſame with his hand.

Bainham again brought to the Conſiſtory. Bainham loth to abjure.

Bainham enjoyned Penance. Bainham diſmiſſed out of Priſon.

Which done, the Chancellor receiving the Abjuration at his hand put him to his Fine, firſt to pay twenty pounds to the King. After that, he injoyned him Penance, to go before the Croſs in Proceſſion at *Pauls*, and to ſtand before the Preacher during the Sermon at *Paul's*-Croſs, with a Fagot upon his Shoulder, the next Sunday, and ſo to return with the Sumner to the Priſon again, there to abide the Biſhops determination: and ſo the ſeventeenth day of *February* he was releaſed and diſmiſſed home. Where

James Bainham enjoyned penance.

Repentance of Bainham after his fall. he had ſcarce a month continued, but he bewailed his Fact and Abjuration, and was never quiet in his Mind and Conſcience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the World forgiveneſs before the Congregation in thoſe days, in a Warehouſe in *Bow-lane*: and immediately the next Sunday after he came to St. *Auſtins*, with the *New Teſtament* in his hand in *Engliſh*, and the Obedience of a Chriſtian man in his boſom, and ſtood up there before the people in his Pew, there declaring openly with weeping tears, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakneſs, and not to do as he did: for (ſaid he) if I ſhould not return again unto the Truth (having the *New Teſtament* in his hand) this Word of God would damn me both Body and Soul at the Day of Judgment. And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel ſuch an Hell again as he did feel, for all the Worlds good. Beſides this, he wrote alſo certain Letters to the Biſhop, to his Brother, and to others; ſo that ſhortly after he was apprehended, and ſo committed to the *Tower* of *London*.

¶ *The Proceſs againſt* James Bainham *in caſe of relapſe.*

{Ann. 1532.} Another Proceſs againſt James Bainham. Ex Regiſt. Lon.

THE nineteenth day of *April*, 1532, Maſter *Richard Foxford*, Vicar General to the Biſhop of *London*, accompanied with certain Divines, and *Matthew Creſton* the Regiſter, ſitting judicially, *James Bainham* was brought before him by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*; before whom the Vicar-General rehearſed the Articles contained in his Abjuration before made, and ſhewed him a bound Book, which the ſaid *Bainham* acknowledged to be his own writing, ſaying, That it was good. Then he ſhewed him more of a certain Letter ſent unto the Biſhop of *London*, the which alſo he acknowledged to be his: objecting alſo to the ſaid *Bainham*, that he had made and read the Abjuration which he had before recited: ſhewing him moreover certain Letters which he had written unto his Brother, the which he confeſſed to be his own writing; ſaying moreover, That though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the ſame that is naught, if it be as my Lord Chancellor ſaith. Then he asked of *Bainham*, how

How he understood this which followeth, which was in his Letters: Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was Three Persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and *Bainham* said it was naught. Which things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words: That he had as leve pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which Article *Bainham* denied. The said *Bainham* amongst other talk, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, said, Christs Body is not chewed with Teeth, but received by Faith. Further it was objected against him, That notwithstanding his Abjuration, he had said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a mystical or memorial Body: the which Article *Bainham* denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say, That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* was a Thief and a Murtherer, and a Devil in Hell. Whereunto he answered thus: That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* was a Murtherer, and if he did not repent him of his Murther, he was rather a Devil in Hell, than a Saint in Heaven.

Articles falsly depraved by the adversaries.

Tho. Becket.

Another appearance.

The twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, the said *James Bainham* was brought before the Vicar-General, in the Church of *All Saints*, of *Barking*, whereas he ministred these Interrogatories unto him.

First, That since the Feast of *Easter* last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a mystical Body of Christ; and afterward he said, It was but a memorial. The which Article *Bainham* denied. Then the Vicar-General declared unto him, that our holy Mother the Catholick Church determineth and teacheth in this manner: That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there remaineth no Bread. The Official asked *Bainham*, whether he did believe or not? Whereunto *Bainham* answered, saying, That St. *Paul* calleth it Bread, rehearsing these words; *Quotiescunque comederitis panem hunc, & de poculo hiberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis.* And in that point he saith as St. *Paul* saith, and believeth as the Church believeth. And being demanded twice afterward what he thought therein, he would give no other answer.

St. Paul confirmeth the Sacrament Bread.

Item, That since the Feast of *Easter* aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every Man whatsoever that would take upon him to preach the Gospel of Christ clearly, had as much power as the Pope. To the which Article he answered thus: He that preacheth the Word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the Key that bindeth and looseth both in Heaven and Earth. The which Key is the same Scripture that is preached, and the Pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the Key of the Scripture.

True preachers have as much power of the Keys as the Pope.

Item, That he affirmed, That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* was a Thief and a Murtherer, and in Hell. Whereunto he answered as before.

Articles falsly depraved.

Item, That he said, That he had as leve pray to *Joan* his Wife, as to our Lady. The which he denied as before.

Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Christ himself was but a Man: The which Article he also denied.

The Premisses thus passed, the Vicar-General received *Francis Realms*, *John Edwards*, *Ralph Hilton*, *John Ridley*, *Francis Driland*, and *Ralph Noble*, as Witnesses to be Sworn upon the Articles aforesaid, and to speak the truth before the face of the said *James Bainham*, in the presence of Master *John Nayler*, Vicar of *Barking*, Master *John Rode* Bachelor of Divinity, *William Smith*, *Richard Grivel*, *Thomas Wimple*, and *Richard Gill*.

Witnesses exhibit Master Bainham.

The last appearance of James Bainham.

The six and twentieth day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, before Master *John Foxford*, Vicar-General of the Bishop of *London*, in the presence of *Matthew Grefton*, Register, and *Nicholas Wilson* and *William Philley*, professors of Divinity, *John Oliver*, *William Middleton*, and *Hugh Apprise*, Doctors of the Law, *M. Richard Gresham* Sheriff of *London*, and a great company of others, *James Bainham* was brought forth by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, in whose presence the Vicar-General rehearsed the merits of the cause of Inquisition of Heresie against him, and proceeded to the reading of the Abjuration. And when the Judge read this Article following contained in the Abjuration: *Item*, That I have said, That I will not determine whether any Souls departed be yet in Heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the Faith of *Abraham*: and I wote not whether the Souls of the Apostles or any other be in Heaven or no. To this *James* answered, That I did Abjure, and if that had not been, I would not have Abjured at all.

Souls departed.

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After all the Articles were read contained in the Abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the Sacrament of Baptism, the said *James Bainham* spake these words: If a *Turk*, a *Jew*, or a *Saracen* do trust in God, and keep his Law, he is a good Christian Man. Then the Official shewed unto him the Letters which he sent unto his Brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this Clause following: Yet could they not see and know him from God, when indeed he was both God and Man, yea, he was three Persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Whereunto *Bainham* said, That it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not over-see his Letters. Then Master *Nicholas Wilson* among other talk, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, declared unto him, That the Church did believe the very Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. *Bainham* answered, The Bread is not Jesus Christ, for Christs Body is not chewed with Teeth, therefore it is but Bread. Being further demanded whether in the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Christ, God and Man in Flesh and Blood; after divers doubtful answers, *Bainham* answered thus: He is there very God and Man in form of Bread.

The Sacrament of Baptism.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

This done, the Official declared unto him the Depositions of the Witnesses which were come in against him, and objected unto him, that a little before *Easter*, he had Abjured all Heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said Vicar-General, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his Assistants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing: whereby amongst other things, besides his Abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed Heretick, damnably fallen into sundry Heresies, and so to be left unto the Secular Powers; that is to say, to one of the Sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of which sentence, Master *Nicholas Wilson* counselled and admonished the said *James*, That he would conform himself unto the Church. To whom he answered, That he trusted that he is the very Child of God; which ye blind Asses, said he, do not perceive. And last of all, departing from his Judgment, he spake these words: Master *Wilson*, nor you my Lord Chancellor shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any Purgatory. Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, the which here to repeat word for word is not necessary, forsomuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of *Bayfield*, alias *Somerfam*. Here also should ensue the Letter of the Bishop of *London*, directed unto the Mayor and Sheriffs of the same City, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is also of like effect to that before-written in the story of *Bayfield*. After this sentence given, *James Bainham* was delivered into the hands of Sir *Richard Gresham* Sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his Officers to be carried unto *Newgate*, and the said *James Bainham* was burned in *Smithfield* the last day of *April*, in the year aforesaid, at three of the Clock at afternoon.

Sentence read against Bainham.

The words of James Bainham to Master Wilson.

This Master *Bainham*, during his Imprisonment, was very cruelly handled. For almost the space of a fortnight he lay in the Bishops Cole-house in the Stocks, with Irons upon his Legs. Then he was carried to the Lord Chancellors, and there chained to a Post two nights. Then he was carried to *Fulham*, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a fortnight. Then to the *Tower*, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with Whips, to make him revoke his Opinions. From thence he was carried to *Barking*, then to *Chelsey*, and there condemned, and so to *Newgate* to be burned.

The cruel handling of Bainham.

The

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The burning of James Bainham.

Anno 1532. A miracle, and a wonderous work of God to behold.

At whose burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the Stake in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his Arms and Legs, he spake these words: O ye Papists, behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle: for in this Fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a Bed of Down: but it is to me as a Bed of Roses. These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his Legs and Arms, as I said, were half consumed.

John Bent, *Martyr.*

John Bent, Martyr.

AT the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one *John Bent*, who about this present time, or not long before, being a Tailor, and dwelling in a Village called *Urchevant*, was burned in the Town of the *Devises* within the County of *Wiltshire*, for denying of the Sacrament of the Altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, *Martyr.*

Trapnel Martyr, burned at Bradford.

ALso much about the same time, was one *Trapnel* burned in a Town called *Bradford*, within the same County.

John Bent, Martyr.

Robert King, Robert Debnam, and Nicholas Martyn hanged for taking downe the Rood of Dover-court.

The

The History of three Men hanged for the burning of the Rood *of* Dover-Court, *collected out of a Letter of* Robert Gardiner, *which was one of the doers of the same.*

Out of a Letter of *Robert Gardiner*, written to Chapman a Lombarder, and yet alive. The Rood of *Dover-Court.*

IN the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an Idol named the *Rood* of *Dover-Court*, whereunto was much and great resort of People. For at that time there was a great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, That the power of the Idol of *Dover-Court* was so great, that no Man had power to shut the Church-door where he stood, and therefore they let the Church-door, both Night and Day, continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumor. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar fort, seemed a great marvel unto many Men; but to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, was greatly suspected, especially unto these, whose names here follow: as *Robert King*, *Robert Debnam*, *Nicholas Maris* of *Dedham*, *Robert Debnam* of *Eastbergholt*, *Nicholas Marsh* of *Dedham*, and *Robert Gardiner* of *Dedham*, whose Consciences were sore burthened to see the Honour and Power of the Almighty Living God so to be blasphemed by such an Idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of *Dedham* in a wondrous goodly Night, both hard Frost and fair Moonshine, although the Night before and the Night after were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the Town of *Dedham*, to the place where the filthy *Rood* stood, Ten Miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprize, that they went these Ten Miles without pain, and found the Church-door open according to the blind talk of the ignorant People: for there durst no unfaithful body hear it. Which happened well for their purpose; for they found the Idol: which had as much power to keep the Door shut as to keep it open. And for proof thereof, they took the Idol from his Shrine, and carried him a quarter of a Mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said Idol. Whereupon they strook Fire with a Flint-stone, and suddainly set him on Fire, who burned out so brim, that he lighted them homeward one good Mile of the Ten.

Robert King, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marsh, Martyrs.

The blind opinions of the people. Experience of said Idolatry.

The Idol set on light fire.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great Riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprize, as they themselves afterward confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his Coat, his Shoos, and Tapers. The Tapers did help to burn him, the Shoos they had again, and the Coat one Sir *Thomas Rose* did burn, but they had neither Peny, half-Peny, Gold, Groat, nor Jewel.

False surmises always ready.

The right handling of an Idol.

Notwithstanding three of them were afterward Indicted of Felony, and hanged in Chains within half a year after, or thereabout. *Robert King* was hanged in *Dedham* at *Burchet*; *Debnam* was hanged at *Cataway*-Cawsey; *Nicholas Marsh* was hanged at *Dover-Court*. Which three persons, through the Spirit of God at their death, did more edifie the People in godly learning, than all the Sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

Robert Gardiner escaped.

The fourth Man of this company, named *Robert Gardiner*, escaped their hands and fled. Albeit he was cruelly sought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, World without end.

Examinations upon Garden. Images destroyed.

The same year, and the year before, there were many Images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the Image of the Crucifix in the Highway by *Coghal*, the Image of St. *Petronil* in the Church of great *Horsleigh*, the Image of St. *Christopher* by *Sudbury*, and another Image of St. *Petronil* in a Chappel of *Ipswich*.

Also *John Seward* of *Dedham* overthrew the Cross in *Stoke*-Park, and took two Images out of a Chappel in the same Park, and cast them into the Water.

The Story, Examination, Death, and Martyrdom of John Frith.

KING Hen 8.

A Mongst all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a long time which seemed unto me more grievous, than the lamentable death and cruel handling of *John Frith*, so learned and excellent a young Man, which had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that scarcely there was his equal amongst all his companions: and besides, withal had such a godliness of life joyned with his Doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both. But as touching his Doctrine by the Grace of Christ we will speak hereafter. Of the great godliness which was in him this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular Gifts and Ornaments of the mind in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an easie way unto Honour and Dignity, notwithstanding he chose rather wholly to consecrate himself unto the Church of Christ, excellently shewing forth and practising in himself the Precept so highly commended of the Philosophers, touching the life of Man; which life they say is given unto us in such fort, that how much the better the Man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto other, serving for the common utility, and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our Parents, a greater part unto our Country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the Church, if we will be counted good Men. First of all he began his study at *Cambridge*. In whom Nature had planted, being but a Child, marvellous instinctions and love unto learning, whereunto he was addict. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, insomuch that he seemed not to be sent into learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardliness, or worthy of his disposition. Whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of Learning, but also became an exquisite learned Man. In the which exercise when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of *Latin* and *Greek*, at the last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with *William Tindal*, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the Seed of the Gospel and sincere godliness.

Ann. 1531 John Frith, Martyr.

John Frith, first Student in Cambridge.

Commendation of Frith's learning.

At that time *Thomas Wolsey*, Cardinal of *York* prepared to build a Colledge in *Oxford*, marvellous sumptuous, which had the name and title of *Frideswide*, but now named *Christs Church*, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto the posterity. But that building, he being cut off by the stroke of death (for he was sent for unto the King, accused of certain crimes, and in the way by immoderate purgations killed himself) left partly begun, partly half ended, and unperfect, and nothing else save only the Kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon *Rodulphus Gualterus*, a learned Man, being then in *Oxford*, and beholding the College, said these words in *Latin*: *Egregium opus, Cardinalis iste instituit collegium, & absolvit potenter.* How large and ample those Buildings should have been, what sumptuous cost should have been bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the Kitchen, the Hall, and certain Chambers, whereas there is such curious Graving and Workmanship of Stone-cutters, that all things on every side did glitter for the excellency of the Workmanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt Anticks and Embossings, insomuch that if all the rest had been finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all Colleges of Students, but also Palaces of Princes. This ambitious Cardinal gathered together into that College whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole Realm, either Vestiments, Vessels, or other Ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such Men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge. Whose names to recite all in

The College Cardinal Wolsey began in Oxford, now called Christ-College.

The saying of Rodulphus Gualterus, touching the Cardinals College.

KING Hen 8.

in order would be too long. The chief of them which were called from *Cambridge* were these:

Master Clerk, *Master of Art, of thirty four years of Age.*
M. Frier, *afterward Doctor of Phisick, after that a strong Papist.*
M. Sumner, *Master of Art.*
M. Harman, *Master of Art, and after fellow of* Eaton *College, after that a Papist.*
M. Bettes, *Master of Art, a good Man and zealous, and so remained.*
Master Cox, *Master of Art, who conveyed himself away toward the North, and after was School-master of* Eaton, *and then Chaplain to Doctor* Goodrich, *Bishop of* Ely, *and by him preferred to King* Henry, *and late Bishop of* Ely.
John Frith, *Bachelor of Art.*
Bayly, *Bachelor of Art.*
Goodman, *who being sick in the Prison with the other, was had out, and died in the Town.*
Drumme, *who afterwards fell away and forsook the Truth.*
Thomas Lawney, *Chaplain of the House, Prisoner with* John Frith.

This Taverner tempted him very much that he had made Songs to Popish Ditties in the time of his blindness.

To these joyn also *Taverner* of *Boston*, the good Musician, besides many other called also out of other places, most picked young Men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who conferring together upon the abuses of Religion, being at that time crept into the Church, were therefore accused of Heresie unto the Cardinal, and cast into a Prison, within a deep Cave under the Ground of the same College where their Salt Fish was laid; so that through the filthy stinch thereof they were all infected, and certain of them taking their death in the same Prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the Prison into their Chambers, there deceased.

Persecuters.

The troublers and examiners of these good Men, were these: Doctor *London*, Doctor *Higdon*, Dean of the said College, and Doctor *Cottesford*, Commissary.

M. Clerk, M. Sumner, Mr Baily, killed through imprisonment.

Master *Clerk*, Master *Sumner*, and Sir *Baily*, eating nothing but Salt Fish from *February* to the midst of *August*, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master *Bettes* a witty Man, having no Books found in his Chamber, through intreaty and surety got out of Prison, and so remaining a space in the College, at last slipt away to *Cambridge*, and after was Chaplain to Queen *Ann*, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of *Clarks* Books under the Boards in his School; yet the Cardinal for his Musick excused him; saying, That he was but a Musician: and so he escaped.

After the death of these Men, *John Frith* with other, by the Cardinals Letter, which first word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of Prison, upon condition not to pass above Ten Miles out of *Oxford*. Which *Frith*, after hearing of the Examination of *Dalaber* and *Garret*, which bear then Fagots, went over the Sea, and after two years he came over for Exhibition of the Prior of *Reading* (as was thought) and had the Prior over with him.

Of this Dalaber read more in the Story of Thocsarret.

John Frith set in the Stocks at Reading.

Being at *Reading*, it happened that he was there taken for a Vagabond, and brought to Examination: where the simple Man, which could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the Stocks. Where after he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all that declare what he was, at the last he desired that the School-master of the Town might be brought to him, which at that time was one *Leonard Cox*, a Man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, *Frith*, by and by began in the *Latin* Tongue to bewail his Captivity.

Leonard Cox, School-master of Reading.

The School-master by and by, being overcome with his Eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlocked for, especially in such an estate and misery. Afterward, they conferring more together upon many things, as touching the Universities, Schools, and Tongues, fell from the *Latin* into the *Greek*: Wherein *Frith* did so inflame the love of that School-matter towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the School-master heard him so promptly by heart rehearse *Homers* Verses out of his first Book of *Iliads*. Whereupon the School-master went with all speed unto the Magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew unto so excellent and innocent a young Man.

John Frith, through the help of the School-master, was by the Bishop of the School-master, was freely dimitted out of the Stocks, and set at liberty delivered out of the Stocks. without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir *Thomas More*, who at that time being Chancellor of *England*, persecuted him both by Land and Sea, besetting all the Ways and Havens, yea and promising great rewards, if any Man could bring him any news or tydings of him.

Sir Thomas More a deadly persecutor of John Frith.

Thus *Frith* being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeting from one place to another, and often changing both his Garments and Place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no not long amongst his Friends: so that at the last, being traiterously taken (as ye shall after hear) he was sent unto the *Tower* of *London*, whereas he had many conflicts with the Bishops, but especially in writing with Sir *Thomas More*. The first occasion of his writing was this: Upon a time he had communication with a certain old familiar Friend of his, touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. The whole effect of which disputation consisted specially in these four points:

The occasion of Frith's writing against Purgatorie.

1. *First, That the matter of the Sacrament is no necessary Article of Faith under pain of damnation.*

2. Secondly, *That forsomuch as Christs natural Body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only except, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.*

3. *Moreover, it shall not seem meet or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christs words according to the literal sence, but rather according to the order and Phrase of speech, comparing Phrase with Phrase, according to the Analogy of the Scripture.*

4. *Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right Institution of Christ, albeit that the order which at this time is crept into the Church, and is used now adays by the Priests, do never so much differ from it.*

The occasion of Frith writing upon the Sacrament.

And forasmuch as the Treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his Friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon he would briefly commit unto writing, and give unto him for the help of his memory. *Frith*, albeit he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at the last notwithstanding, he being overcome by the intreaty of his Friend, rather followed his will, than looked to his own safeguard.

William Hill a Jesuite.

There was at that time in *London* a Taylor named *William Holt*, which feigning great friendship toward this party, instantly required of him to give him license to read over that same Writing of *Friths*. Which when he unadvisedly did, the other by and by carried it unto *More*, being then Chancellor. Which thing afterward was occasion of great trouble, and also of death unto the said *Frith*. For *More* having gotten a Copy of his Book, not only of this Sycophant, but also two other Copies, which at the same time in a manner were sent him by other promoters, he whetted his wits, and called his spirits together as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary Book.

Sir Thomas More Chancellor.

This in a manner was the whole sum of the reasons of *Frith's* Book; First, to declare the Popes belief of the Sacrament to be no necessary Article of our Faith; that is to say, that it is no Article of our Faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, that the Sacrament should be the natural Body of Christ. Which he thus pro-

The sum of Frith's Book of the Sacrament.

proveth. For many so believe, and yet in so believing, the Sacrament to be the natural body are not thereby saved, but receive it to their own damnation.

This not believing the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacraments is no damnation

Again, in believing the Sacrament to be the natural body, yet that natural presence of his Body in the Bread is not that which saveth us, but his presence in our hearts by Faith. And likewise, the not believing of his bodily presence in the Sacrament, is not the thing that shall damn us, but the absence of him out of our heart, through unbelief. And if it be objected, that it is necessary to believe Gods Word under pain of damnation: to that he Answereth, That the Word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintaineth no such bodily presence as the Popes Church doth teach, but rather a Sacramental presence. And that, saith he, may be further confirmed thus:

Argument.

Ce- None of the old Fathers before Christs Incarnation were bound under pain of damnation to believe this point.

la- All we be saved by the same Faith that the old Fathers were.

rent. *Ergo*, None of us are bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

The first part, saith he, is evident of it self. For how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?

Augustinus ad Dardanum.

The second part, saith he, appeareth plainly by Saint *Augustine*, writing *ad Dardanum*, and also by an hundred places more. Neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate than this, that the same Faith that saved our Fathers, saveth us also. And therefore upon the truth of these two parts thus proved, must the conclusion, saith he, needs follow,

Another Argument.

None of the old Fathers before Christs Incarnation did eat Christ corporally in their signs, but only mystically, and spiritually, and were saved.

All we do eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

Ergo, None of us do eat Christ Corporally, but mystically, and spiritually in our signs as they did.

For the probation of the first part, *Frith* proceeding in his Discourse declareth how the ancient Fathers before Christs Incarnation did never believe any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christs body; and yet notwithstanding they did eat him spiritually and were saved: As *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Phinees*, and other godly Israelites besides. All which, saith he, did eat the Body of Christ, and did drink his Blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was Spiritual, pertaining only to Faith, and not to the Teeth:

1 Cor. 10 *For they were all under the cloud, and drank of the rock which followed them; this rock was Christ*, which was promised them to come into the World. And this promise was first made unto *Adam*, when as it was said unto

Gen. 3. the Serpent; *I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between her seed and thy seed*, &c. And afterward again unto *Abraham*: *In thy seed shall all people be*

Gen. 26. Bread is called the Body of the Sacrament of Circumcision is called the Covenant *blessed*, &c. Adding also the Sacrament of Circumcision, which was called the Covenant; not because it was so indeed, but because it was a sign and a token of the Covenant made between God and *Abraham*, admonishing us thereby, how we should judge and think touching the Sacrament of body and blood; to wit, that albeit it be called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully floweth unto all the faithful, by his most healthful body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made unto *Moses* the most meek and gentle Captain of the *Israelites*, which did not only himself believe upon Christ, which was so often promised, but also did prefigurate him by divers means, both by the Manna which came down from Heaven, and also by the Water which issued out of the Rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Manna a figure of Christs Body.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both *Manna* and this water had a prophetical mistery in them, declaring the very self-same thing then, which the Bread and the Wine do now declare unto us in the Sacrament. For thus saith Saint *Augustin*, *Whosoever did understand* and *Christ in the* Manna, *did eat the same spiritual food that we do. But they, which by that* Manna *sought only to fill their Bellies, did eat thereof, and are dead.* So likewise saith he of the Drink; *For the Rock was* 1 Cor. 10 *Christ*. And by and by after he inferreth thus: *Moses did eat Manna*, and *Phinees* also, and many other also did eat thereof, which pleased God, and are not dead. Why? Because they did understand the visible meat spiritually. They did spiritual'y hunger, and did spiritually taste of it, that they might be spiritually satisfied. They all did eat the same spiritual meat, and all did drink the same spiritual drink: all one spiritual thing, but not all one Corporal matter (for they did eat *Manna*, and we another thing) but the self-same spiritual thing that we do, and although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we another: Which nevertheless signified all one thing in spiritual effect. How did they drink all one thing? The Apostle answereth, *Of the spiritual Rock which followed them, for the Rock was Christ*. And *Beda* also adding these words saith, *Behold the signs are altered, and yet the Faith remaineth one.* Thereby a man may perceive that the *Manna* which came down from Heaven, was the same unto them that our Sacrament is unto us, and that by either of them is signified, that the body of Christ came down from Heaven; and yet notwithstanding never any of them said, that *Manna* was the very body of Messias, as our Sacramental Bread is not indeed the Body of Christ, but a mystical representation of the same. For like as the *Manna* which came down from Heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, doth nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from Heaven, and being given for us, doth quicken up the spirits of the Believers unto life everlasting. Then if the Salvation of both people be like, and their faith also one, there is no cause why we should add Transubstantiation unto our Sacrament, more than they believed their *Manna* to be altered and changed. Moreover because they are named Sacraments, even by the signification of the name they must needs be signs of things, or else of necessity they can be no Sacraments.

The old Fathers did eat the same Spiritual Food that we do, but not the Corporal Food, for they did eat Christ in Manna, we do eat him in Bread. Beda.

A similitude between Manna and the Body of Christ.

Objection. But some may here object and say; If only Faith, both unto them and also unto us, be sufficient for Salvation, what need then any Sacraments to be instituted? He answered, that there are three causes why Sacraments are instituted. The first Saint *Austin* declareth in these words, Writing against *Faustus*, Men, saith he, cannot be knit together into one name of Religion, be it true or be it false, except they be knit by the society of signs and visible Sacraments, the power whereof doth wonderfully prevail, in so much that such as contemn them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned without the which godliness cannot be made perfect, &c. Another cause is, that they should be helps to graft and plant Faith in our Hearts, and for the confirmation of Gods promises. But this use of Sacraments many are yet ignorant of, and more there be which do prepostorously judge of the same, taking the signs for the thing it self, and worshiping the same: even by like reason in a manner, as if a man would take the bush that hangeth at the Tavern door, and suck it to slack his Thirst, and will not go into the Tavern where the Wine is. Thirdly, they do serve unto this use, to stir up the minds and hearts of the faithful to give thanks unto God for his benefits. And these in a manner are the principal points of his Book.

Answers. Three causes why Sacraments are Ordained. Augustinus contra Faustum.

John Frith speaking according to that time, allowed the opinion of Luther might be received.

The second cause. Sacraments not to be worshipped for the things.

The third cause.

When *More* (as is aforesaid) had gotten a Copy of this Treatise, he sharpened his Pen all that he might, to make answer unto this young man (for so he call'eth him throughout his whole Book) but in such sort, that when the Book was once set forth, and shewed unto the World, then he endeavoured himself all that he might to keep it from printing, peradventure lest that any Copy thereof should come unto *Frith's* hand. But notwithstanding when at the last *Frith* had gotten a Copy thereof, by means of his friends, He answered him out of the Prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect end

More vexeth against John Frith.

Frith answereth to More.

KING Hen. 8. Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury holpen by the book of John Frith.

and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so do I think it not much necessary to repeat all his Reasons and Arguments, or the Testimonies which he had gathered out of the Doctors: specially forsomuch as the Archbishop of *Canterbury Cranmer*, in his Apology against the Bishop of *Winchester*, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other: and I doubt much whether the Archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any Author of that Doctrine, than unto this aforesaid *Frith*.

What dexterity of Wit was in him, and excellency of Doctrine, it may appear not only by his Books which he wrote of the Sacrament, but also in them which he intituled of Purgatory. In the which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies: that is to say, of *Rochester*, *More*, and *Rastal*, whereof the one by the help of the Doctors, the other by wrestling of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural Philosophy had conspired against him. But he, as a *Hercules* fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted *Rastal* to his part.

Rochester, More, and Rastal, against Frith.

John Frith converted Rastal.

Besides all these Commendations of this young Man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joyned with a learned godliness. Which vertue hath always so much prevailed in the Church of Christ, that without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they never so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God that all things in all places were so free from all kind of dissention, that there were no mention made amongst Christians of *Zuinglians* and *Lutherians*, when as neither *Zuinglius*, neither *Luther* died for us, but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing could happen more grievous unto those worthy Men, than their names so to be abused to Sects and Factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all Factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth: Neither so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might joyn either part unto other.

The prudent temperance and moderation of John Frith.

But now, forsomuch as we intreat of the Story of *John Frith*, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that Man, who maintaining his quarrel of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, no less godly than learnedly, (and so no Man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily) yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the Papists, except he had been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness sake, as his most modest Reason and answers did declare.

For when as *More*, disputing in a certain place upon the Sacrament, layed against him the authority of Doctor *Barns*, for the presence of the Body and Blood in the Sacrament, he answered unto *More* and his Companions, that he would promise under this condition, That the sentence of *Luther* and *Barns* might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it: for in that point they did both agree with him, that the Sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that Idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every Man to judge of the Sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any Man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore if they did agree in that which was the chiefest point of the Sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the remnant.

Moderation commended in matters of disputation.

Thus much he wrote in the Treatise, entituled, The exile of *Barns* against *More*. Which words of this most meek Martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the seditious divisions and factions of these our days, with great ease and little labour, Men might be brought to an unity in this controverse, and much more concord and love should be in the Church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

But to our Story again of *John Frith*, who after he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with *More*, *Rochester*, and *Rastal*, *More's* Son in Law, he was at the last carried to *Lambeth*, first before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and afterward unto *Croidon*, before the Bishop of *Winchester*, to Plead his Cause. Last of all, he was called before the Bishops in a common Assembly at *London*, where he constantly defended himself, if he might have been heard.

John Frith convented before the Bishop.

The Order of his judgment, with the manner of his Examination and Articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a Letter written and sent unto his Friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter of *John Frith* to his Friends, concerning his troubles: Wherein after he had first with a brief Preface saluted them, entring then into the matter, Thus he writeth.

This Letter is to be seen in the end of that excellent and worthy work which he made in the Tower concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Pugatory.

I Doubt not dear Brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part to have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the other to be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently. But refer your matters unto God, which shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what Articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that you might understand the matter certainly.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special Articles, that is to say, of Purgatory, and of the substance of the Sacrament.

And first of all, as touching Pugatory, they enquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the Soul after this life. But I said, that I thought there was no such place: For Man (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this World, by the Cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every Child that he receiveth; as affliction, Worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. And last of all the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the Word of God, which we receive through Faith, to the salvation both of Body and soul. Now if ye can shew me a third part of Man beside the Body and the Soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call Purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the Bishop of Romes *Purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary Article of our Faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a Purgatory or no.*

Secondly, They examined me touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether it was the very Body of Christ, or no.

The Sacrament of Christs Body.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christs Body and also our Body, as Saint Paul *teacheth us in the first Epistle to the* Corinthians, *and tenth Chapter. For in that it is made one bread of many cornes, it is called our body, which being divers and many members, are associate and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of Grapes, and is made into one Liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the Body of Christ, declaring his Body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.*

Furthermore, in that the Sacrament is distributed, it is Christs Body, signifying that as verily as the Sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily is Christs Body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

In that it is received it is Christs Body, signifying that as verily as the outward Man received the Sacrament with his Teeth and Mouth, so verily doth the inward Man through Faith receive Christs Body and fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the Bread which he eateth.

Transubstantiation.

Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural Body, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, is really contained under the Sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, said I, I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any Article of Faith. For

even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary Article of the Faith of your part (which is an affirmative) so I say again, that we make no necessary Article of the Faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all Men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and one to bear anothers infirmity.

Ferebatur manibus propriis.

After this they alledged the place of Saint Augustine, *where he saith*; Ferebatur in manibus propriis, *That is to say, He was carried in his own hands.*

The place of St. Augustine expounded.

Whereunto I answered, That Saint Augustine *was a plain interpreter of himself*; *for he hath in another place,* Ferebatur tanquam in manibus suis: *That is to say, He was carried as it were in his own hands: which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that Saint* Augustine *had not thus expounded himself, yet he writing unto* Boniface *doth plainly admonish all Men, that the Sacraments do represent and signifie those things whereof they are Sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they do take their names. And therfore according to this rule it may be said, he was born in his own hands, when as he bare in his hands the Sacrament of his Body and Blood.*

Augustinus ad Bonifacium.

Chrysostome expounded himself.

Then they alledged a place of Chrysostome, *which at the first blush may seem to make much for them, who in a certain Homily upon the Supper writeth thus*; *Dost thou see Bread and Wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid*; *for as in Wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth nor abideth*: *so likewise think that the misteries are consumed by the substance of the body, &c.*

The place of Chrysostome answered.

These words I expounded by the words of the same Doctor, which in another Homily saith on this manner; *The inward eies* (*saith he*) *as soon as they see the Bread, they flee over all Creatures, and do not think of the Bread that is baked of the Baker, but of the Bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical Bread. Now consider these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expounded the first plainly. For he saith, Dost thou see the Bread and Wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eies, as soon as they see the Bread, do pass over all Creatures, and do not any longer think upon the Bread, but upon him which is signified by the Bread. And after this manner he seeth it, and again he seeth it not*: *For as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eies, so with his inward eies he seeth it not, that is to say, regardeth not the Bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do*; *not that indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the Eies do see.*

In like manner may it be answered unto that which followeth; *Do they avoid from thee* (*saith he*) *in the draught as other meats do? I will not so say, for other meats passing thorow the Bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the Body, be voided into the draught: but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by Faith, and nourisheth both Body and Soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.*

Argument on Christ's. The Belly of man cannot avoid any part of Christs Body: The belly of man avoideth some part of every thing that the mouth receiveth: Ergo, the mouth of man receiveth not the Body of Christ.

'And as before I said that the external Eyes do behold 'the Bread, which the inward Eyes, being otherwise oc- 'cupied, do not behold or think upon, even so our out- 'ward Man doth digest the Bread, and void it into the 'draught; but the inward Man doth neither regard nor 'think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing it self that is 'signified by that Bread. And therefore *Chrysostome*, a little before the words which they alledged, saith; Lift 'up your minds and hearts. Whereby he admonisheth us 'to look upon and consider those Heavenly things which 'are represented and signified by the Bread and Wine, 'and not to mark the Bread and Wine it self.

'Here they said, that was not *Chrysostomes* mind; 'but that by this example he declared that there re- 'mained no Bread nor Wine. I answered; That 'was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to 'no other purpose, but to call away our spiritual Eyes 'from the beholding of visible things, and to transport 'them another way, as if the things which are seen 'were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our 'mind from the consideration of these things, and fix- 'eth it upon him which is signified unto us by the 'same. The very words which follow sufficiently de- 'clare this to be the true meaning of the Author, 'whereas he commandeth us to consider all things 'with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

{KING Hen. 8.}

All mysteries to be seen with inward eies.

'But whether *Chrysostomes* words do tend either to 'this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on 'our part against our adversaries, which way soever 'we do understand them. For if he thought that the 'Bread and Wine do remain, we have no further to 'travel: but if he meant contrariwise, that they do 'not remain, but that the natures of the Bread and 'Wine are altred, then are the Bread and Wine fal- 'ly named Sacraments and mysteries, which can be 'said in no place to be in the nature of things: for 'that which is in no place, how can it be a Sacra- 'ment, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, if 'he speak only of the outward forms and shapes (as 'we call them) it is most certain that they do consti- 'tutally remain, and that they by the substance of the 'body are not consumed in any place; wherfore it must 'necessarily follow the words of *Chrysostom* to be under- 'stood in such sense as I have declared.

Chrysostome against the popish doctrine of the Sacrament.

The objection of Chrysostome avoided by 4 Distinctions.

'Here peradventure many would marvel, that forso- 'much as the matter touching the substance of the Sa- 'crament, being separate from the Articles of Faith, and 'binding no Man of necessity either unto salvation or 'damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may 'be left indifferently unto all Men, freely to judge either 'on the one part or on the other, according to his own 'mind, so that neither part do contemn or despise the 'other; but that all love and charity be still holden and 'kept in this dissension of opinions: what then is the cause, 'why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The 'cause why I die is this; For that I cannot agree with 'the Divines and other head Prelates, that it should be 'necessarily determined to be an Article of Faith, and 'that we should believe under pain of Damnation, the 'substance of the Bread and Wine to be changed into 'the Body and Blood of our Saviour JESUS 'CHRIST, the form and shape only not being chan- 'ged. Which thing if it were most true (as they shall 'never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture 'or Doctors) yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that 'Doctrine, were it never so true, should be holden for 'a necessary Article of Faith. For there are many things 'both in the Scriptures and other places, which we 'are not bound of necessity to believe as an Article of 'Faith.

A question asked, with the cause declared, why that, being the matter of the Sacrament it self unportenth neither salvation nor damnation, why then Frith offereth himself to death for the same.

'So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds 'when I wrote these things, and yet for all that I will 'not hold it as an Article of Faith, (*a*) but that you may 'without danger of Damnation, either believe it, or 'think the contrary.

(a) This is to be weighed with the time when Frith wrote. There ensue why Transubstantiation is not to be believed.

'But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the 'doctrine of Transubstantiation, divers reasons do lead me 'thereunto.

'First, For that I do plainly see it to be false and vain, 'and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the 'Scriptures or of approved Doctors.

The second cause.

'Secondly, For that by my example I would not be 'an Author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter 'of Faith, more than the necessary points of their Creed, 'wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth consist, 'specially such things, the Belief whereof have no certain 'argument of authority or reason.

'I added moreover, that their Church (as they call it) 'hath no such power and authority, that it either ought 'or may bind us under the peril of our souls, to the be- 'lieving of any such Articles.

The third cause.

'Thirdly, Because I will not, for the favour of our 'Divines or Priests, be prejudicial in this point unto 'so many Nations, of *Germans*, *Helvetians*, and other, 'which altogether rejecting the Transubstantiation of the 'Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, are 'all of the same opinion that I am, as well those that 'take *Luthers* part, as those that hold with *Occelam- 'padius*. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there

{KING Hen. 8.}

'there is no Man of any upright conscience, which will 'not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto 'for this only cause, that I do not think Transubstantiation, 'although it were true indeed, to be established for an Ar- 'cle of Faith.

And thus much hitherto as touching the Articles and whole disputation of *John Frith*, which was done with all moderation and uprightness. But when as no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, the Twentieth day of *June*, in the year of our Lord, 1533. he was brought before the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, and *Lincoln*, who sitting in Saint *Pauls* upon *Friday*, the Twentieth day of *June*, ministred certain interrogatories upon the Sacrament of the Supper, and Purgatory, unto the said *Frith*, as is above declared. To the which when he had answered and shewed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterward subscribed to his answers with his own hand, in these words.

Moderation pretended, but none used.

The subscription of John Frith.

Ego Frithus *ita sentio, & quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, & affirmavi.*

That is to say:

I Frith *thus do think, and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my Books have published.*

But when as by no means he could be perswaded to recant these Articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the Sacrament is an Article of Faith, but said, *Fiat judicium & justicia*: he was condemned by the Bishop of *London* to be burned, and sentence given against him; the Tenor whereof here ensueth.

John Frith delivered to the Sheriffs.

John Frith condemned

The sentence given against John Frith.

Sentence against John Frith.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. We *John* by the permission of God, Bishop of *London*, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by the authority and vertue of our Office, against thee *John Frith* of our jurisdiction, before us personally here present, having accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of Heresie, having heard, seen, and understood, and with diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed which by us in this behalf by Order of Law ought to be observed, sitting in our Judgment Seat, the Name of Christ being first called upon, and having (*b*) God only before our eies, because by the Acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this manner, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find, that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers Errors and Heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the Holy Church, and specially against the Reverend Sacrament; and albeit that we following the example of Christ, *which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live*, have oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and most wholsome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again to the true Faith, and the Unity of the Universal Catholick Church, notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and Heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and as the Child of wickedness and darkness, so to have hadened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy Sheepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions: We therefore, *John* the Bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked, should'st become more wicked, and infect the Lords Flock with thy Heresie, which we are greatly afraid of, do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said *John Frith*, thy demerits and faults being aggravate through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable Heresies, and as an obstinate unpenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and that thou hast been, and art by Law excommunicate, and pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person: Also we pronounce and declare thee to be an Heretick, to be cast out from the Church, and left unto the judgment of the Secular Power, and now prefently so do leave thee unto the Secular Power, and their judgment: most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extrem, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extripation, terror and converfion of Hereticks, to the Unity of the Catholick Faith, by this our sentence definitive, or finall Decree, which we here promulgate in this form aforesaid.

(b) Aubrey had which crucified Christ.

The constant death of John Frith.

The same day before the burning of these worthy Men of God, the Bishop of *London* certified King *Henry* the Eighth, of his worthy, yea, rather Woolvish proceeding against these Men: the Tenor whereof, forsomuch as it proceedeth as the other do before, we therefore omit it, referring the Reader to the same.

¶ Andrew Hewet *burned with Master* Frith.

Andrew Hewet's Martyrdom. Ann. 1533.

ANdrew *Hewet*, born in *Feversham*, in the County of *Kent*, a young Man of the age of four and twenty years, was Apprentise with one Master *Warren* a Tailor, in *Watlingstreet*. And as it happened that he went upon a Holy-day into *Fleetstreet*, towards Saint *Dunstans*, he met with one *William Holt*, which was fore-man with the Kings Tailor, at that present called Master *Malte*, and being suspected by the same *Holt* (which was a dissembling wretch) to be one that favoured the Gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about *Fleet-Bridge*, which was a Booksellers house. Then *Holt*, thinking he had found good occasion to shew forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain Officers, and searched the house, and finding the same *Andrew*, apprehended him, and carried him to the Bishops house, where he was cast into Irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest Man, he had a File conveyed unto him, wherewith he filed off his Irons, and when he spied his time he got out of the gate. But being a Man unskilful to hide himself for lack of good acquaintance, he went into *Smithfield*, and there met with one *Withers*, which was an Hypocrite, as *Holt* was. Which *Withers* understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the Country where he had to do, from *Low-Sunday* till *Whitsuntide*, and then brought him to *London* to the house of one *John Chapman* in *Hoster-Lane* beside *Smithfield*, and there left him by the space of two days.

Andrew Hewet apprehended.

The man that gave him the file He conveyed into Valentine Freys the Painters Brother, who was afterward imprisoned with his Wife at Winchester and York.

John Chapman. Then he came to the said *Chapmans* House again, and brought *Holt* with him. And when they met with the said *Andrew*, they seemed as though they meant to do him very much good. And *Holt* for his part, said, That if he should bring any Man in trouble (as the voice was that he had done the said *Andrew*) it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up. Insomuch that they would needs Sup there that night, and prepared meat of their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain Guests with them, because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and *Holt* took out of his purse two Groats, and gave them to the said *Andrew*, and imbraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one *John Tibauld*, which was banished from his own house by an Injunction, for he had been four times in prison for Christs sake. And within an hour after that *Holt* and *Withers* were gone, the Bishops Chancellor and one called Sergeant *Weaver* came, and brought with them the Watch, and searched the house, where they found the said *John Chapman* and the forenamed *Andrew*, and *John Tibauld*, whom they bound with Ropes, which Sergeant *Weaver* had brought with him, and so carried them to the Bishops house: but *Andrew Hewet* they sent unto the Lollards Tower, and kept *Chapman* and *Tibauld* asunder, watched with two Priests servants. The next day Bishop *Stokesley* came from *Fulham*, and after they were examined with a few threatning words, *Chapman* was committed to the Stocks, with this threat, That he should tell another Tale, or else he should fit there till his heels did drop from his Arse: and *Tibauld* was thut up in a close Chamber; but by Gods provition, he was well delivered out of prison, albeit he could not enjoy his House and Land, because of the Bishops Injunction, but was fain to sell all that he had in *Essex*; for the Tenor of his Injunction was, That he should not come within seven miles of his own house: and the foresaid *Chapman*, after five weeks imprisonment (whereof three weeks he sate in the Stocks) by much suit made unto the Lord Chancellor, which at that time was Lord *Audley*, after many threatnings was delivered: But the said *Andrew Hewet*, after long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with *John Frith*: Whose examination here followeth.

William Holt plageth the Judas.

John Tibauld first thrown in bands for Christs.

Andrew Hewet again taken.

Chapman in the Stocks.

Tibauld enjoyed, not to come within seven miles of his house.

{KING Hen.8.} THe Twentieth day of the Month of *April*, *Andrew Hewet* was brought before the Chancellor of the Bishop of *London*, where was objected against him, that he believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the Body of Christ, and that the Host consecrated was not the very Body of Christ. Now for so much as this Article seemed hainous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the consent of learned Counsel: whereupon the Bishop of *London*, associated with the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, called him again before them. Where he being demanded what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper: answered: Even as *John Frith* doth. Then said one of the Bishops unto him; Dost thou not believe that it is really the Body of Christ, born of the Virgin *Mary*? So (faith he) do not I believe. Why not, said the Bishop? because (said he) Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men which say; *Behold here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false Prophets, shall rise up, saith the Lord.*

{KING Hen.8. Andrew} Hewet brought and examined before the Bishop.

Christ not to be believed to be really in the Sacrament.

Then certain of the Bishops smiled at him; and *Stokesley* the Bishop of *London* said; Why, *Frith* is an Heretick and already judged to be burned, and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him? Truly (saith he) I am content therewithal. Then the Bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions. Whereunto he answered, That he would do as *Frith* did. Wherefore upon he was sent unto the prison to *Frith*, and afterward they were carried togethere to the fire. The Bishops used many perswasions to allure this good Man from the truth, to follow them: but he, manfully perfisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore, the fourth day of *July*, at afternoon, he was carried into *Smithfield* with *Frith*, and there burned.

Hewet holdeth with John Frith.

Hewet constant in the Faith.

Hewet burned with John Frith.

When they were at the Stake, one Doctor *Cook*, a Parson in *London*, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a Dog. At which words *Frith* smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed Martyrs committed their Souls into the hands of God.

The Burning of John Frith, & Andrew Hewet.

The Burning of Thomas Benet.

The

{KING Hen.8.}

The History of the Persecution and death of Thomas Benet, *burned in* Exceter: *Collected and testified by* John Vowel, *alias* Hoker.

The Benet of Exceter, Martyr. THis *Thomas Benet* was born in *Cambridge*, and by order of degree of the University there made M. of Art, and (as some think) was also a Priest, a Man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of *Thomas Bilney*, the famous and glorious Martyr of Christ. This Man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy Word, the more he did mislike and abhor the corrupt state of Religion then used; and therefore thinking his own Country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the University, and went into *Devonshire*, in the year of our Lord, 1524, and first dwelled in a Market town, named *Torrinton*, both Town and Country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all Men there. Where, for the better maintenance of himself and his Wife, he did practise to teach young Children, and kept a School for the same purpose. But that Town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year there, he came to the City of *Exceter*, and there hiring a House in a Street called the Butcher-row, did exercise the teaching of Children, and by that means sustained his Wife and Family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all Men, and offensive to no body. His greatest delight was to be at all Sermons and Preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private Study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the Gospel, and zealous of Gods true Religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to joyn himself unto them. And therefore understanding that one *William Strowd* of *Newnham*, in the County of *Devonshire* Esquire, was committed to the Bishops prison in *Exceter* upon suspition of Heresie, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his Letters of comfort and consolation unto him. Wherein, to avoid all suspition which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the causes of his being in the Country; writing among other things these words; *Ut ne fortasse aut immundus essem, aut remordeas, eam quæ hîc fex annis ab istorum Antichristianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi.* That is to say, Because I would not be a Whoremonger, or an unclean person, therefore I married a Wife, with whom I have hidden my self in *Devonshire*, from the Tyranny of the Antichristians these six years.

The Benet comes from Cambridge to Devonshire.

Benet came to Exceter.

Wil. Strowde prisoned in Exceter for Gods Word.

Benet, why he married.

But as every Tree and Herb hath his due time to bring forth his Fruit, so did it appear by this Man. For he daily seeing the glory of God to be so blaspehemed, Idolatrous Religion so imbraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the Bishop of *Rome* so extolled, was so grieved in Conscience, and troubled in Spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore dealing privately with certain of his Friends, he did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his Word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were by blind Guids carried headlong to everlasting Damnation: and therefore he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would utter their abominations, and for his own part, for the Testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of Gods true Religion, would yeld himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his Blood therein; alledging that his death should be more profitable to the Church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose perswasions when his Friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the Cause, and continue a faithful Souldiers to the end. Which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such Books as he had; and very shortly after, in the Month of *October*, he wrote his mind in certain Scroles of Paper, which in secret manner he set upon the Doors of the Cathedral Church of the City: in which was written; The Pope is Antichrist, and we ought to worship God only, and no Saints.

Antichristians are those which are against Christ.

The guilty soul of The. Benet.

The Pope is Antichrist.

These Bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the enquiry of the Heretick that should set up these Bills: and the Maior and his Officers were not so haste to make searches to find out this Heretick, but the Bishop and all his Doctors were as hot as Coals, and inkindled as though they had been stung with a sort of Wasps. Wherefore to keep the people in their former blindness, Order was taken that the Doctors should in hafte up to the Pulpit every day, and confute this Heresie. Nevertheless this *Thomas Benet*, keeping his own doings in secret, went the *Sunday* following to the Cathedral Church to the Sermon, and by chance sate down by two Men, which were the busiest in all the City in seeking and searching for Hereticks; and they beholding this *Benet*, said the one to the other; Surely this Fellow by all likelihood is the Heretick that hath set up the Bills, and it were good to examine him. Nevertheless when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the Man, his attentiveness to the Preacher, his godliness in the Church, being always occupied in his Book, which was a Testament in the Latin Tongue, were astonied, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed and left him Reading in his Book. As touching this point of *Benets* behaviour in the Church, I find the reports of some other a little to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiving the Letters and Writings of a certain Minister, which at the same time was present at the doing hereof in *Exceter*; thus I find moreover added concerning the behaviour of this *Thomas Benet* in the Church.

Benet set for-teth to Bills against the Pope.

Benet almost taken in the Church.

The Stories a little vary touching the taking of Benet.

At that time (saith he) as I remember, Doctor *Moreman*, Doctor *Crispin*, Doctor *Caleley*, with such other, bare the swing there. Besides these, were also Preachers there, one Doctor *Bascavild*, an unlearned Doctor, God knoweth, and one Doctor *David*, as well learned as he, both Gray-Friers, and Doctor I know not who, a Black-Frier, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one Bachelor of Divinity, a Gray-Frier named *Gregory Basset*, indeed learned more than they all, but as blind and superstitious as he was most. Which *Gregory* not long before was revolted from the way of Righteousnes, to the way of *Belial*: For in *Bristow* (saith the Author) he lay in prison long, and was almost famished, for having a Book of *Martin Luther*, called his Questions, which he a long time privily had studied, and for the teaching of Youth a certain Catechism. To be short, the Brabs of the Canons and Priests, the Officers and Commons of that City were very earnestly buried, how, or by what means such an enormous Heretick, which had pricked up those Bills, might be espied and known; but it was long first. At last, the Priests found out a toy to Curse him, whatsoever he were, with Book, Bell, and Candle; Which Curse at that day, seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the Curse was after this sort.

Doctor Moreman, Crispin, Caleley, Friers in Exceter.

Gregory Basset, Frier of Exceter.

The Priests Curse they cannot tell whom.

One of the Priests apparelled all in White, ascended up into the Pulpit. The other Rabblement, with certain of the two Orders of Friers, and certain superstitious Monks of Saint *Nicholas* House standing round about, and the Cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy Candles of Wax fixed to the same, he began his Sermon with this Theme of *Josua*; *Est blasphemia in castris*; There is blasphemy in the Army: and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious: and so concluded, That that foul and abominable Heretick which had put up such blasphemous Bills, was for that his blasphemy damnably Cursed, and besought God, our Lady, Saint *Peter*, Patron of that Church, with all the holy Company of Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, that it might be known what Heretick had put up such blasphemous Bills, that Gods people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the Cursing of the said *Benet* was marvelous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a Shereman or two, whose Houses I well remember were searched for Bills at that time, and for Books, that knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doth bless their Curses in such

The manner of the Popes black Curse, with Book, Bell, and Candle.

cases. Then said the Prelate, *By the Authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin* Mary, of Saint Peter *and* Paul, *and of the holy Saints, we Excommunicate, we utterly Curse and Ban, commit and deliver to the Devil of Hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have in spite of God and of Saint* Peter, *whose Church this is, in spite of all holy Saints, and in spite of our most holy Father the Pope, Gods Vicar here on Earth, and in spite of the reverend Father in God,* John *our Diocesan, and the Worshipful Canons, Masters, and Priests, and Clerks, which serve God daily in this Cathedral Church, fixed up with Wax such cursed and heretical Bills full of Blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy Churches within this City. Excommunicate plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the Devil, as perpetual Malefactors and Schismaticks. Accursed might they be, and given Body and Soul to the Devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in Cities and Towns, in Fields, in Ways, in Paths, in Houses, out of Houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the Threshold, and from all the good Prayers of the Church, from the participation of the holy Mass, from all Sacraments, Chappels and Altars, from holy Bread, and holy Water, from all the Merits of Gods Priests, and religious men, and from all their Clossters, from all their Pardons, Priviledges, Grants, and Immunities, which all the holy Fathers, Popes of* Rome *have granted to them: and we give them over utterly to the power of the Fiend, and let us quench their Souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of Hell fire, as this Candle is now quenched and put out* (and with that he put out one of the Candles:) *and let us pray to God (if they be alive) that their Eyes may be put out, as this Candle light is* (so he put out the other Candle:) *and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to Saint* Peter *and* Paul, *and all holy Saints, that all the senses of their Bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this Candle is gone* (and so he put out the third Candle) *except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their Blasphemy, and by Repentance (as in them shall lie) make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St.* Peter, *and the Worshipful Company of this Cathedral Church; and as this holy Cross staff now falleth down, so might they, except they repent, and shew themselves;* and one first taking away the Cross, the staff fell down. But Lord, what a thout and noise was there, what terrible fear, what holding up of hands to heaven, that Curse was so terrible?

Here is gold charity

Bless and curse not, saith the Lord: Curse and bless not, saith the Pope.

Mark the subtilty of these Popelings.

Now this fond foolish fantasie and mockery being done and played, which was to a Christian heart a thing ridiculous, *Benet* could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, but within himself, and for a great peace could not cease, by the which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondring at that great Curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good *Benet*, *For what cause he should so laugh. My Friend*, said he, *who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes plaid of the Priests?* Straight way a noise was made, *Here is the Heretick, here is the Heretick, hold him fast, hold him fast hold him fast.* With that, there was a great confusion of Voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the Heretick or no. Some say, that upon the fame he was taken and apprehended. Other report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house. Where he, being not able to digest the lye there preached, renewed his former Bills, and caused his Boy early in the morning following, to fet the faid Bills upon the Gates of the Church-yard. As the Boy was fetting one of the faid Bills upon a Gate, called *The little Style*, it chanced that one *W. S.* going to the Cathedral Church to hear a Mass, called *Bartons Mass*, which was then daily faid about five of the Clock in the morning, found the Boy at the Gate, and asking him, *Whose Boy he was*, did charge him to be the Heretick which had fet up the Bills upon the Gates: wherefore pulling down the Bill, he brought the same together with the Boy before the Major of the City, and thereupon *Benet*, being known and taken, was violently committed to Ward.

Tho. Benet laughed at vizele cutting.

Tho. Benet fetcheth up new Bills.

Tho. Benet taken by means of his Boy setting up his Bills.

On the morrow began both the Cancns and Heads of the City joyned with them, to fall to examination. With whom for that day he had not much communication, but confeffed and faid to them, *It was even I that put up those Bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth. Could it not thou*, faid they, *as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up Bills of Blasphemy? No*, faid he, *I put up the Bills, that many should read and hear what abominable Blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichrist, the Pope to be that Bear out of the Wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the Hedges of Gods Church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you.*

Tho. Benet willingly confesseth the cause why he fet up his Bills.

The next day after he was sent unto the Bishop, who first committed him to prison, called *The Bishops Prison*, where he was kept in flocks and strong Irons, with as much favour as a Dog should find. Then the Bishop affociating unto him one Doctor *Brewer* his Chancellor, and other of his lewd Clergy and Friers, began to examine him and burthen him, that contrary to the Catholick Faith he denied praying to Saints, and also denied the Supremacy of the Pope. Whereunto he answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his Affertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his Adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him, the most part having pity and compassion on him. The Friers took great pains with him to perfwade him from his erroneous Opinions, to recant and acknowledge his Fault, touching the Bills; but they did but dig after day; for God had appointed him to be a blessed Witness of his holy Name, and to be at defiance with all their Perfwasions.

Tho. Benet sent to the Bishops prison.

Articles laid against Benet.

To declare here with what cruelty the Officers fearched his house for Bills and Books, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his Wife, charging her with divers Enormities, it were too long to write. But she, like a good Woman took all things patiently that they did unto her: like as in other things she was contented to bear the Cross with him, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with course meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the Poor, as they did to the uttermost of their power. Amongst all other Priests and Friers, *Gregory Basset* was most bufie with him. This *Gregory Basset*, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleasant Tongue, and not long before was fallen from the Truth, for the which he was prisoned in *Bristow* long time, at whose examination was ordained a great Pan of fire, where his holy Brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burn his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterward a mortal Enemy to the Truth all his life. This *Gregory*, as it is faid, was fervent with the poor man, to pleafe the Canons of that Church, and marvelously tormented his brains, how to turn him from his Opinions, yea, and he was so diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day, who notwithstanding loft his labour: for good *Benet* was at a point not to deny Christ before men. So *Gregory*, as well as the other holy Fathers, loft his Spurs, insomuch that he faid in open audience, *That there was never so obstinate an Heretick.*

Gregory Basset prisoned at Bristow.

Gregory Basset compelled by the Friers to recant.

Gregory Basset set bufie against Tho. Benet.

The principal Point between *Basset* and him was touching the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, whom in his Bills he named *Antichrist, the Thief, the Mercenary, and Murtherer of Christs Flock*: and these Disputations lasted about eight days, where at fundry times repaired to him both the Black and Gray-Friers, with Priests and Monks of that City. They that had some Learning perfwaded him to believe the Church, and shewed by what tokens she is known. The other unlearned railed, and faid, *That the Devil tempted him*, and spit upon him, calling him *Heretick*: who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: *For*, faid he, *I will rather die, than Worship such a Beast, the very Whore of* Babylon, *and a false Usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings.* They asked, *What he*

The matter between Basset and Tho. Benet.

Railing against Benet.

{KING Hen. 8.} *he did, that he had not Power and Authority to do, being Gods Vicar? He doth*, quoth he, *sell the Sacraments of the Church for money, he selleth remission of Sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers Masses for Souls in fained Purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying Sermons to the people, to maintain your false Traditions, and foul Gains. The whole World doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame. The shame*, say they, *shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul Heretick. Why thou allow nothing done in holy Church? What a perverse Heretick art thou?* I am, faid he, *no Heretick, but a Christian man, I thank Christ, and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the Church to the Glory of God, and edifying of my Soul: but I see nothing in your Church, but that maintaineth the Devil. What is our Church*, faid they? *It is not my Church* (quoth *Benet*) *God give me Grace to be of a better Church, for verily your Church is the plain Church of Antichrist, the Malignant Church, the second Church, a Den of Thieves, and Aumry of Poison, and as far wide from the true Universal and Apostolick Church, as Heaven is distant from the Earth.*

The abuses of the Pope to be noted, selling of Souls.

The Popes Church painted in her colours.

Dost not thou think, faid they, *that we pertain to the Universal Church? Yes*, quoth he, *but as dead Members, unto whom the Church is not beneficial: for your works are the Devices of man, and your Church a weak foundation; for ye say and preach, That the Popes word is equal with Gods Word in every degree. Why*, faid they, *did not Christ say to* Peter, To thee I will give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven? *He said that*, quoth he, *to all as well as to* Peter, *and* Peter *had no more Authority given him than they, or else the Churches planted in every Kingdom by their preaching are no Churches. Doth not Saint* Paul *say*, Upon the Foundations of the Apostles and Prophets? *Therefore I say plainly, That the Church that is built upon a man, is the Devils Church or Congregation, and not Gods. And as every Church this day is appointed to be ruled by a Bishop or Pastor, ordained by the Word of God in preaching and administration of the Sacraments under the Prince the supream Governor under God: So to say, That all the Churches with their Princes and Governors be subject unto one Bishop is detestable Heresie, and the Pope your God, challenging this Power to himself, is the greatest Schismatick that ever was in the Church, and most foul Whore of whom* John *in the* Revelation *speaketh.*

The keys not only given to Peter, but to all the Apostles.

The Church builded upon man, is the Divels Church.

The whore of Babylon.

O thou blind and unlearned Fool (faid they) *is not the confession and consent of all the World as we confess and consent; That the Popes Holiness is the supream Head and Vicar of Christ? That is* (faid *Benet*) *because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of Princes to know their Office, his false Supremacy would soon decay. We think that they are so malicious, that thou wilt confess Gods Church. Look* (faid he) *where they are that confess the true Name of Jesus Christ, and where only Christ is the Head, and under him the Prince of the Realm, to order all Bishops, Ministers and Preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only Glory of God by preaching the Word of God; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making Intercession for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Christs Death and Passion, and his only Merits and Deservings are extolled, and our own deprossed; where the Sacrament is duly without Superstition or Idolatry administred in remembrance of his blessed Passion, and only Sacrifice upon the Cross once for all, and where no Superstition reigneth, of that Church will I be.*

Consent of the world.

Where the true Church is.

Doth not the Pope (faid they) *confess the true Gospel? do not we all the same? Yes* (faid he) *but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Te build upon the Sands, not upon the Rock. And wilt thou not believe indeed* (faid they) *that the Pope is Gods Vicar? No* (faid he) *indeed. And why*, faid they? *Because* (quoth he) *he usurpeth a Power not given him of Christ, no more than to other Apostles; and also because he doth by force of that usurped Supremacy blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded.*

The Pope not Gods Vicar, and why.

What inconvenience followeth, that all things should be ruled by man.

Benet weary of the Popish talk.

Thom. Benet patient and constant.

Thus a whole week, night and day, was *Benet* applied of thefe and fuch other Hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done and faid to him in the time of his Imprifonment, and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience, he answered to every matter soberly, and that more by the aid of Gods Spirit, than by any worldly ftudy. I think he was at the least fifty years old. Being in prison, his Wife provided fuftenance for him, and when the landlord, he comforted her, and gave her many good godly Exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his Adversaries.

Thus when these godly Canons and Priests with the Monks and Friers had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they proceeding unto Judgment drew out their bloody Sentence

against

Sentence read against Thomas Benet.

against him, condemning him, (as the manner is) to be burned. Which being done, and the Writ which they had procured *De Comburendo*, being brought from *London*, they delivered him the fifteenth of *January*, 1531. unto Sir *Thomas Denis* Knight, then Sheriff of *Devonshire* to be burned. The mild Martyr rejoycing his end to approach so near, as the sharp before the Shearer, yielded himself with all humblenes to abide and suffer the Cross of Perfecution. And being brought to his Execution, in a place called *Livery-dole* without *Exceter*, he made his most humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy Oration to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the devises, fantasies, and imaginations of mans inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonied and in great admiration: Insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the Scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was Gods Servant, and a good man.

Tho. Benet delivered to the secular Powers.

Tho. Benet brought to the place of Execution.

Nevertheless two Esquires, namely, *Thomas Carew* and *John Barnebouse*, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length, through threatnings, willed him to revoke his Errors, and to call to our Lady and the Saints, and to say, *Precor Sanctam Mariam, & omnes Sanctos Dei, &c.* To whom he with all meekness answered, saying, *No, no, it is God only upon whose Name we must call, and we have no other Advocate unto him, but only Jesus Christ, Who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father to be an Advocate for us; and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and be heard.* With which answer the forefaid *Barnebouse* was so enkindled, that he took a Furze-buth upon a Pike, and being set on fire, thrust it unto his face, saying, *Ah Whorefon Heretick, pray to our Lady, and say,* Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, *or by Gods wounds I will make thee do it.*

Tho. Benet refuseth to pray to our Lady.

One Advocate Christ.

A furze-buth thrust in his face, because he would not pray to our Lady.

To whom the said *Thomas Benet*, with an humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, *Alas Sir, trouble me not.* And holding up his hands, he said, *Pater ignosce illis.* Whereupon the Gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to Heaven, saying, *O Domine, recipe spiritum meum.* And so continuing in his prayers, did never stir nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until his life was ended. For the which the Lord God be praised, and send us his Grace and Blessing, that at the later day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the Elect Children of God.

The end and martyrdom of Tho. Benet.

This *Benet* was burned in a Jerkin of Neats-Leather; at whose burning (such was the deviliish rage of the blind people) that well was he or she that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

Hitherto we have run over (good Reader) the names, the acts and doings of them which have sustained death and the torment of burning for Christs Cause, through the rigorous Proclamation above specified, set out (as is said) in the Name of King *Henry*, but indeed procured by the Bishops. Which Proclamation was so straitly looked upon, and executed so to the uttermost, in every point, by the said Popish Prelates, that no good man, *habens spiramentum* (whereof *Esdras* speaketh) could peep out with his head never so little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were these above mentioned, or else compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whose names if they were fought out through all Registers in *England*, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Nevertheless, omitting the reft, it fhall content us at this present, briefly as in a fhort Table to infinuate the names, with the special Articles, of fuch as in the Dioces of *London*, under Bishop *Stokesley*, were molested and vexed, and at last compelled to abjure, as here may appear.

The Kings Proclamation. *Vide supra.*

4 *Esd.* 7.

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

{KING Hen. 8.

Geffrey Lome, 1528.

Men abjured.

His Articles were these, For having and dispersing certain Books of *Luther*.

Item, For translating certain Chapters of his Book *De Bonis Operibus*. For holding, That Faith without Works is sufficient to bring us to Heaven. That Christian men ought to worship God only, and no Saints. That Christian men should not offer to Images in Churches, nor set any light before them. That Pardons granted by Pope or Bishop do not profit a man.

Sigar Nicolson, Stationer of *Cambridge*, 1528.

His Articles were like; and moreover, for having in his house certain Books of *Luther*, and other prohibited, and not presenting them to the Ordinary. The handling of this man was too too cruel, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up by those parts which nature well sufereth not to be named.

John Raimund a Dutchman, 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of *Tindals* new Testaments to be printed at *Antwerpe*, and for bringing five hundred into *England*.

Paul Luther, Gray-Frier, and Warden of the House at *Ware*, 1529.

His Articles, For preaching and saying, That it is pity that there be so many Images suffered in so many places, whereas undiscreet and unlearned people be; for they make their Prayers and Oblations so entirely and heartily before the Image, that they believe it to be the very self Saint in Heaven.

Item, That if he knew his Father and Mother were in Heaven, he would count them as good as St. *Peter* and *Paul*, but for the pain they suffered for Christs sake.

Item, That there is no need to go on Pilgrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, and no Saint; for Saints in Heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in this World, than a man in the North Country knoweth what is done in the South Country.

Roger Whaplod, Merchant-Taylor, 1529.

Roger Whaplod, sent by one *Tho. Norfolk* unto Doctor *Goderidge* this Bill following to be read at his Sermon in the *Spittel*.

If there be any well disposed person willing to do any cost upon the reparation of the Conduit in Fleet-street, *let him or them resort unto the Administrators of the Goods and Cattel of one* Richard Hunne *late* Merchant-Taylor *of* London, *which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same six pound thirteen shillings four pence, and a better peny, of the Goods of the said* Richard Hunne; *upon whose Soul, and all Christian Souls, Jesus have mercy.*

A Bill read by the Preacher at the Spittl.

For the which Bill, both *Whaplod* and *Norfolk* were brought and troubled before the Bishop; and also Doctor *Goderidge*, which took a groat for reading the said Bill, was suspended for a time from saying Mass, and also was forced to revoke the same at *Pauls* Cross; reading this Bill as followeth.

It was the manner at this time to take money for reading of Bills at Sermon. *Ex Regist. Lond.*

The

{KING HENRY VIII.

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

Doctor Goderidge revoketh his praying for the Soul of Richard Hunne.

The Revocation of Doctor William Goderige, *read at* Pauls Cross.

Masters, so it is, that where in my late Sermon at Saint *Mary Spittle*, the *Tuesday* in *Eastersweek* last past, I did pray specially for the Soul of *Richard Hunne*, late of *London Merchant-Taylor*, an Heretick by the Laws of holy Church justly condemned; by reason whereof I greatly offended God and his Church, and the Laws of the same, for the which I have submitted me to my Ordinary, and done Penance therefore: forasmuch as peradventure the audience, that was there offended by my said words, might take any occasion thereby to think that I did favour the said Heretick, or any other, I desire you at the instance of Almighty God to forgive me, and not so to think of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore here before God and you I declare my self that I have not favoured him or any other Heretick, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times shall defend the Catholick Faith of holy Church, according to my profession to the best of my power.

Robert West, Priest, 1529.

Abjured for Books and Opinions contrary to the Proclamation.

Nicholas White of *Rye*, 1529.

His Articles; for speaking against the Priests saying of *Mattens*. For speaking against praying for them that be dead; against praying to God for small trifles, as the Cow calving, the Hen hatching, &c. For speaking against the Relick of St. *Peters* finger; Against Oblations to Images; Against vowing of Pilgrimage; Against Priesthood; Against holy Bread and holy Water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, Priest, 1529.

His Articles; That Pardons granted by the Pope are naught, and that men should put no truft in them, but only in the Paffion of Chrift. That he being led by the words of the Gofpel, *Matth.* 7. *De vite lata, & angufta*, and alfo by the Epiftle of the Mafs, beginning, *Vir fortiffimus Judas*, had erred in the way of the Pope, and thought, that there were but two ways and no Purgatory. That men ought to worfhip no Images, nor fet up Lights before them. That Pilgrimage doth nothing avail. That the Gofpel was not truly preached for the fpace of three hundred years paft.

Vie lata, Via angufta.

William Wegen Priest at St. *Mary Hill*, 1529.

His Articles; That he was not bound to fay his *Mattens* nor other Service, but to fing with the Quire till they came to *Prime*, and then, faying no more Service, thought he might well go to Mafs. That he had faid Mafs oftentimes, and had not faid his Mattens and his Divine-Service before. That he had gone to Mafs without confeffion made to a Prieft. That it was fufficient for a man being in deadly fin to ask only God mercy for his fin, without further confeffion made to a Prieft. That he held againft Pilgrimages, and called Images, *Stocks*, and *Stones*, and *Witches*.

Item, That he being fick went to the *Rood* of Saint *Margarite Patens*, and faid before him twenty *Pater nofters*, and when he faw himfelf never the better, then he faid, *A foul evil take him, and all other Images.*

Item, That if a man keep a good tongue in his head, he faffeth well.

Item, For commending *Luther* to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c. For faying that the Mafs was but a Ceremony, and made to the intent that men fhould pray openly.

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

Item, For faying, that if a man had a pair of Beads, or a Book in his hand at the Church, and were not difpofed to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale, *Holy-Water Clerk of Tolenham*, 1529.

His Articles, That offering of Money and Candles to Images did not avail, fith we are juftified by the Blood of Chrift.

Item, For fpeaking againft worfhipping of Saints, and the Popes Pardons. For faying, that fith the Sacraments that the Prieft doth miniifter be as good as they which the Pope doth miniifter, he did not fee but the Prieft hath as good authority as the Pope.

Item, That a man fhould confefs himfelf to God only, and not to a Prieft, &c.

William Blomfield Monk of *Bery*.

Abjured for the like Caufes.

John Tindall, 1530.

For fending five Marks to his Brother *William Tindall* beyond the Sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain Letters from his Brother.

William Worsley Priest and Hermit, 1530.

His Articles, For preaching at *Halefteds*, having the Curates Licence, but not the Bifhops.

Item, For preaching of thefe words, *That no man riding on Pilgrimage, having under him a foft Saddle, and an eafie Horfe, fhould have any merit thereby, but the Horfe and Saddle, &c.*

Item, For faying, *That hearing of Mattens and Mafs is not the thing that fhall fave a mans Soul, but only to hear the Word of God.*

John Stacy, Tiler, 1530.

His Articles were againft Purgatory, which he faid to be but a device of the Prieits to get money. Againft Faffing-days by mans Prefcription, and choice of meats. Againft fuperfluous Holy-days. *Item*, Againft Pilgrimage, &c.

Lawrence Maxell, a Taylor, 1530.

His Articles, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Chrift in flefh and blood: but that he received him by the Word of God, and in remembrance of Chrifts Paffion.

Item, That the Order of Prieifhood is no Sacrament. That there is no Purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curfon Monk of *Eaftacre* in *Norfolk*, 1530.

His Articles were thefe, For going out of the Monaftery, and changing his Weede, and letting his Crown to grow, working abroad for his living, making Copes and Veftiments. Alfo for having the *New Teftament* of *Tindals* Tranflation, and another Book containing certain Books of the *Old Teftament*, tranflated into *Engliih*, by certain whom the *Papifts* call *Lutherans*.

Thomas Cornewell or *Anfty*, 1530.

His Articles; It was objected, that he being enjoyned afore by *Richard Fitz-james* Bifhop of *London*, for his Penance to wear a Fagot broidered upon his Sleeve under pain of Relapfe, he kept not the fame; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual cuftody in the houfe of Saint *Bartholomew*, from whence afterward he efaped and fled away.

Thomas

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

Thomas Philip, 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir *Thomas More*, to Bishop *Stokesley* by Indenture. Besides other Articles of Purgatory, Images, the Sacrament of the Altar, Holy-days, keeping of Books, and such like, it was objected unto him, that he, being searched in the *Tower*, had found about him *Tracies Testament*, and in his Chamber in the *Tower* was found Cheese and Butter in *Lent*-time. Also, that he had a Letter delivered unto him going unto the *Tower*. Which Letter, with the *Testament* also of *Tracy*, because they are both worthy to be seen, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the story of this *Thomas Philip*. As he was oftentimes examined before Master *More* and the Bishop, he always stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly against him, but only *Tracies Testament*, and his Butter in *Lent*. One *Stacy* first bare witness against him, but after in the Court openly he protested that he did it for fear. The Bishop then willing him to submit himself, and to swear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy Church; he said, *He would*: and when the form of his Abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the Bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and said, *He would Appeal to the King as supream Head of the Church*, and so did. Still the Bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, *That he would be obedient as a Christian man should, and that he would swear never to hold any Heresie during his life, nor favour any Hereticks.*

But the Bishop not yet content, would have him to read the Abjuration after the form of the Church conceived, as it was given him. He answered again, *That he would forswear all Heresies, and that he would maintain no Heresies, nor favour any Hereticks.* The Bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the Abjuration formed after the Popes Church. To whom he said, *If it were the same Abjuration that he read, he would not read it, but stand to his Appeal made to the King, the Supream Head of the Church under God.* Again the Bishop asked him, *If he would abjure or not. Except*, said he, *you will shew me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my Appeal*, and required the Bishop to obey the same. Then the Bishop reading openly the Bill of Excommunication against him, denounced him for *Contumax* and an excommunicate person, charging all men to have no company or any thing to do with him. After this Excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his Appeal, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the *Tower*, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the Registers.

A Letter directed to *Thomas Philip* in the name of the Brethren, and given him by the way going to the *Tower*.

A Letter sent by the Congregation to Thomas Philip.

THe favour of him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to confess your name in the Kingdom of Glory, and to give you strength by his Spirit to confess him before all his Adversaries, be with you ever. *Amen.*

Sir, the Brethren think that there be divers false Brethren craftily crept in among them, to seek out their freedom in the Lord, that they may accuse them to the Lords Adversaries, as they suppose they have done you. Wherefore if so it be, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they as Counsellers desire you above all things to be stedfast in the Lords verity without fear; for he shall and will be your help, according to his Promise, so that they shall not 1 Pet. 2. *minish the least hair of your head without his will; unto the which will submit your self and rejoyce:* For the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and 1 Pet. 4. how to reserve the unjust unto the day of Judgment to be punished: and therefore cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. *And in that you suffer as a Christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorifie God on that behalf.* Looking upon Christ the Author and Finisher of 1 Pet. 4. our Faith, which for the joy that was set before him Heb. 12. abode the Cross and despised the shame. *Notwithstanding though we suffer the wrong, after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himself suffered it not, but reproved him that smote him wrongfully. And so likewise saith Saint* Paul *also. So that we must not suffer the wrong, but* Acts 23. *boldly reprove them that sit as righteous Judges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore according both to Gods Law and mans, ye be not bound to make answer in any causes, till your Accusers come before you. Which if you require, and thereon do stick; the false Brethren shall be known, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust; and also it shall be a mean that they shall not craftily by questions take you in snares. And that you may this do lawfully, in the twentieth* Acts 20. *Chapter of the Acts it is written*, It is not the manner of the *Romans* to deliver any man that he should perish, before that he which is accused have his Accuses before him, and have licence to answer for himself, as pertaining to the Crime whereof he is accused. *And also Christ will* that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses all things shall Mat. 18. stand. *And in the fifth Chapter to* Timothy *the first Epistle it is written*, Against a Senior receive none Accusation, 1 Tim. 5. but under two or three Witnesses. *A Senior in this place is any man that hath an House to govern. And also their* What is a Senior by St. Paul. *own Law is agreeable to this. Wherefore seeing it is agreeable to the Word of God, that in Accusations such Witnesses should be, you may with good conscience require it. And thus the God of Grace*, which hath called you unto his eternal Glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self after a little affliction make you perfect, shall settle, strengthen and establish you, that to him may be Glory and Praise for ever. Amen.

Thus ye have heard the Letter delivered to *Thomas Philip*. Now followeth the Testament of *William Tracy*.

Tracy *his Testament.*

A Little before this time, *William Tracy*, a worshipful Esquire in *Glocestershire*, and then dwelling at *Todington*, made in his Will, that he would have no funeral Pomp at his burying, neither passed he upon Mass; and he farther said, *That he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saved, and not by any Saint.* This Gentleman died, and his Son as Executor brought the Will to the Bishop of *Canterbury* to prove: which he shewed to the Convocation, and there most cruelly they judged that he should be taken out of the ground, and be burnt as an Heretick, *Anno* 1532. This Commission was sent to Doctor *Parker*, Chancellor of the Diocess of *Worcester*, to execute their wicked Sentence; which accomplished the same. The King hearing his Subject to be taken out of the ground and burnt, without his knowledge or order of his Law, sent for the Chancellor, and laid high Offence to his Charge, who excused himself by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* which was late dead; but in conclusion it cost him 300 pound to have his Pardon. The Will and Testament of this Gentleman, thus condemned by the Clergy, was as hereunder followeth: Mr. Tracy taken up being dead, and burnt.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I *William Tracy* of *Todington* in the County of *Glocester*, Esquire, make my Testament and last Will as hereafter followeth: First and before all other things, I commit my self to God and to his Mercy, believing without any doubt or mistrust, that by his Grace and the Merits of Jesus Christ, and by the Vertue of his Passion and of his Resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of Body and Soul, according as it is written, *I believe that* Job 19. *my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the Earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosom.* The Testament of William Tracy.

And touching the wealth of my Soul, the Faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other mans Works or Merits. My ground and

{KING Hen. 8.} and belief is, That there is but one God and one Mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in Heaven nor in Earth to be Mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ: all other to be but as Petitioners in receiving of Grace: but none able to give influence of Grace; and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or do to help my Soul; for therein I trust only to the Promises of Christ; *He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.* Mark 16.

Funeral pomp serve only for the living, and give no help for the dead.

As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; For Saint *Augustine* saith, *De cura agenda pro mortuis*, that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead, and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine Executors.

And touching the distribution of my Temporal Goods, my purpose is by the Grace of God to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of Faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the Faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, *I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat, &c.* And it followeth, *That ye have done to the least of my Brethren, ye have done it to me. &c.* And ever we should consider that true saying, That a good work maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work; for Faith maketh a man both good and righteous: *For a righteous* Rom. 14. *man liveth by Faith, and whatsoever springeth not of Faith is sin, &c.* Our merits be only our Faith in Christ.

And all my Temporal Goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to *Margaret* my Wife, and *Richard* my Son, whom I make mine Executors. Witness hereof mine own hand the tenth of *October*, in the 22*th* year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

This is the true Copy of his Will, for the which (as you heard before) after he was almost two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

Ex Regist. Lond.

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

John Perimm, Skinner, 1531.

His Articles were much like unto the others before; adding moreover, That all the Preachers then at *Paul* Cross preached nothing but lyes and flatterings, and that there was never a true Preacher but one; naming *Edward Crome.*

Robert Goldstone, Glasier, 1531.

His Articles, That men should pray to God only, and to no Saints; That Pilgrimage is not profitable; That men should give no worship to Images. *Item*, For saying, That if he had as much power as any Cardinal had, he would destroy all the Images that were in all the Churches in *England*.

Lawrence Staple, Servingman, 1531.

His Articles, For having the *Testament* in *English*, the five Books of *Moses*, the practise of Prelates, the sum of Scripture, the *A. B. C.*

Item, About the burning of *Bainham*, for saying, I would I were with *Bainham*, seeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me.

Item, That he moved *Henry Tomson* to learn to read the *New Testament*, calling it *The Blood of Christ*.

Item, In *Lent* past, when he had no Fish, he did eat Eggs, Butter and Cheese. Also about six weeks before Master *Bilney* was attached, the said *Bilney* delivered to him at *Greenwich* four *New Testaments* of *Tindals* Translation, which he had in his Sleeve, and a Budget besides of Books, which Budget he, shortly after riding to *Cambridge*, delivered unto *Bilney*, *&c.*

Eating of Eggs made Heretic.

Item, On *Fridays* he used to eat Eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

Henry Tomson, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles, That which the Priest lifteth over his head at the sacring-time is not the very Body of Christ, nor is it God, but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor *Tomson*, although at the first he submitted himself to the Bishop, yet they with Sentence condemned him to perpetual prison.

Jasper Wetzell of *Coleine*, 1531.

His Articles, That he cared not for going to the Church to hear Mass, for he could say Mass as well as the Priest; That he would not pray to our Lady, for she could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear Mass, he said, He had as leve go to the Gallows whr the Thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at St. *Mary Patens*, and there holding his Arms across, he said unto the people, That he could make as good a Knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

Robert Man, Servingman, 1531.

His Articles, There is no Purgatory; The Pope hath no more power to grant Pardon than another simple Priest; That God gave no more authority to St. *Peter* than to another Priest; That the Pope was a Knave, and his Priests Knaves all, for suffering his Pardons to go abroad to deceive the people; That St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* is no Saint; That St. *Peter* was never Pope of *Rome.*

Priests see more there by a pair of Gloves, than they do by a Lay-mans hand.

Item, He used commonly to ask of Priests where he came, Whether a man were accursed if he handled a Chalice, or no? If the Priest would say, Yea: then would he reply again thus, If a man have a Sheep-skin on his hands (meaning a pair of Gloves) he may handle it. The Priests saying, Yea. Well then (quoth he) ye will make me believe, that God put more vertue in a Sheep-skin, than he did in a Christian mans hand, for whom he died.

Henry Feldon, 1531.

His trouble was for having these Books in *English*; A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Husbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Prologue of *Mark*. A written Book containing the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* in *English*. The Ten Commandments, and the fixteen Conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, Priest, 1531.

His Article only was this, For saying that the blessing with a Shooe-foul is as good as the Bishops blessing, &c.

Thomas Roe, 1531.

His Articles were, For speaking against Auricular Confession and Priestly Penance, and against the preaching of the Doctors.

Will. Wallam, 1531.

His Opinion, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Christ in flesh and blood, and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood in the form of bread.

Grace

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

Grace Palmer, 1531.

Against bearing of Palms.

Witness was brought against her by her Neighbours, *John Rouse*, *Agnes* his Wife, *John Pole*, of St. *Osithes*, for saying, Ye use to bear *Palms* on *Palm-Sunday*, it shilleth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing used, and need not.

Also ye use to go on Pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of *Walsingham*, and other places, ye were better tarry at home, and give money to succour me and my Children, and other of my poor Neighbours, than to go thither; for there you shall find but a piece of Timber painted, there is neither God nor our Lady.

Item, For repenting that she did ever light Candles before Images.

Item, That the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Christ; it is but Bread, which the Priest there sheweth for a token or remembrance of Christs Body.

Philip Brasier of *Bocksteed*, 1531.

His Articles, That the Sacrament holden up between the Priests hands is not the Body of Christ, but bread, and is done for signification; That confession to a Priest needeth not; That Images be but stocks and stones; That Pilgrimage is vain; also for saying, That when there is any Miracle done, the Priests do anoint the Images, and make men believe that the Images do sweat in labouring for them; and with the Offerings the Priests find their Harlots.

John Fairestede of *Colchester*, 1531.

Prophesie.

His Articles, For words spoken against Pilgrimage and Images. Also for saying these words, *That the day should come that men should say, Cursed be they that make these false Gods* (meaning Images.)

George Bull of *Much-Hadham*, Draper, 1531.

Fierce Confession.

His Articles, That there be three Confessions; one Principal to God, another to his Neighbour whom he had offended, and the third to a Priest; and that without the two first Confessions, to God and to his Neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a Priest, is necessary for counsel to such as be ignorant and unlarned, to learn how to make their confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for Forgiveness; and also in what manner they should ask forgiveness of their Neighbour whom they have offended, &c. *Item*, For saying that *Luther* was a good man. *Item*, That he reported, through the credence and report of Mr. *Patmore*, Parson of *Hadham*, that where *Wickliffs* bones were burnt sprang up a Well or Well-Spring.

A Well-spring where Wickliffs bones were burned.

John Haymond, Millwright, 1531.

His Articles, For speaking and holding against Pilgrimage and Images, and against prescribed Fasting-days.

That Priests and religious men, notwithstanding their Vows made, may lawfully forsake their Vows and marry.

Item, For having Books of *Luther* and *Tindall*.

Rob. Lambe, a Harper, 1531.

His Article, For that he standing accursed two years together, and not fearing the Censures of the Popes Church, went about with a Song in the Commendation of *M. Luther*.

John Hewes, Draper, 1531.

His Articles, For speaking against Purgatory, and *Thomas Becket*.

Item, At the Town of *Farnesham*, he seeing

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

{KING Hen.8.}

Against kneeling to the Cross.

Edward Frensham kneeling in the street to a Cross carried before a Corse; asked, *To whom he kneeled?* He said, *To his Maker. Thou art a Fool* (said he) *it is not thy Maker, it is but a piece of Copper or Wood, &c.*

Item, For these words, Masters ye use to go on Pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon your poor Neighbours which lack succour, &c.

Also for saying, That he heard the Vicar of *Croidon* thus preach openly, That there is as much bawdry kept by going on Pilgrimage to *Wilsedon* or *Mouswell*, as in the Stews beside, &c.

Much bawdry in Pilgrimage.

Tho. Patmore, Draper, 1531.

This *Patmore* was Brother to Master *Patmore*, Parson of *Hadham*, who was prisoned in the *Bollards* Tower for marrying a Priest, and in the same prison continued three years.

This *Patmore* was accused by divers Witnesses, upon these Articles:

That he had as leve pray to yonder Hunter, pointing to a man painted there in a stained-cloth, for a piece of flesh, as to pray to Stocks that stand in Walls, meaning Images.

Item, That men should not pray to Saints, but to God only; For why should we pray to Saints (said he) they are but blocks and stocks.

The truth of Scripture a long time kept from us.

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a Tree wherein stood an Image, he took away the Wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talk with the Curate of St. *Peters*, he defended that Priests might marry.

This *Patmore* had long held with the Bishop of *London*. First, he would not swear, *infamia non præcedente*. Then he would Appeal to the King; but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the Bishops Nets, that he could not get out: but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the King an hundred pounds.

A note.

Note in the Communication between this *Patmore* and the Priest of Saint *Peters*, That whereas the Priest objected against him (as is in the Register) that Priests have lived unmarried, and without Wives these 1500 years in the Church: he and all other such Priests therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in this Volume, that Priests here in *England* had Wives by the Law within these five hundred years and less.

The Papists falsly say, that Priests have been unmarried these 1500 years.

Simon Smith Master of Arts of *Gunwell-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and *Benor* his Wife, 1531.

This *Simon Smith*, and *Benor* his Wife were the Parties whom Master *Patmore* Parson of *Hadham* above mentioned did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual Prison. For the which Marriage both the said *Simon* and *Benor* his Wife were called to Examination before the Bishop, and he caused to make the whole Discourse of all his doings, how and where he married. Then after his marriage, how long he tarried, whether he went beyond Sea, where he was, and with whom. After his return, whither he resorted, how he lived, what Mercery-Ware he occupied, what Fairs he frequented, where he left his Wife, how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how she was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their Register. And though they could fasten no other Crime of Heresie upon him, but only his marriage; yet calling both him and her, being great with child, to Examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer Penance.

Thomas

{KING Hen.8.}

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

Thomas Patmore, Parson of *Hadham*, 1530.

Priests marriage.

This *Thomas Patmore*, being learned and godly, was preferred to the Parsonage of *Hadham* in *Hertfordshire*, by *Richard Fitz-James* Bishop of *London*, and there continued instructing and teaching his flock, during the time of the said *Fitz-James*, and also of *Tonstal* his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more, behaving himself in life and conversation, without any publick blame or reproach, until that *John Stokesley* was preferred unto the said Bishoprick; Who not very long after his installing, either for malice, not greatly liking of the said *Patmore*, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the Benefice (as it is supposed and alledged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the King, as also unto *Ann*, then Marchioness of *Pembroke*) caused him to be attached and brought before him, and then keeping him Prisoner in his own Palace, a certain time afterwad committed him to *Lollards* Tower, where he kept him most extreamly above two years without fire or Candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends sent him, not suffering any of them notwithstanding to come unto him, no not in his sickness. Howbeit, sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially, either before himself or else his Vicar General *Foxford*, that great Persecuter, charging him with these sundry Articles, *viz.* as first, whether he had been at *Wittenberg*; secondly, and had seen or talked with *Luther*; thirdly, or with any *Englishman*, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him, or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what Books he bought there, either *Latine* or *English*; sixthly, and whether he had read or studied any works of *Luther*, *Oecolampadius*, *Pomerane* or *Melanction*. Besides these, he ministred also other Articles unto him, touching the Marriage of Master *Simon Smith* (before mentioned) with one *Joan Bennor*, charging him that he both knew of, and also consented unto their Marriage, the one being a Priest and his Curate, and the other his Maidservant, and that he had perswaded his said Maidservant to marry with his said Curate, alledging unto her, that though it were not lawful in *England* for Priests to marry, yet it was in other Countries beyond Seas. And that after their said Marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said *Smith* to minister in his Cure all *Easter* time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of *England*, he supped with them at the Bell in *New-Fishstreet*, and again, at their return into *England*, did meet them at the said *Bell*, and there lent unto the said *Smith* a Priests Gown.

He objected moreover against him in the said Articles; that he had affirmed at *Cambridge*, first, that he did not set a Bottle of Hay by the Popes or Bishops Curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that he may save us only by his mercy; thirdly also, that though young Children be baptised, yet they cannot be saved except they had faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against Gods law to burn Hereticks.

Unto these Articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the Bishop and his Vicar, he at the last answered, making first his Appeal unto the King. Wherein he shewed, that forsomuch as the Bishop had most unjustly and contrary to all due order of Law, and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsly defaming him with the crime of Heresie, without having any just proof or publick defamation thereof, as also contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strait Prison so long time (both to the great danger of his life by grievous sickness taken thereby, as especially to his no small grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the Word of God and his Sacraments as he would) and then to minister unto him such Articles, mingled with Interrogatories, as neither touched any Heresie nor transgression of any Law, but rather shewing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alledged, was compelled and did appeal from him and all his Officers unto the Kings Majesty, whom under God he had for his most just and lawful refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which Appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not shew himself obstinate against the Bishop being his Ordinary (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceedings against him) he was nevertheless content to exhibite unto him this his answer. First, that howsoever the Bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not *Publice diffamatus apud bonos & graves*, according to law, he was not by the law bound to answer to any of those Articles.

And as touching the first six Articles (as whether he was at *Wittenberg*, and spake with *Luther* or any other, or bought or read any of their Books, &c. because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publickly accused of them (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them) he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the Marriage of Master *Simon Smith* with *Joan Bennor*, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Master *Smith*; but that he gave his Maid counsel thereunto he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the Marriage between them, he thought it not at all against Gods Law, who at the first Creation made Marriage lawful for all men. Neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their Marriage, either to keep him as his Curate, or else to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he said he had shewed more charity than the Bishop, who had taken all things from them) and therefore he desired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that Priests Marriages were not lawful. Against whom, *Foxford* the Bishops Vicar often alledged General Councils, and Determinations of the Church, but no Scripture, still urging him to abjure his Articles; which *Patmore* long time refused, and flicking a great while to his former answers, at last was threatned by *Foxford*, to have definitive sentence read against him. Whereupon he answered, That he believed the holy Church as a Christian man ought to do, and because it passed his capacity, he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a Priest might marry a Wife, howbeit by the laws of the Church he thought that a Priest might not marry. But the Chancellor still so urged him to shew whether a Priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that Priests might not marry without offence to God, because the Church had forbidden it; and therefore a Priest could not marry without deadly sin. Now as touching the four last Articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might, perhaps, jestingly say, *That a bottle of Hay were more profitable to him than the Popes curse, which he thought true.* Also to the second he affirmed, That God had set before us by his Precepts and Commandments the way to justice; which way was not in mans power to go and keep; therefore *Paul* saith, *ad Galatas* 3. *Quod lex erat ordinata per Angelos*; but yet to fulfil it, it was *in potestate* (id est, *in potestate*) *intercessoris*: That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the Law; for it was in no mans power to observe it; but shall give all thanks to the mercies and goodness of God; according to the *Psalm*, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*; and according to the saying of *Paul*, *Ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur*; Which hath sent his Son to do for us that which was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the Law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing which we our selves could

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

could have done, that is to say, fulfil the Law. As for the third he spake not, for he did never know that any may be baptised without Faith; which Faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given *parvulis*? To the last he said, That if he spake it, he meant it not of those that Saint *Bernard* called Hereticks, with more Adulterers, Thieves, Murtherers and other open sinners, which blaspheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good, making light darkness, and darkness light. But he meant it of such as men call Hereticks according to the testimony of St. *Paul*, *Acts* 24. *I live after the way* (saith he) *that men call Heresie, whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.*

After these answers thus made, the Bishop with his persecuting *Foxford*, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strait imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was fain through humane infirmity to submit himself, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison; with loss, both of his Benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his Brethren afterwards made such suit unto the King (by means of the Queen) that after three years imprisonment, he was both released out of Prison, and also obtained of the King a Commission to the Lord *Awdley*, then being L. Chancellor, and to *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to *Cromwel*, then Secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjust dealings of the Bishop and his Chancellor against the said *Patmore*, notwithstanding his appeal unto the King, and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said *Patmore* again unto his said Benefice. But what was the end and issue of this Commission, we find not as yet.

John Row, Book-binder, a *Frenchman*, 1531.

This man, for binding, buying and dispersing of Books inhibited, was enjoyned, beside other Penance, to go to *Smithfield* with his Books tied about him, and to cast them in the fire, and there to abide till they were all burnt to ashes.

Christopher, a Bookseller dwelled in Wilton.

Christopher, a *Dutchman* of *Antwerp*, 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in *English*, to *John Row* aforesaid, was put in Prison at *Westminster*, and there died.

W. Nelson, Priest, 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of *Periman* certain Books of *Luther*, *Tindal*, *Thorp*, &c. and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the Kings Proclamation, for the which he was abjured. He was Priest at *Lizh*.

Thomas Eve, Weaver, 1531,

His Articles: That the Sacrament of the Altar is but a memory of Christs Passion. That men were fools to go on Pilgrimage, or to set any Candle before Images. *Item*, It is as good to set up staves before the Sepulchre, as to set up Tapers of Wax. That Priests might have Wives.

Robert Hudson of S. Sepulchres. 1531.

A Dog offered to St. Nicholas Bishop.

His Article: On *Childermas* day (saith the Register) he offered in *Pauls* Church at offering time, to the Child Bishop (called S. *Nicholas*) a Dog for devotion (as he said) and meant no hurt, for he thought to have offered a half-peny, or else the Dog, and thought the Dog to be better than a half-peny, and the Dog should raise some profit to the Child; and said moreover, that it was the tenth Dog, &c. *Ex Regist.*

Edward Hewet, Servingman, 1531.

His Crime: That after the Kings Proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in *English*; also the Books of *John Frith* against Purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, servant, 1531.

His Article: That he, after the Kings Proclamation, had and used these Books; The Testament in *English*, the Sum of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in *English*, hidden in his Bedstraw at *Worcester*.

Michael Lobley, 1531.

His Articles: That he being at *Antwerp*, bought certain Books inhibited, as *The Revelation of Antichrist*, *the obedience of a Christian man*, *the wicked Mammon*, Frith *against Purgatory*. *Item*, For speaking against Images and Purgatory. *Item*, For saying, that *Bilney* was a good man, and died a good man, because of a Bill, that one did send from *Norwich*, that specified that he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

Why then doth Mr. More say, that Bilney recanted and died a good man, if he'd be punished for commending him to die a good man.

A Boy of *Colchester*, 1531.

A Boy of *Colchester* or *Norfolk*, brought to *Richard Bayfield* a Budget of Books, about four days before the said *Bayfield* was taken; for the which the Lad was taken, and laid in the Counter by Mr. *More* Chancelor, and there died.

A Lad in Colchester died in Prison for bringing to Bayfield his Books.

William Smith, Taylor, 1531.

His Articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his house, *Richard Bayfield*, and other good men; that he received his Books into his house, and used much reading in the New Testament; he had also the Testament of *William Tracy*; he believed that there was no Purgatory.

William Lincoln, Prentice, 1532.

His Articles: For having and receiving Books from beyond the Sea, of *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Thorp*, and other. *Item*, He doubted, whether there were any Purgatory: Whether it were well done to set up Candles to Saints, to go on Pilgrimage, &c.

Mr. Latimer preached against Pilgrimage.

John Mol of *Bocksted*, 1532.

His Heresie was this: For having and reading the New Testament in *English*, the Psalter in *English*, and the Book called *ABC*.

John Medwel, servant to Master *Carket*, Scrivener.

Heresie with the Pope to trust only to the merits of Christ.

This *Medwel* lay in Prison twenty four Weeks, till he was almost lame. His Heresies were these; That he doubted whether there was any Purgatory. He would not trust in Pardons, but rather in the Promises of Christ; he doubted, whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him; He doubted whether Pilgrimages and setting up of Candles to Images, were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any Saint. *Item*, he had in his custody, the New Testament in *English*, the Examination of *Thorp*; the wicked Mammon, a Book of Matrimony, *Ex ipsius schedula ad Episc. Scripta*.

Christopher

{KING Hen. 8.}

¶ *Persons abjured, with their Articles.*

Christopher Fulman, Servant to a *Goldsmith*, 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain Books at *Antwerp* of *George Constantine*, and transporting them over into *England*, and selling them to sundry persons, being Books prohibited by the Proclamation. *Item*, He thought then these Books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times past.

Margaret Bongas, 1532.

Her Heresies were these, being asked if she would go on Pilgrimage, she said, *I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or any other Saint; and as for them, they shall come to me, if they will, &c.* Then *Richard Sharples*, Parson of *Millend* by *Colchester*, asked her, if she said her *Ave Maria*. *I say*, said she, *Hail Mary, but I will say no further*. Then said he, if she left not those opinions, she would bear a Fagot. *If I do*, said she, *better than I shall*: adding moreover, *that she would not go from that to die therefore*; to whom the Priest answered and said, she would be burned. Hereunto *Margaret* again replying, asked the Priest, *Who made Martyrs? Tyrants* (quoth the Priest) *make Martyrs, for they put Martyrs to death. So they shall, or may make me*, quoth *Margaret*. At length with much ado, and great persuasions, she gave over to *Foxford* the Chancellor, and submitted her self.

Tyrants make Martyrs.

John Tiler, an *Irishman* of *Billerika*, *Taylor*.

His Articles were these, That the Sacrament of the Altar was not the body of Christ, but only a Cake of Bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into that Heresie, he answered and said, that about three Weeks before *Midsummer* last past, he heard *Mr. Hugh Latimer* preach at Saint *Mary Abchurch*, that men should leave going on Pilgrimage abroad, and do their Pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said Mr. *Latimer* in his Sermon did set the Sacrament of the Altar at little.

William Lancaster, *Taylor*, 1532.

The cause laid to this man, was, that he had in his keeping the book of *Wickliff's Wicket*. *Item*, That he believed the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, not to be the body of Christ really, &c. *Item*, Upon the day of *Assumption*; he said, That if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wickliff's Wicket.

Robert Tepley, Frier, 1532.

Miles Coverdale.

His Articles: He being a Frier *Augustine* of *Clare*, forsook his Habit, and going in a secular mans weed ten years, married a Wife, called *Margaret Nixon*, having by her a child; and afterward, being brought before the Bishop, he was by him abjured and condemned to be imprisoned in his former Monastery; but at last he escaped out, and returned to his Wife again.

A Frier married.

Thomas Tepley, *Augustine* Frier, at *Stokeclare*.

By the occasion of this *Robert Tepley* aforesaid, place is offered to speak something likewise of *Thomas Tepley*, his Brother belike, and also a Frier of the same Order and House of *Stokeclare*. This *Thomas Tepley* had been before converted by one *Richard Fox*, Priest of *Bumsteed*, and *Miles Coverdale*, insomuch, that he being induced partly by them, partly by reading certain Books, cast off both his Order and Habit, and went like a secular Priest. Whereupon he was espied, and brought to *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *London*, *Anno* 1528. before whom this Confession he made as followeth:

Miles Coverdale.

The Recantation of Thomas Tepley.

The Recantation of Tho. Tepley, Frier, Collegiate Austin.

ALL Christian men beware of consenting to *Erasmus* Fables, for by consenting to them they have caused me to shrink in my Faith, that I promised to God at my Christening by my Witnesses. First, as touching these Fables, I read in *Colloquium*, by the instruction of Sir *Richard Fox*, of certain Pilgrims, which (as the Book doth say) made a Vow to go to Saint *James*, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to salute Saint *James* in his name; and another died homeward, and he desired that they would salute his Wife and Children; and the third died at *Florence*, and his fellow said, he supposed he was in Heaven, and yet he said that he was a great liyer. Thus I mused of these Opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from Devotion to Saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine Service of them was very good, and is, though I have not had such sweetnesis in it as I should have had, because of such Fables, and also because of other foolish Pastimes; as daunceing, Tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Ex Reg. Lon.

Moreover, it fortuned thus, about half a year ago, that the said Sir *Richard* went forth, and desired me to serve his Cure for him; and as I was in his Chamber, I found a certain Book called *Wickliff's Wicket*, whereby I felt in my Conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterward also when I remembred it, it wounded my Conscience very sore. Nevertheless I consented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon Saint *Anthonies* day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said Book (which did make the Sacrament of Christs body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christs Passion) till I heard Sir *Myles Coverdale* preach, and then my mind was fore withdrawn from that blessed Sacrament, insomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ his body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, because I have not been stedfast in that holy Order that God hath called me unto by Baptism, neither in the holy Order that God and St. *Augustine* hath called me to by my Religion, &c.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, That in the *Lent* last past, as he was walking in the field at *Bumsteed*, with Sir *Myles Coverdale*, late Frier of the same Order, going in the Habit of a secular Priest, which had preached the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent* at *Bumsteed*, they did commune together of *Erasmus* Works, and also upon Confession. The which Sir *Myles* said and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his Conscience, without Confession made to a Priest; which Opinion this Respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he saith, that at the said Sermon made by the said Sir *Myles Coverdale* at *Bumsteed*, he heard him preach against worshipping of Images in the Church, saying and preaching, That men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

Miles Coverdale.

William Gardiner, *Augustine* Frier of *Clare*.

With this *Tepley* I may also join *William Gardiner*, one of the same Order and House of *Clare*, who likewise by the motion of the said *Richard Fox* Curate of *Bumsteed*, and by shewing him certain

¶ *Persons Abjured, with their Articles.*

Books to read, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgment, and was by the same abjured by *Cuthbert*, Bishop, the same year, 1528.

Richard Johnson of *Backsteed*, and *Alice* his Wife.

This *Richard* and his Wife were Favourers of Gods Word, and had been troubled for the same of long time. They came from *Salisbury* to *Boxsteed*, by reason of Persecution, where they continued a good space. At length by report of good men, they began to be suspected; and specially for a Book of *Wickliff's Wicket* which was in their house, they were convented before *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, and there abjured.

¶ So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them which during those bitter days, before the coming of Queen *Ann*, either were driven out of the Realm, or were cast out from their Goods and Houses, or brought to open shame by Abjuration. Such Decrees and Injunctions then were set forth by the Bishops, such Laws and Proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such ways were taken by force of the Oath, to make one detect another so subtilly, that unneth any good man could, or did escape their hands, but either his name was known, or else his person was taken. Yet nevertheless so mightily the power of Gods Gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the same cross of affliction and persecution of those days; of which number were these.

Perilous days.

Person of Bumsteed abjured.

Arthur. Geffrey Lome.
John Tibold, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.
Edmund Tibold, and his wife.
Henry Butcher, and his wife.
William Butcher, and his wife.
George Preston, and his wife.
Joan Smith, Widow.
Robert Smith, her son.
Richard Smith, her son.
Margaret Smith, her daughter.
Elizabeth Smith, her daughter.
Robert Hempsteed, and his wife.
Thomas Hempsteed, and his wife.
John Hempsteed, his son.
Robert Faire. William Chatwal.
Joan Smith, Widow, otherwise called *Agnes*, Widow.
John her son. *Thomas* her son.
Christopher, her son.
Alice, her daughter.
Joan, her daughter.
John Wiggen.
Nicholas Holden's wife.
Alice Shipwright.
Henry Broun.
John Cranesord.

¶ All these were of the Town of *Bumsteed*, who being detected by Sir *Richard Fox* their Curate, and partly by *Tibold*, were brought up to the Bishop of *London*, and all put together in one house, to the number of thirty five, to be examined and abjured by the said Bishop.

Men and Women of Essex and Suffolk troubled for the Gospel.

Moreover in other Towns about *Suffolk* and *Essex*, other also were detected, as in the Town of *Brybrook*, these following.

Isabel Choote, widow. *John Choote* her son.
William Choote, her son.

Christopher Choote, her son.
Robert Choote, her son.
Margaret Choote, her daughter.
Katharine, her maid.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Harvie, and his wife.
Agnes, his daughter. *Thomas*, his son.
Bateman, and his wife.
John Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlin, a Spoon-maker.
Christmas, and his wife.
William Beckwith, his wife and his two sons.
John Pickas, and his wife.
William Pickas, his brother.
Girling, his wife and his daughter.
Matthew's wife. *Johnson* his wife, and his son.
Thomas Hills. Roger Tanner.
Christopher Ravens, and his wife.
John Chapman, his servant.
Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to *John Chapman*. J. Chapman.

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distress, and received them to his house, as *Tho. Bate, Simon Smith*, the Priests wife, *Roger Tanner*, with a number more, which ye may see and read in our first Edition, *Page* 419.

R. Chapman, Cruelly shewed for mercy.

¶ Touching this *Richard Chapman*, this by the way is to be noted, that as he was in his Coat and Shirt enjoyned, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-legged, to go before the Procession, and to kneel upon the cold steps in the Church all the Sermon time, a little Lad seeing him kneel upon the cold stone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing else to give him, brought him his Cap to kneel upon. For the which the Boy was immediately taken into the Vestry, and there unmercifully beaten for his mercy shewed to the poor penitent.

Beside these, divers other were about *London*, *Colchester*, and other places also, partakers of the same cross and affliction for the like cause of the Gospel, in which number cometh in these which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, Priest. *John Turke.*
Robert Best. William Rayland of *Colchester.*
Henry Raylond, his son.
Marion Matthew, or *Westden.*
Dorothy Long. Thomas Parker.
M. Forman, Bachelor of Divinity, Parson of *Hony-lane.* This Parson was abjured 24 years before this.
Robert Nelton.
Katharine Swane.
M. Cowbridge of *Colchester.*
Widow *Denby.*
Robert Hedil of *Colchester.*
Robert Wigge.
William Ball.
George Cooper.
John Toy of Saint *Faith*, } of *London.*
Richard Foster.
Sebastian Harris, Curate of *Kensington.*
Alice Gardener.
John Tomson.
John Bradley, and } of *Colchester.*
his wife.
John Hubert, of *Istonland* and his wife.
William Butcher, whose Father's Grandfather was burned for the same Religion.
Abraham Water of *Colchester.*

Ex Regist. Lond.

¶ All these in this Table contained, were troubled and abjured, *Anno* 1527, and 1528.

Persons abjured. {Anno 1532.

John Wily the elder.
Katharine Wily his wife.

John

KING Hen. 8.

¶ *Persons Abjured, with their Articles.*

John Wily his son.
Christian Wily his wife.
William Wily his son.
Margaret Wily his wife.
Lucy Wily, Agnes Wily two young Girls.

These eight persons were accused *Anno* 1532. for eating Potage and flesh-meat, five years before, upon St. *James* Even.

Also another time, upon S. *Peters* Even, as *Katharine Wily* did ly in Child-bed, the other Wives, with the two Girls, were found eating all together of a Broth made with the fore-part of a rack of Mutton.

Item, The foresaid *John Wily* the elder, had a Primer in *English* in his house, and other Books.

Also he had a young Daughter of ten years old, which could render by heart the most part of the 24th Chapter of Saint *Matthew*. Also could rehearse without Book, *The disputation between the Clerk and the Frier.*

Item, The said *John Wily* had in his house a Treatise of *William Thorp*, and Sir *John Oldcastle.*

A Note of Richard Bayfield *above mentioned.*

MENTION was made before of *Richard Bayfield* Monk of *Bury*, who in these perilous days, amongst other good Saints of God, suffered death, as ye have heard, but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been shewed; which now in searching out of Registers, as we have found, so we thought good here to adjoyn the same with the words and confession of the same *Edmund Peerson*, which detected him in manner as followeth.

The Accusation of Edmund Peerson *against* Bayfield.

The accusation of Edmund Peerson against R. Bayfield.

THE thirteenth day of *September*, at four of the clock at afternoon, the year of our Lord 1527. Sir *Richard Bayfield* said, *That my Lord of* London's *Commissary was a plain Pharisee, wherefore he would speak with him, and by his wholesome Doctrine, he trusted in God, he should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a Pharisee as yet*, he said.

Also he said, *That he cared not if the Commissary and the Chancellor heard him both; for the Chancellor*, he said, *was also a Pharisee, and he trusted to make him a Christian man.*

Also he said, *He was intreated by his friends, and in manner constrained to abide in the City against his will, to make the Chancellor, and many more, perfect Christian men, for as yet many were Pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.*

Also he said, *That Master* Arthur *and* Bilney *were, and be more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the Commissary, the Chancellor, my Lord of* London, *or my Lord Cardinal.*

Also he said, *That if* Arthur *and* Bilney *suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in, or hold, they shall be Martyrs before God in Heaven.*

Also he said, *After* Arthur *and* Bilney *were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.*

Commendation of Bilney and Arthur.

Also he said, *That he would favour* Arthur *and* Bilney, *he knew their living to be so good, for they did wear no Shirts of linnen cloth, but Shirts of hair, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever he have of money in his Purse, he will distribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.*

Tim. 1. Also he said, *That no man should give laud or praise in any manner of wise, to any creature, or to any Saint in Heaven, but only to God.* Soli Deo honor & gloria, *that is* To God alone be all honour and glory.

Also he said, *Ah, good Sir* Edmund, *ye be far from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Pharisee, with many other of your company; but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect Christian men, ere I depart from the City; for I purpose to read a common Lecture every day at St.* Fosters *Church, which Lecture shall be to the edifying of your souls that be false Pharisees.* The godly courage of Rd. Bayfield.

Also he said, *That* Bilney *preached nothing at* Wilesdon, *but what was true.*

Also he said, *That* Bilney *preached true at* Wilesdon, *if he said that our Ladys Crown of* Wilesdon, *her Rings and Beads that were offered to her, were bestowed among the Harlots, by the Ministers of Christ's Church; for that I have seen my self*, he said, *here in* London, *and that I will abide by.* The peoples offering bestowed upon Harlots.

Also he said, *He did not fear to commune and argue in* Arthur's *and* Bilney's *Opinions and Articles, and if it were with my Lord Cardinal.*

Also he said, *That he would hold* Arthur's *and* Bilney's *Opinions and Articles, and abide by them, that they were true Opinions, to suffer death therefore; I know them* (said he) *for so noble and excellent men in learning.*

Also he said, *If he were before my Lord Cardinal, he would not let to speak to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naught in prisoning* Arthur *and* Bilney, *which were better disposed in their livings to God, than my Lord Cardinal, or my Lord of* London, *as holy as they make themselves.*

Also he said, *My Lord Cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God, for Christ* (he said) *never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotions nor dignities of this world, nor did Christ ever teach him to wear shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearl and precious stones; nor had Christ ever two Crosses of silver, two Axes, nor pillar of silver and gilt.* The Cardinals shoes.

Also he said, *That every Priest might preach the Gospel without licence of the Pope, my Lord Cardinal, my Lord of* London, *or any other man; and that he would abide by, and thus he verified it, as it is written*, Mark 16. Euntes in mundum universum, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ. *Christ commanded every Priest to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the Word of God by the authority of this Gospel, and not to run to the Pope, nor to any other man for licence: And that he would abide by*, he said.

Also he said, *Well, Sir* Edmund, *say you what you will, and every man, and my Lord Cardinal also, and yet will I say, and abide by it, my Lord Cardinal doth punish* Arthur *and* Bilney *unjustly, for there be no truer Christian men in all the world living than they two be, and that punishment that my Lord Cardinal doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as who would say, This may I do, and this will I do, who shall say nay? but he doth it of no justice.*

Also about the fourteenth day of *October* last past, at three of the clock at afternoon, Sir *Richard Bayfield* came to St. *Edmunds* in *Lombard-street*, where he found me Sir *Edmund Peerson*, Sir *James Smith*, and Sir *Miles Garnet*, standing at the uttermost Gate of the Parsonage, and Sir *Edmund* said to Sir *Richard Bayfield*, *How many Christian men have ye made since ye came to the City?* Quoth Sir *Richard Bayfield*, *I came even now to make thee a Christian man, and these two other Gentlemen with thee; for well I know ye be all three Pharisees as yet.*

Also he said to Sir *Edmund*, *That* Arthur *and* Bilney *were better Christian men than he was, or any of them that did punish* Arthur *and* Bilney.

Per me Edmundum Peerson.

AND thus we have, as in a gross summ compiled together the names and causes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great a number of good men and good women, which in those sorrowful days (from the year of our Lord 1527, to this present year 1533, that is, till the coming in of Queen *Ann*) were manifold ways vexed and persecuted under the tyranny of the Bishop of

Rome. Where again we have to note, That from this present year of our Lord 1533, during the time of the said Queen *Ann*, we read of no great persecution, nor any Abjuration to have been in the Church of *England*, save only that the Registers of *London* make mention of certain *Dutchmen* counted for *Anabaptists*, of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the Realm, *Anno* 1535, other ten repented and were saved. Where note again, that two also of the said company, albeit the definitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the King; which was contrary to the Popes law.

Ten Dutchmen Anabaptists put to death. *Segar, Dorick, Simons, Hans Dorick, Dominick, Dominick Cornelius, Ecken, Mete.*

§ Ann. 1533. Complaint of the Commons against the Clergy. *Ex Ed. Hall.*

A Parliament. *anno* 1534.

Now to proceed forth in our matter; After that the Bishops and Heads of the Clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure, exercising their cruel authority against the poor wasted flock of the Lord, and began furthermore to stretch forth their rigour and austerity, to attach and molest also other great persons of the Temporalty; it fell, that in the beginning of the next or second year following, which was *Anno* 1534. a Parliament was called by the King about the fifteenth day of *January*. In the which Parliament the Commons renewing their old griefs, complained of the cruelty of the Prelates and Ordinaries, for calling men before them *Ex Officio*. For such was then the usage of the Ordinaries and their Officials, that they would send for men, and lay accusations to them of Heresie, only declaring to them that they were accused; and would minister Articles to them, but no, accuser should be brought forth. Whereby the Commons were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the party so ascited must either abjure or do worse; for purgation he might none make.

Cruelty of the Clergy against the temporalty.

As these matters were long debating in the Common-House, at last it was agreed, *That the temporal men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the King.* Whereupon the eighteenth day of *March*, the Common Speaker, accompanied with certain Knights and Burgesses of the Common-House, came to the Kings presence, and there declared how the temporal men of his Realm were sore agrieved with the cruel demeanor of the Prelates and Ordinaries, which touched their bodies and goods so near, that they of necessity were enforced to make their humble suit by their Speaker, unto his Grace, to take such order and redress in the case, as to his high wisdom might seem most convenient, *&c.*

Unto this request of the Commons, although the King at that time gave no present grant, but suspended them with a delay; yet notwithstanding, this sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the Temporal men against the Spiritualty, lacking nothing but Gods helping hand to work in the Kings heart for Reformation of such things which all they did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lords Divine Providence fail in time of need, but effsoons miniſtred a ready remedy in time expedient. He saw the pride and cruelty of the spiritual Clergy grown to such an heighth as was intolerable. He saw again and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter afflictions of his oppressed flock, his truth decayed, his Religion prophaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his Church lamentably wasted. Wherefore it was high time for his high Majesty to look upon the matter (as he did indeed) by a strange and wondrous means, which was through the Kings Divorcement from Lady *Katharine Dowager*, and marrying with Lady *Ann Bullen*, in this present year: Which was the first occasion and beginning of all this publick Reformation, which hath followed since in this Church of *England* to this present day, according as ye shall hear.

Gods helping hand in time of need.

Queen *Ann* married, and Lady *Katharine* divorced.

The Marriage between King Henry *and Queen* Ann Bullen; *and Queen* Katharine *Divorced.*

K. Henry married his Brothers Wife.

IN the first entry of the Kings Reign, ye heard before, how after the death of Prince *Arthur*, the Lady *Katharine*, Princess Dowager, and Wife to Prince *Arthur* by the consent both of her Father and his, and also by the advice of the Nobles of this Realm, to the end her Dowry might remain still within the Realm, was espoused after the decease of her Husband, to his next Brother, which was this King *Henry*.

This Marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one Brother to marry the Wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith the Pope, the omnipotent Vicar of Christ, cannot by favour dispence, if it please him? The Pope which then ruled at *Rome*, was Pope *Julius* the second, by whose dispensation this Marriage, which neither sense of nature would admit, nor Gods Law would bear, was concluded, approved and ratified, and so continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, the space near of twenty years, till about the time that a certain doubt began first to be moved by the *Spaniards* themselves of the Emperors Council, *Anno* 1523. At what time *Charles* the Emperor being here in *England*, promised to marry the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the King of *England*. With the which promise, the *Spaniards* themselves were not well contented, objecting this among many other causes, that the said Lady *Mary* was begotten of the King of *England* by his Brothers Wife.

{KING 1 Hen. 8.} The Pope dispenseth for the Brother to marry his Brothers Wife.

The *Spaniards* doubted of the Kings Marriage.

Whereupon the Emperor, forsaking that Marriage, did couple himself with Lady *Isabel*, Daughter to King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*. Which Marriage was done in the year of our Lord 1526. After this Marriage of the Emperor, the next year following, King *Henry*, being disappointed thus of the Emperor, entred talk, or rather was laboured to by the *French* Embassadors, for the said Lady *Mary* to be married to the *French* Kings Son, Duke of *Orleance*. Upon the talk whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certain doubt of the President of *Paris*, casting the like objection as the *Spaniards* had done before, that was, whether the Marriage between the King and the Mother of this Lady *Mary*, which had been his Brothers Wife before, were good or no. And so the Marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like fort brake off again, and was rejected; which happened in the year of our Lord 1527.

The second doubt, whether the Lady Mary was rightly born.

The King, upon the occasion hereof casting many things in his mind, began to consider the cause more deeply first, with himself, after, with certain of his nearest Council; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his Conscience, the other concerned the state of his Realm. For if that Marriage with his Brothers Wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his Conscience clear in retaining the Mother, nor yet the state of the Realm firm by succession of the Daughter. It happened the same time that the Cardinal, which was then nearest about the King, had fallen out with the Emperor, for not helping him to the Papacy, as ye before heard; for the which cause he helped to set the matter forward by all practice he might. Thus the King perplexed in his Conscience, and careful for the Commonwealth, and partly also incited by the Cardinal, could not rest, but enquired further to feel what the Word of God and learning would say unto it. Neither was the case so hard, after it began once to come in publick question, but that by the Word of God, and the judgments of the best learned Clerks, and also by the censure of the chief Universities of all *Christendom*, to the number of ten and more, it was soon discussed to be unlawful.

Two perplexities in the Kings mind.

Cardinal *Wolsey* a helper of the Kings Divorce.

The judgments of 10 or 12 Universities against the Kings Marriage. *Oxford, Paris, Tolouse, Angiers, Bituris, Bonony, Padua.* The faculty of Divinity. *Byterre. Oxford. Cambridge.*

All these Censures, Books and Writings of so many Doctors, Clerks and Universities, sent from all Quarters of *Christendom* to the King, albeit they might suffice to have full resolved, and did indeed resolve the Kings Conscience touching this scruple of his Marriage; yet would he not straightway use that advantage which learning did give him, unless he had withal the assent as well of the Pope, as also the Emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the Pope, he thought, seeing the Marriage was authorized before by the Dispensation of his Predecessor, would hardly turn his Keys about to undo that which the Pope before him had locked; and much less would he suffer those Keys to be foyled, or to come in any doubt, which was like to come, if that Marriage were proved undispensable by Gods Word, which his predecessor through his plenary power had licensed before. Again, the Emperor he thought would be no less hard for his part, on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady *Katharine* was the Emperors near Aunt, and a *Spaniard* born. Yet nevertheless, his purpose was to prove and feel what they both would say unto it, and therefore

{KING 1 Hen. 8.} therefore sent *Stephen Gardiner* to *Rome* to weigh with Pope *Clement*. To the Emperor was sent Sir *Nicholas Harvey* Knight, Embassador in the Court of *Gaunt*. Firſt, Pope *Clement*, not weighing belike the full importance and sequel of the matter, sent Cardinal *Campeius* (as is said) into *England*, joyned with the Cardinal of *York*.

Campeius the Popes Legat.

At the coming of which Legates, the King, firſt opening unto them the grief of his Conscience, seemed with great reasons and perſwasions sufficiently to have drawn the good will of those two Legates to his side. Who also of their own accord pretended no less but to shew a willing inclination to further the Kings cause. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in especial of women, and such other as favoured the Queen, and talked their pleasures, were not stopped. Wherefore to satisfie the blind surmises, and foolish communication of these also, who, seeing the coming of the Cardinals, cast out such lewd words, *That the King would for his own pleasure have another Wife*, with like unbeseeming talk; he therefore, willing that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his Nobility, Judges and Counsellors, with divers other persons, to retort to his Palace of *Bridewel*, the 8th day of *November*, *Anno* 1529, where he openly speaking in his great Chamber, had these words in effect, as followeth.

The Kings perſwasion to the Legates.

The Kings Oration to his Subjects.

OUR truſty and welbeloved Subjects, both you of the Nobility, and you of the meaner sort, it is not unknown unto you, how that We both by Gods provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this Realm of England *almost the term of twenty years. During which time, We have so ordered Us (thanked be God) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have We invaded any Realm, but We have had victory and honour, so that We think that you nor none of your predecessors ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, nor in more estimation under any of Our noble Progenitors. But when We remember Our mortality, and that We must die, then We think that all Our doings in Our life time are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if We leave you in trouble at the time of Our death; for if Our true Heir be not known at the time of Our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you and to your Children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of Our noble Grandfather, King* Edward *the fourth, and some have heard what mischief and manſlaughter continued in this Realm between the houses of* York *and* Lancaster, *by the which dissention this Realm was like to have been clearly destroyed.*

And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send Us a fair Daughter of a noble Woman, and of Me begotten, to Our great comfort and joy, yet it hath been told Us by divers great Clerks, that neither She is Our lawful Daughter, nor her Mother Our lawful Wife, but that We lived together abominably and detestably in open adultery; insomuch that when our Emſſador was last in France *and motion was made that the Duke of* Orleance *should marry Our said Daughter, one of the chief Counsellers to the* French *King, said, It were well done, to know whether She be the* King *of* England*'s lawful Daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his Brothers Wife, which is directly against Gods Law and his Precepts. Think you, my Lords, that these words touch not My Body and Soul? Think you that these things do not daily and hourly trouble my Conscience, and vex my Spirits? Yes, We doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cause I protest before God, and in the word of a Prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest Clerks in Christendom, and for this cause I have sent for this Legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my Conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the Queen, if it be adjudged by the Law of God that She is my lawful Wife, there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in My life, both for the discharge and clearing of my Conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions of the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble Parentage of the which She is descended (as you well know) She is a Woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and of all good qualities appertaining to Nobility, She is without comparison, as I these twenty years almost have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry again, if the Marriage might be good, I would surely chuse her above all other Women. But if it be determined by judgment, that Our Marriage was against Gods Law, and clearly void, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a Lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in Adultery to God's great displeasure, and have no true Heir of My body to inherit this Realm. These be the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my Conscience, and for these griefs I seek remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to Our Subjects Our mind and intent, according to Our true meaning, and desire them to pray with Us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of Our Conscience, and saving of Our Soul, and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart.*

Shortly after this Oration of the King, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two Legates, being requeſted of the King, for discharge of his Conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the Queen lying then in the place of *Bridewel*, and declared to her, how they were deputed Judges indifferent, between the King and her, to hear and determine, whether the Marriage between them stood with Gods Law or not. When she understood the cause of their coming, being thereat something astonied at the firſt, after a little pausing with her self, thus she began, answering for her self.

The Legates talk with the Queen.

Ex E. Hall.

Q. Katharines answer to the Cardinals.

'Alas, my Lords, said she, is it now a question whether I be the Kings lawful Wife or no, when I have been married to him almoſt twenty years, and in the mean season never question was made before? Divers Prelates yet being alive, and Lords also, and Privy Counsellors with the King at that time, then adjudged our Marriage lawful and honeſt, and now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think it great marvel: and in especial when I consider what a wiſe Prince the Kings Father was, and also the love and natural affection that King *Ferdinando* my Father bare unto me, I think in my self, that neither of Our Fathers were so uncircumſpect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might follow of Our Marriage; and in especial the King my Father sent to the Court of *Rome*, and there after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a Licence and Dispenſation, that I being the one Brothers Wife, and peraventure carnally known, might without scruple of Conscience, marry with the other Brother lawfully, which Licence under Lead I have yet to shew; which things make me to say, and surely believe, that our Marriage was both lawful, good and godly. But of this trouble I may only thank you my Lord Cardinal of *York*. For because I have wondred at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable Lechery, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroach, and in especial for the great malice that you bear to my Nephew the Emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a *Scorpion*, because he would not satisfie your ambition, and make you Pope by force; and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends, and you have kept him true promiſe; for all his wars and vexations he may thank you only. And as for me his poor Aunt and Kinſwoman, what trouble you have put me to by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth.

The Cardinal of *York* excuſed himself, saying, that he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt,

The Cardinal excuseth this Divorce and why?

and

and that it was fore againſt his will that ever the Marriage ſhould come in queſtion, but he ſaid that by his ſuperior the Biſhop of *Rome* he was deputed as a Judge to hear the cauſe: which he ſware on his profeſſion to hear indifferently. But whatſoever was ſaid, he believed him not; and ſo the Legates took their leave of her and departed.

Theſe words were ſpoken in *French*, and written by Cardinal *Campeius* Secretary, which was preſent; and afterward by *Edward Hall* tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

In the next year enſuing 1530, at the *Black-Friers* of *London* was prepared a ſolemn place for the two Legates: who coming with their Croſſes, Pillars, Axes, and all other *Romiſh* Ceremonies accordingly, were ſet in two Chairs covered with cloth of Gold, and Cuſhions of the ſame. When all things were ready, then the King and the Queen were aſcited by Dr. *Sampſon* to appear before the ſaid Legates the twenty eighth day of *May*; where (the Commiſſion of the Cardinals firſt being read, wherein it was appointed by the Court of *Rome*, That they ſhould be the hearers and judges in the cauſe between them both) the King was called by name; who appeared by two Proctors: Then the Queen was called, who being accompanied with four Biſhops, and other of her Council, and a great company of Ladies, came perſonally her ſelf before the Legates: who there after her obeiſance, with a ſad gravity of countenance, having not many words with them, appealed from the Legates, as Judges not competent, to the Court of *Rome*, and ſo departed. Notwithſtanding this Appeal, the Cardinals fat weekly, and every day arguments on both ſides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined.

The vain pomp of the *Romiſh* Legates.

The King and Queen aſcited before the Legates.

Theſe four Biſhops were *Warham* of *Canterbury*, *Weſt* of *Ely*, *Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, *Standiſh* of *St. Aſaph*.

The Queen appealeth from the Cardinals to the Pope

As the time paſſed on, in the month of *June*, the King being deſirous to ſee an end, came to the Court, and the Queen alſo, where he ſtanding under his cloth of eſtate, uttered theſe or like words in effect as followeth.

The Kings queſtion to the Legates.

MY Lords, Legates of the See Apoſtolick, which be deputed Judges in this great and weighty matter, I moſt heartily beſeech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only as to leave a final end for the diſcharge of my conſcience. For every good Chriſtian man knoweth, what pain and what unquietneſs he ſuffereth which hath his conſcience grieved. For I aſſure you on my honour, that this matter hath ſo vexed my mind, and troubled my ſpirits, that I can ſcantly ſtudy any thing which ſhould be profitable for my Realm and people: and to have a quietneſs in body and ſoul is my deſire and requeſt, and not for any grudg that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare ſay, That for her womanhood, wiſdom, Nobility, and gentleneſs, never Prince had ſuch another: and therefore if, I would willingly change I were not wiſe. Wherefore my ſuit is to you my Lords at this time, to have a ſpeedy my ſuit is to you my Lords at this time, to have a ſpeedy end, according to right, for the quietneſs of my mind and conſcience only, and for no other cauſe, as God knoweth.

The Queen abideth by her Appeal.

When the King had ſaid, the Queen departed without any thing ſaying. Then ſhe was called to know whether ſhe would abide by her Appeal, or anſwer there before the Legates. Her Proctor anſwered, That ſhe would abide by her Appeal. That notwithſtanding, the Counſellors on both ſides, every day almoſt met, and debated this matter ſubſtantially, ſo that at the laſt the Divines were all of opinion, that the Marriage was againſt the Law of God, if ſhe were carnally known by the firſt Brother. Which thing ſhe clearly denied. But to that was anſwered, That Prince *Arthur* her Husband confeſſed the act done, by certain words ſpoken; which being recorded in other Chronicles, I had rather ſhould there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of Prince *Arthur*, ſhe thought and judged that ſhe was with child, and for that cauſe the King was deferred from the Title and Creation of the Prince of *Wales* almoſt half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if ſhe had not been carnally known.

Alſo the her ſelf cauſed a Bull to be purchaſed, in the which were theſe words: *Vel forſan cognitam*, which is as much to ſay as, peradventure carnally known. Which words were not in the firſt Bull granted by *July* at her ſecond Marriage to the King. Which ſecond Bull with that clauſe was only purchaſed, to diſpenſe with the ſecond Matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before: which Bull needed not to have been purchaſed, if there had been no carnal copulation, for then the firſt Bull had been ſufficient.

Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that Prince *Arthur* had carnal knowledg of the ſaid Lady *Katharine* his wife, it appeareth in a certain Book of Records which we have to ſhew touching this Marriage: That the ſame time when Prince *Arthur* was firſt married with this Lady *Katharine*, Daughter to King *Ferdinando*, certain Embaſſadors of *Ferdinando* his Council were then ſent hither into *England* for the ſaid purpoſe, to ſee and teſtifie concerning the full conſummation of the ſaid Matrimonial conjunction. VVhich Counſellors here reſident, being ſolemnly ſworn, not only did affirm to both their Parents, that the Matrimony was conſummate by that act, but alſo did ſend over into *Spain* to her Father ſuch demonſtrations of their mutual conjunction, as here I will not name, ſparing the reverence of chaſt ears. Which demonſtrations otherwiſe, in thoſe Records being named and teſtified, do ſufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and queſtion.

Q. Katharines carnal knowledg known by the Kings Brother.

Beſides that, in the ſame Records appeareth that both he and ſhe not only were of ſuch years as were meet and able to expiete the conſummation hereof, but alſo they were and did lye together both here and in *Wales* by the ſpace of three quarters of a year.

Out of a written Book of Records, containing certain Conferences between the Cardinal and Queen Katharines *Anſwer about this matter, remaining in our cuſtody to be ſeen.*

Thus when the Divines on her ſide were beaten from the ground, then they fell to perſwaſions of natural reaſons, how this ſhould not be undone for three cauſes. One was, becauſe if it ſhould be broken, the only child of the King ſhould be a Baſtard, which were a great miſchief to the Realm. Secondly, the ſeparation ſhould be cauſe of great unkindneſs between her kindred and this Realm. And the third cauſe was, That the continuance of ſo long ſpace had made the Marriage honeſt. Theſe perſwaſions, with many other, were ſet forth by the Queens Council, and eſpecial by the Biſhop of *Rochester*, which ſtood ſtiff in her cauſe. But yet Gods precept was not anſwered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, That the Court of *Rome* had diſpenſed with this Marriage. To this ſome Lawyers ſaid, That no earthly perſon is able to diſpenſe with the poſitive Law of God.

Three reaſons for Q. *Katharine.*

Fiſher Biſhop of *Rochester* a great doer for Queen *Katharine.*

When the Legates heard the opinions of the Divines, and ſaw whereunto the end of this queſtion would tend, foraſmuch as men began ſo to diſpute of the authority of the Court of *Rome*, and eſpecially becauſe the Cardinal of *York* perceived the King to caſt favour to the Lady *Anne*, whom he knew to be a *Lutheran*, they thought beſt to wind themſelves out of that brake betime; and ſo Cardinal *Campeius*, diſſembling the matter, conveyed himſelf home to *Rome* again, as is partly above touched. The King ſeeing himſelf thus to be deferred and deluded by the Cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the Cardinal of *York* followed not long after.

The ſearching of the Kings Matter brought more things to light.

Cardinal *Campeius* flippeth from the King.

This was in the year of our Lord 1530. Shortly after it happened the ſame year, that the King by his Embaſſadors was advertiſed, that the Emperor and the Pope were both together at *Bonony*. Wherefore he directed Sir *Thomas Bullein* late created Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Doctor *Stokeſley* (afterward Biſhop of *London*) and Doctor *Lee* (afterward Biſhop of *York*) with his meſſage to the Popes Court, where alſo the Emperor was. Pope *Clement* underſtanding the Kings caſe and requeſt, and fearing what might follow after, if Learning and Scripture here ſhould take place againſt the authority of their Diſpenſations, and moreover doubting the Emperors diſpleaſure, hare himſelf ſtrange off from the matter, anſwering the Embaſſadors with this delay, that he preſently would not define in the caſe, but would hear the full matter diſputed, when he came to *Rome*, and according to right he would do juſtice.

The King ſendeth to the Emperor and the Pope.

The Popes anſwer to the King.

Although

{KING Hen.8.}

Although the King owed no ſuch ſervice to the Pope, to ſtand to his arbitrement either in this caſe, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his Law in his own hands to warrant him, yet for quietneſs ſake, and for that he would not raſhly break order (which rather was a diſorder indeed) he bare ſo long as conveniently he might. At length after long delays and much diſſembling, when he ſaw no hope of redreſs, he began ſomewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was beſt both for his own conſcience, and the eſtabliſhment of his Realm to do.

The King reverence to the Pope that men were deceived.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by mans device, but by the ſecret purpoſe of the Lord himſelf, to bring to paſs further things, as afterward followed, which his Divine Providence was diſpoſed to work. For elſe as touching the Kings intent and purpoſe, he never meant nor minded any ſuch thing as to ſeek the ruin of the Pope, but rather fought all means contrary, how both to eſtabliſh the See of *Rome*, and alſo to obtain the good will of the ſame See and Court of *Rome*, if it might have been gotten. And therefore intending to fue his divorce from *Rome*, at the firſt beginning: his device was by *Stephen Gardiner* his Embaſſador at *Rome* to exalt the Cardinal of *York*, as is before ſhewed, to be made Pope and Univerſal Biſhop, to the end that he ruling that Apoſtolick See, the matter of his unlawful Marriage, which ſo troubled his conſcience, might come to a quiet concluſion, without any further rumor of the world. Which purpoſe of his, if it had taken effect as he had deviſed it, and the *Engliſh* Cardinal had once been made Pope, no doubt but the authority of that See had never been exterminate out of *England*. But God being more merciful unto us, took a better way than ſo. For both without, and contrary to the Kings expectation, he ſo brought to paſs, that neither the Cardinal of *York* was Pope (which ſhould have been an infinite coſt to the King) and yet nevertheleſs the King ſped of his purpoſe too, and that much better than he looked for. For he was rid by lawful divorcement, not only from that unlawful Marriage which clogged his conſcience, but alſo from the miſerable yoke of the Popes uſurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm, & all at one time.

Gods Providence working marvellouſly in this matter.

Vide ſupra.

Miſe purpoſe, but God diſpoſeth.

Thus Gods holy Providence ruling the matter, as I ſaid, when the King could get no favourable grant of the Pope touching his cauſe, being ſo good and honeſt, he was enforced to take the redreſs of his right into his own hands, and ſeeing this *Gordian* knot would not be looſed at *Rome*, he was driven againſt his will, as God would, to play the Noble *Alexander* himſelf, and with the ſword of his Princely authority knapt the knot at one ſtroke clean aſunder, looſing as it were with one ſtroke infinite queſtions. For where the Doctors and Canoniſts had long diſputed, and yet could never thoroughly diſcuſs the largeneſs and fulneſs of the Popes two Swords both Temporal and Spiritual, the King with one ſword did ſo cut off both his Swords, that he diſpatched them both clean out of *England*, as ye ſhall ſee more anon. But firſt the King like a prudent Prince, before he would come to the head of the ſore, thought beſt to pare away ſuch rank fleſh and putrified places as were about it, and therefore following his own Proverb, like as one, going about to caſt down an old rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation firſt, but with the ſtones that lye in the top, ſo he, to prepare his way better unto the Pope, firſt began with the Cardinal, caſting him by the Law of *Premunire*, out of his Goods and Poſſeſſions, and ſo at length by poyſoning himſelf he procured his own death 9 which was in the year 1530. This done, ſhortly after about the year 1532, the King to provide betimes againſt miſchiefs that might come from *Rome*, gave forth eſtſoons this Proclamation, as followeth.

Gordium was a City in *Aſia*, where there was a knot ſo faſt tyed, and folded ſo many ways, that (as the ſtory ſaid) whatſoever could look by, ſhould have all *Aſia*. So *Alexander* coming to it, when he could not looſe it with the hands, he cut it aſunder with his ſword. The Kings Proverb. Look before

A reſtraint of the King that no ſuing ſhould be purchaſed from *Rome*.

THE Kings Highneſs ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of perſon, what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he or they be of, do purchaſe or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of Rome, or elſewhere, nor uſe and put in execution, divulge or publiſh any thing heretofore, within this year paſſed, purchaſed, or to be purchaſed hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, juriſdiction, and Prerogative Royal of this his ſaid Realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his Graces noble and vertuous, intended purpoſes in the Premiſes, upon pain of incurring his Highneſs indignation, *and imprisonment and further puniſhment of their bodies for their ſo doing, at his Graces pleaſure, to the dreadful example of all other.*

{KING Hen.8.}

Ex Ed. Hall. The whole Clergy of *England* in the Præmunire.

After this was done, the King then proceeding further, cauſed the reſt of the Spiritual Lords to be called by proceſs into the *King's-Bench* to make their appearance, forſomuch as the whole Clergy of *England*, in ſupporting and maintaining the power Legantine of the Cardinal, by the reaſon thereof were all intangled likewiſe in the *Premunire*, and therefore were called into the *King's-Bench* to anſwer. But before the day of their appearance, the Prelates together in their Convocation concluded among themſelves an humble ſubmiſſion in writing, and offered the King for a Subſidy or contribution, that he would be their good Lord, and releaſe them of the *Premunire* by Act of Parliament, firſt to be gathered in the Province of *Canterbury* an hundred thouſand pounds. And in the Province of *York*, eighteen thouſand eight hundred forty pound and ten pence. The which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promiſed. In this ſubmiſſion the Clergy called the King ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*, which thing they never confeſſed before. Whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye ſhall hear.

The Clergy give to the King 118840 *l.* to be releaſed from the *Premunire.*

But firſt, forſomuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way, a few words of the Reader, to ſpeak of this Clergy-money, of 118840 pounds, and ten pence, to be levied to the King, as is above touched. For the levying of which ſum an order was taken among the Prelates, that every Biſhop in his Dioceſs ſhould call before him all the Prieſts, Parſons and Vicars, among whom Dr. *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, a man then counted to be of ſome wit and learning, but of little diſcretion and humanity (which cauſed him to be out of the favour of the common people) called before him all the Prieſts within the City of *London*, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the firſt day of *September* being Friday, in the Chapter-houſe of Saint *Paul*. At which day the Prieſts appeared, and the Biſhops policy was to have only ſix or eight Prieſts together, and by perſwaſions to have cauſed them to grant ſome portion toward the payment of the foreſaid hundred thouſand pound. But the number of the Prieſts was ſo great (for they were ſix hundred at the leaſt, and with them came many temporal men to hear the matter) that the Biſhop was diſappointed of his purpoſe. For when the Biſhops Officers called in certain Prieſts by name into the Chapter-houſe, with that a great number entred, for they put the Biſhops Officers that kept the door aſide.

The Biſhops policy with the Prieſts, for payment of the Kings money.

After this, the Officers ſhut the door that again. Then the Prieſts without ſaid, We will not be kept without, and our fellows be within: we know not what the Biſhop will do with them. Then temporal men being preſent comforted and encouraged the Prieſts to enter, ſo that by force they opened the door, and one ſtruck the Biſhops Officer over the face, and entred the Chapter-houſe, and many temporal men with them, and long it was ere any officer could be made. At laſt when they began with the Biſhop ſtood up and ſaid, Brethren I marvel not a little, why you be ſo heady, and know not what ſhall be ſaid to you, therefore I pray you to keep ſilence, and to hear me patiently.

The Biſhops perſwaſion to the Prieſts to help them to pay their Subſidy.

My friends all, you know well that we be men full of condition, and no Angels, and by frailty and lack of wiſdom we have miſdemeaned our ſelves toward the King our Soveraign Lord and his Laws, ſo that all we of the Clergy were in the *Premunire*; by reaſon whereof all our promotions, lands, goods, and cattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be impriſoned: yet his Grace, moved with pity and compaſſion, demanded of us what we could ſay, why he ſhould not extend his Laws upon us. Then the Fathers of the Clergy humbly beſought his Grace of mercy. To whom he anſwered, That he was ever inclined to mercy. Then for all our great offences we had little penance: for where he might by the rigor of his Law have taken all our livelode, goods, and cattels, he was contented with one hundred thouſand pounds, to be paid in five years. And although that this ſum be more than we may eaſily bear, yet by the rigor of his Laws we ſhould have born the whole burden. Wherefore my Brethren, I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelode and ſalary, toward the payment of this ſum granted.

Hall

The Priests suffer to the Bishops.

Then it was shortly said to the Bishop, My Lord, twenty Nobles a year is but bare living for a Priest; for now victual and every thing is so dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to say nay. Beside that, my Lord we never offended in the *Premunire:* for we medled never with the Cardinals faculties: let the Bishops and Abbots which have offended pay.

Then the Bishops Officers gave to the Priests high words, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also divers temporal men which were present comforted the Priests, and bad them agree to no payment. In this rumor divers of the Bishops servants were buffeted and fricken, so that the Bishop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeased the noise, and for all things which were done or said there he pardoned them, and gave to them his Blessing, and pray'd them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived: for the Bishop went to Sir *Th. More*, then being Lord Chancellor (which greatly favoured the Bishop and the Clergy) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievously. Whereupon commandment was sent to Sir *Thomas Pargiter*, Mayor of the City, to attach certain Priests and temporal men: and so fifteen Priests, and five temporal men were arrested; of the which some were sent to the *Tower*, some to the *Fleet*, and other Prisons, where they remained long after.

Bishop of Rochester complaineth to Sir *Tom. More.*

Certain Priests and temporal men committed to prison.

Preaching against the Kings first Marriage.

This being done in the year of our Lord 1532, it followeth moreover the same year, that divers Preachings were in the Realm, one contrary to another, concerning the Kings Marriage: and in especial one *Thomas Abel* Clerk, which was the Queens Chaplain, to please her withal, both preached and also wrote a Book in defence of the said Marriage; whereby divers simple men were persuaded. Wherefore the King caused to be compiled and reduced into a Book the determination of the Universities, with the judgments of great Clerks: which Book being printed and set abroad did again satisfie all indifferent and reasonable persons, which were not too much wedded to their wills.

The wicked Act for appointing broken by the King. *Statut. Ann. 25. Reg. 21. 8*

Mention was made a little before, of a Parliament begun the 15th day of *January*, Anno 1533, in the which Parliament the Commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the Clergy in their proceeding *Ex Officio*. This complaint although at the first it seemed not to be greatly tendered of the King, yet in Prorogation of the Parliament the time so wrought withal, that the King having more clear understanding of the abuses and enormities of the Clergy, and in especial of the corrupt authority of the See of *Rome*, provided certain Acts against the same. First, as concerning the Laws, Decrees, Ordinances and Constitutions made and established by the pretensed authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that who so did or spake any thing either against their usurped power, or against the said Laws, Decrees, or Constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon Holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the Kings Prerogative Royal, should therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of Heresie. And likewise touching such Constitutions, Ordinances, and Canons Provincial or Synodal, which were made in this Realm in the Convocation of Bishops being either prejudicial to the Kings Prerogative, or not ratified before by the Kings assent, or being otherwise onerous to the King and his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, they were committed to the judgment of two and thirty persons chosen by the King out of the higher and lower House, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogate at their discretions: and further, that all the Clergy of this Realm submitting themselves to the King, should and did promise *in verbo Sacerdotis*, never hereafter to presume to assemble in their Convocations without the Kings writ, or to Enact or execute such Constitutions without his Royal assent, &c. *Ex Stat. Hen. 8.*

An Act concerning the Popes Laws.

Decrees and Constitutions Provincial of this Realm, committed to Examination.

No man to appeal to Rome. Bamer in his Prologue before *Decretales*, saith, that this reverence of the Pope cometh to as much almost as the Kings reverence.

Further, in the same Parliament was Enacted and Decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention no person should appeal, provoke, or sue out of the Kings Dominions to the Court of *Rome*, under pain of provisors, provition, or *Premunire*.

Item, In the same Parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of Annates and first-fruits of Archbishoprics and Bishoprics out of this Realm to the See of *Rome* for any Balls, Breves or Palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also for the investing of Archbishops, Bishops, or other of any Ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said Parliament was taken that the King should send a license under the great Seal, with a Letter Missive to the Prior and Convent, or to the Dean and Chapter of those Cathedral Churches where the See was vacant: by the vertue of which License or Letters Missive, they within twelve days should choose the said person nominated by the King, and none other, and that Election to stand effectual to all intents. Which Election being done, then the party elect making first his Oath and fealty to the King, if it were a Bishop that was elect, then the King by his Letters Patents to signifie the said Election to the Archbishop of that Province, and two other Bishops, or else to four Bishops within this Realm to be affigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any Bulls, Breves, or other things from the See of *Rome*.

{KING 1 Hen. 8.}

The manner of Investing by the King.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intolerable actions and great sums of money used to be paid out of this Realm to the Bishop of *Rome*, in Pensions, Censures, *Peter*-pence, Procurations, Fruits, Suits for provitions, and expeditions of Bulls for Archbishops and Bishops, for Dispensations and Rescripts in causes of contention and Appeals, Jurisdictions Legative; also for Dispensations, Licenses, Faculties, Grants, Relaxations, Writs called *Perinde valere*, Rehabilitations, Abolitions, Canonizations, and other infinite sorts of Bulls, Breves, and Instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said Parliament it was ordained That all such uncharitable Usurpations, Exactions, Pensions, Censures, Portions, and *Peter*-pence wont to be paid to the See of *Rome*, should utterly surcease, and never more be levied: so that the King with his Honourable Council should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of Indulgences, Privileges, &c. within this Realm.

Peter-pence stopped from Rom.

¶ *Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these* Peter-pence *aforesaid, that the same were first brought in and imposed by King* Iva, *about the year of our Lord* 720. *Which* Iva *King of the* West-Saxons *caused through all his Dominion, in every house having a Chimney, a peny to be collected and paid to the Bishop of* Rome *in the name of Saint* Peter, *and thereof were they called* Peter-pence. Vide *vitæ supra. supra. The same likewise did* Offa *King of* Mercians *after him, about the year of our Lord* 794. *And these* Peter-pence *ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custom to be gathered and summoned by the Popes Collectors here in* England, *from the time of* Iva *aforesaid, to this Parliament*, Anno 1533.

Peter pence how they came, and how long they continued. Vide supra.

Finally, by the authority of the Parliament it was consulted and considered, concerning the Legality of the lawful succession unto the Crown, in ratifying and enabling the Heirs of the Kings Body, and Queen *Anne*. In the which Parliament moreover the degrees of Marriage plainly and clearly were explained and set forth, such as be expressly prohibited by Gods Laws, as in this Table may appear.

A Table of Degrees prohibited by Gods Law to marry.

The Son not to marry the Mother, nor Step-mother.
The Brother not to marry the Sister.
The Father not to marry his Sons Daughter, nor his Daughters Daughter. *Statut. Ann. 25. Reg. Hen.*
The Son not to marry his Fathers Daughter, gotten by his Step-mother.
The Son not to marry his Aunt, being either his Fathers or his Mothers Sister.
The Son not to marry his Uncles Wife.
The Father not to marry his Sons Wife.
The Brother not to marry his Brothers Wife.
No man to marry his Wives Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Sons Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Daughters Daughter.
No man to marry his Wives Sister.

Degrees prohibited to marry.

All these Degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

All

{KING 1 Hen. 8.}

Separation between the King and the Lady *Katharine* by Act of Parliament.

All these things thus being defined and determined in this foresaid Parliament, and also being in the same Parliament concluded, That no man of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispence with Gods Laws, it was therefore by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of Gods Word, assented, That the Marriage aforetime solemnized between the King and the Lady *Katharine*, being before wife to Prince *Arthur* the Kings Brother, and carnally known by him (as is above proved) should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the Law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value nor effect; and that the separation thereof by *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should stand good and effectual to all intents: and also that the lawful Matrimony between the King and the Lady *Anne* his wife, should be established, approved and ratified for good and consonant to the Laws of Almighty God. And further also, for the establishing of this Kings lawful succession, it was fully by the said Parliament adjudged, That the inheritance of the Crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the King and Queen *Anne* his wife.

The Marriage between the King and Qu. *Anne*, approved by publick Parliament.

The heirs of K. Henry and Qu. *Anne* ratified by Parliament.

During the time of this Parliament, before the Marriage of Queen *Anne*, there was one *Temse* in the Common-House, which moved the Commons to sue to the King to take the Queen again into his company; declaring certain great mischiefs like to ensue thereof, as in Bastardizing the Lady *Mary* the Kings only child, and divers other inconveniences. Which being reported to the Kings ears, he sent immediately to Sir *Thomas Audley*, Speaker then of the Parliament, expressing unto him amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the Parliament did so openly speak of the absence of the Queen from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soul, and wilished the Matrimony were good, for then had he never been so vexed in conscience. But the Doctors of Universities (said he) have determined the Marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudg of conscience (he said) caused him to abstain from her company, and no foolish nor wanton appetite. For I am (said he) forty one years old, at which age the luft of man is not so quick as it is in youth. And saving in *Spain* and *Portugal* it hath not been seen, that one man hath married two Sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the Brother to marry the Brothers wife, was so abhorred amongst all Nations, that I never heard it, That any Christian man so did but my self. Wherefore you see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report. And so the Speaker departing, declared to the Commons the Kings saying.

The Kings words to Sir *T. Audley* Speaker of the Parliament.

Not long after that, the King, belike perceiving the minds of the Clergy not much favouring his Cause, sent for the Speaker again, and twelve of the Common-house, having with him eight Lords, and said to them, Welbeloved Subjects, We had thought the Clergy of our Realm had been our Subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our Subjects, yea and scarce our Subjects. For all the Prelates at their Consecration make an Oath to the Pope, clean contrary to the Oath that they make unto us, so that they seem to be his Subjects, and not ours: and so the King, delivering to them the Copy of both the Oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his Spiritual subjects. The Speaker thus departed, and called the Oaths to be read in the Common-house, the very tenor whereof here ensueth.

The Kings words to certain of the Common-house.

The Spiritual mantle Popes subjects more than the Kings.

The Oath of the Clergy to the Pope.

The Oath which the Clergy commonly given to the Pope

I John *Bishop or Abbot of* A. *from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to Saint* Peter, *and to the holy Church of* Rome, *and to my Lord the Pope, and his Successors Canonically entring. I shall not be of counsel nor consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their Messengers or Letters I shall not willingly discover to any person. The Popedom of* Rome, *the rules of the Holy Fathers, and Regalities of Saint* Peter, *I shall help and retain, and defend against all men. The Legate of the See Apostolick going and coming, I shall honourably intreat. The rights, honours, priviledges, authorities of the Church of* Rome, *and of the Pope and his Successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted, I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act, in the which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of* Rome, *their rights, States, honours or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledg. The rules of the holy Fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions and commandments Apostolick, to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept of other. Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels to our holy Father and his Successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical impediment. The lights of the Apostles I shall visit personally, or by my Deputy. I shall not alien or sell my possessions without the Popes Council. So God me help, and the holy Evangelists.*

¶ This Oath of the Clergy-men, which they were wont to make to the Bishop of *Rome* (now Pope *quondam*) was abolished and made void by Statute, and a new Oath minished and confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the King to be the Supreme Head under Christ in this Church of *England*, as by tenour thereof may appear hereunder ensuing.

Pope *quondam.*

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

I John *B. of* A. *utterly renounce and clearly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences and grants which I have or shall have hereafter of the Popes Holiness, of and for the Bishoprick of* A. *that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, priviledg or estate royal: and also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your heirs Kings of the same, of life and limb, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people; and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power: and your counsel I shall keep and hold: knowledging my self to hold my Bishoprick of you only; beseeching you of restitution of the Temporalities of the same: promising (as before) that I shall be faithful, true, and obedient-ly subject unto your said Highness, heirs, and successors during my life, and the services and other things due to your Highness, for the restitution of the Temporalities of same Bishoprick, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help and all Saints.*

These Oaths thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the Pope lost all his interest and jurisdiction here in *England* within short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the Pope, Sir *Thomas More*, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the Pope, and a heavy trouble of Christs people, and now not liking well of this Oath, by Gods good work was enforced to resign up his Chancellorship, and to deliver up the Great Seal of *England* into the Kings hands. After whom succeeded Sir *Thomas Audley*, Keeper of the Great Seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no less incomparable, than also for his godly disposed mind, and favourable inclination to Christs Religion, worthy of much commendation.

Sir Thomas More.

The Audity made Lord Chancellor.

These things being done in the Parliament, the King within short time after proceeded to the Marriage of the foresaid Lady *Anne Bullen*, Mother to our most noble Queen now, who without all controverse was a special comforter and aider of all the Professors of Christs Gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly alms did manifestly declare; who besides the ordinary of a hundred Crowns, and other apparel that she gave weekly, a year

The Mirrage of Qu. *Anne.*

The great alms of Qu. *Anne.*

before

before ſhe was Crowned, both to men and women, gave alſo wonderful much privy alms to widows and other poor houſholders continually till ſhe was apprehended, and ſhe ever gave three or four pound at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine withal, and ſent her Subamner to the Towns about where ſhe lay, that the Pariſhioners ſhould make a Bill of all the poor houſholders in their Pariſh, and ſome Towns received ſeven, eight, or ten pound to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the Towns were. She alſo maintained many learned men in *Cambridge*. Likewiſe did the Earl of *Wilteſhire* her Father, and the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and by them theſe men were brought in favour with the King: of whom ſome are yet alive and can teſtifie the ſame; which would to God they were now as great profeſſors of the Goſpel of Chriſt, as then they appeared to be: which were Doctor *Heath*, and Doctor *Thirlby*; with whom was joyned the Lord *Paget*, who at that preſent was an earneſt Proteſtant, and gave unto one *Raynold Weſt Luthers* Books, and other Books of the *Germans*, as *Franciſc. Lambert. de Sectis*, and at that time he read *Melanctbons* Rhetorick openly in *Trinity*-Hall in *Cambridge*, and was with his Maſter *Gardiner* a maintainer of Doctor *Barnes*, and all the Proteſtants that were then in *Cambridge*, and holp many Religious perſons out of their Cowles.

Heath, Thirlby, L. Paget.

Lord Paget, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible perſons which were about this Queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful diſtribution to the poor, how her Grace carried ever about her a certain little purſe out of the which ſhe was wont daily to ſcatter abroad ſome alms to the needy, thinking no day well ſpent wherein ſome man had not fared the better by ſome benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble Perſonages which were the chief and principal of her waiting Maids about her, ſpecially the Dutcheſs of *Richmond* by name.

Cranmer Godfather to Queen Elizabeth.

Alſo concerning the order of her Ladies and Gentlewomen about her, one that was her Silkwoman, a Gentlewoman not now alive, but of great credit and alſo of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time ſhe never ſaw better order among the Ladies and Gentlewomen of the Court, than was in this good Queens days, who kept her Maids and ſuch as were about her ſo occupied in ſowing and working of ſhirts and ſmocks for the poor, that neither was there ſeen any idleneſs then among them, nor any leiſure to follow ſuch paſtimes as daily are ſeen now adays to reign in Princes Courts.

The praiſe of Q. Anne. The name of this Gentlewoman was Mr. Wilkinſon. The good order of the Court in Q. Anns time.

Thus the King being divorced from the Lady Dowager his Brothers wife, married this gracious Lady, making a proſperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the forefaid Princeſs, and alſo from the Pope, both at one time. Notwithſtanding, as good and godly purpoſes are never without ſome incommodity or trouble following, ſo it happened in this divorcement, that the ſaid Princeſs procuring from *Rome* the Popes Curſe, cauſed both the King and the Realm to be Interdicted: whereof more is hereafter to be ſpoken.

The King divorced from Lady Katherine, and from the Pope, both at one time.

In the mean time Queen *Anne* ſhortly after her Marriage being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the firſt divorcement publickly proclaimed, was Crowned with high ſolemnity at *Weſtminſter*: and not long after her Coronation, the ſeventh day of *September*, ſhe was brought to Bed, and delivered of a fair Lady: for whoſe good deliverance *Te Deum* was ſung in all places, and great preparation made for the Chriſtening.

§ Anno 1533. *Qu. Anne Crowned. Q. Elizabeth born.*

The Mayor and his Brethren with forty of the chief Citizens were commanded to be preſent, with all the Nobles and Gentlemen. The Kings Palace, and all the walls between that and the *Friers*, was hanged with Arras, and the *Friers* Church. Alſo the Font was of Silver, and ſtood in the middeſt of the Church, three ſteps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers Gentlemen, with Aprons and Towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the Font hung a fair Canopy of Crimſon Satten fringed with Gold. About it was a Rail covered with Say. Between the Quire and the Body of the Church was a cloſe place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. Theſe things thus ordered, the child was brought into the Hall, and then every man ſet forward. Firſt the Citizens, two and two: then the Gentlemen, Eſquires, and Chaplains. Next after followed the Aldermen, and the Mayor alone. Next the Mayor followed the Kings Council. Then the Kings Chappel. Then Barons, Biſhops, and Earls. Then came the Earl of *Eſſex*, bearing the covered Baſons gilt. After him the Marqueſs of *Exceſter*, with the Taper of Virgin-wax. Next him the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, bearing the Salt. Behind him the Lady *Mary* of *Norfolk*, bearing the Chryſome, which was very rich of Pearl and Stone. The old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* bear the child in a Mantle of purple Velvet, with a long Train furred with Ermin. The Duke of *Norfolk* with his Marſhal-Rod, went on the right hand of the ſaid Dutcheſs, and the Duke of *Suffolk* on the left hand. Before them went the Officers of Armes. The Counteſs of *Kent* bear the long Train of the Childs Mantle. Between the Counteſs and the child, went the Earl of *Wiltſhire* on the right hand, and the Earl of *Derby* on the left hand, ſupporting the ſaid Train. In the midſt over the Child, was borne a Canopy by the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Huſſey*, the Lord *William Howard*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard* the Elder. In this order they came unto the Church-door, where the Biſhop of *London* met it, with divers Abbots and Biſhops, and began the obſervances of the Sacrament. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was Godfather, and the old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioneſs of *Dorſet*, Widows, were Godmothers, and the Child was named *Elizabeth*.

After all things were done at the Church-door, the Child was brought to the Font and Chriſtened. This done, Garter, the chief King at Armes, cried aloud, *God of his infinite goodneſs, ſend proſperous life and long, to the High and Mighty Princeſs of England, ELIZABETH.* Then the Trumpets blew, and the Child was brought up to the Altar, and immediately confirmed by the Archbiſhop, the Marchioneſs of *Exceſter* being Godmother. Then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* gave the Princeſs a ſtanding Cup of Gold. The Dutcheſs of *Norfolk* gave her a ſtanding Cup of Gold, fretted with Pearl. The Marchioneſs of *Dorſet*, three gilt Bowls pounced, with a Cover. The Marchioneſs of *Exceſter* three ſtanding Bowls gilt and graven, with a Cover. And ſo after a ſolemn Banquet ended with Hypocras, Waters, and ſuch like in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the Court with the Princeſs, and ſo departed.

At the Marriage of this Noble Lady, as there was no ſmall joy unto all good and godly men, and no leſs hope of proſperous ſucceſs to Gods true Religion; ſo in like manner, on the contrary part, the Papiſts wanted not their malicious and ſecret attempts, as by the falſe hypocriſie and feigned holineſs of a falſe feigned hypocrite, this year being eſpied and found out, may ſufficiently appear what their Deviliſh devices and purpoſes were. For certain Monks, Friers, and other evil diſpoſed perſons, of a Deviliſh intent, had put into the heads of many of the Kings ſubjects, That they had a revelation of God and his Saints, that he was highly diſpleaſed with King *Henry* for the Divorcement of the Lady *Katherine*: and furniſhed among other things, That God had revealed to a Nun, named *Elizabeth Barton*, whom they called the holy Maid of *Kent*, That in caſe the King proceeded in the ſaid Divorce, he ſhould not be King of this Realm one month after, and in the reputation of God not one day nor hour. This *Elizabeth Barton* by falſe diſſimulation practiſed and ſhewed to the people marvelous alteration of her viſage, and other parts of her body, as if ſhe had been wrapt or in a trance, and in thoſe feigned trances, by falſe hypocriſie (as though ſhe had been inſpired of God) ſhe ſpake many words in rebuking of ſin, and reproving the Goſpel, which ſhe called Hereſie; and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the King and Queen, and to the eſtabliſhing of Idolatry, Pilgrimage, and the derogation of Gods glory. Which her naughtineſs being eſpied out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Cromwel*, and Maſter *Hugh Latimer*, ſhe was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counſel, in the month of *April*, Anno 1533. The names of which Conſpirators with her were theſe, *Edward Bocking*, Monk of *Canterbury*, *Richard Maſter*, Parſon

The Maid of Kent with her falſe feigned hypocriſie ayded. Elizabeth Barton with her falſe conſpiracies.

{KING Hen. 8.} Parſon of *Aldington*, *John Dering*, Monk of *Canterbury*, *Hugh Rich* Frier, Warden of the *Gray Friers* of *Canterbury*, *Richard Risby*, *Henry Gold*, Bachelor of Divinity, and Parſon of *Aldermary*, *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *John Adeſon* Prieſt, his Chaplain, *Thomas Laurence*, the Biſhops Regiſter of *Canterbury*, *Edward Thwaits*, *Thomas Abel*. Of the which perſons, the ſaid *Elizabeth Barton*, *Henry Gold*, *Richard Maſter*, *Edward Bocking*, *John Dering*, *Hugh Rich*, *Richard Risby*, were attainted of Treaſon by Act of Parliament, and put to execution.

A marvellous judgment of God againſt Pavier an open enemy to his Word.

The reſidue, as *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Gold*, *Tho. Laurence*, *Edward Thwaits*, *John Adeſon*, *Tho. Abel*, being convict and attainted of Miſpriſion, were condemned to Priſon, and forfeited their Goods and Poſſeſſions to the King. *Ex Statut. An. 25. Reg. Hen. 8.*

Edward Hall, a Writer of our Engliſh Stories, making mention of this *Elizab. Barton* aforeſaid, adjoyneth next in his Book the narration of one *Pavier*, or *Pavy*, a notorious enemy (no doubt) to Gods Truth. This *Pavier* being the Town-Clerk of the City of *London*, was a man (ſaith he) that in no caſe could abide to hear that the Goſpel ſhould be in Engliſh: inſomuch that the ſaid *Hall* himſelf heard him once ſay unto him, and to other by ſwearing a great Oath, that if he thought the Kings Highneſs would ſet forth the Scripture in Engliſh, and let it be read of the people by his Authority, rather than he would ſo long live, he would cut his own Throat; but he broke promiſe, ſaith *Hall*, for he did not cut his Throat with a Knife, but with a Halter did hang himſelf. Of what mind and intent he ſo did, God judge.

Pavier a bitter enemy againſt Richard Bainham.

My information further addeth this, touching the ſaid *Pavier* or *Pavy*, that he was a bitter enemy, very buſie at the burning of *Richard Bainham* above mentioned. Who hearing the ſaid *Bainham* at the ſtake ſpeaking againſt Purgatory and Tranſubſtantion; ſet fire, ſaid he, to this Hereticke, and burn him. And as the Train of Gunpowder came toward the Martyr, he lifted up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, ſaying to *Pavier*, God forgive thee, and ſhew thee more mercy than thou doeſt to me. The Lord forgive Sir *Thomas More*, and pray for me all good people, and ſo continued he praying, till the Fire took his Bowels and his Head, *&c.*

Pavier a perſecutor hanged himſelf.

After whoſe Martyrdom, the next year following, this *Pavier* the Town-Clerk of the City, went and bought Ropes. Which done, he went up to an high Garret in his houſe to Pray, as he was wont to do, to a Rood which he had there, before whom he bitterly wept: and as his own Maid coming up found him ſo doing, he bad her take the ruſty Sword and go make it clean, and trouble him no more, and immediately he tyed up the Rope, and hung himſelf. The Maids heart ſtill throbbed, and ſo came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then ſhe having no power to help him, ran crying to the Church to her Miſtriſs to fetch her home. His Servants and Clerks he had ſent out before to *Finsbury*, and to Maſter *Edney*, Serjeant to the Lord Mayor, dwelling over *Biſhops-Gate*, to tarry for him at *Finsbury* Court till he came: But he had diſpatched himſelf before, ſo that they might long look for him before he could come. Which was, *Anno* 1533.

The terrible bond of Gods Judgment upon Foxford the Biſhops Chancellor.

To this Story of *Pavier*, may alſo be added the like terrible example of Doctor *Foxford*, Chancellor to the Biſhop of *London*, a cruel Perſecutor, and a common Butcher of the good Saints of God; who was the condemner of all thoſe aforenamed, which were put to death, troubled or abjured under Biſhop *Stokesley* through all the Dioceſs of *London*. This *Foxford* dyed about this preſent year and time: Of whoſe terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by ſuch as were of right good credit, unto certain perſons, of whom ſome be yet alive, that he dyed ſuddenly ſitting in his Chair, his belly being burſt, and his Guts falling out before him.

The death of William Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The Cranmer ſucceſſor Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

About the ſame time dyed alſo *William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: In whoſe Room ſucceeded *Thomas Cranmer*, which was the Kings Chaplain, and a great diſputer againſt the unlawful Marriage of Lady *Katherine*, Princeſs Dowager, being then ſo called by Act of Parliament.

Ye heard before, how the Parliament had enacted that no perſon after a certain day, ſhould appeal to *Rome* for any cauſe. Notwithſtanding which Act, the Queen, now called Princeſs Dowager, had appealed to the Court of *Rome* before that Act made: So that it was doubted, whether that Appeal was good or not. This queſtion was well handled in the Parliament Houſe, but much better in the Convocation Houſe, and yet in both Houſes it was alledged, yea, and by Books ſhewed, that in the Councils of *Chalcedon*, *Africk*, *Toletane*, and divers other famous Councils in the Primitive Church, yea, in the time of S. *Auguſtine*, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cauſe ariſing in one Province, ſhould be determined in the ſame, and that neither the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* ſhould meddle in cauſes moved in the juriſdiction of the Patriarch of *Antioch*, nor any Biſhop ſhould intermeddle within another Province or Country. Which things were ſo Clerkly opened, and ſo cunningly ſet forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the Truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly ſee, that all Appeals made to *Rome* were clearly void, and of none effect. Which Doctrines and Councils were ſhewed to the Lady *Katherine* Princeſs Dowager; but ſhe (as women love to loſe no dignity) ever continued in her old Song, truſting more to the Popes partiality, than to the determination of Chriſts verity.

Queen Katherine appealeth to Rome. Concluded by Councils of the primitive Church, that none ſhould Appeal out of their Province.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Cranmer* above named, accompained with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Bathe*, *Lincoln*, and divers other great Clerks in a great number rode to *Dunſtable*, which is ſix miles from *Ampthil*, where the Princeſs Dowager lay: And there by a Doctor, called Dr. *Lee*, ſhe was called to appear before the ſaid Archbiſhop, in cauſe of Matrimony, in the ſaid Town of *Dunſtable*: And at the day of appearance ſhe would not appear, but made default, and ſo was called peremptorily, every day Fifteen days together, and at the laſt, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the aſſent of all the learned men there being preſent, ſhe was divorced from the King, and their Marriage declared to be void and of none effect: Which ſentence given, the Archbiſhop, and all the other returned back again.

Lady Katherine divorced finally. Proceed from the King.

¶ Where note, that although their divorce following after the new Marriage needed not at all to be made, the firſt Marriage being no Marriage at all before God, yet to ſatisfie the voice of the people, more than for any neceſſity, the King was contented, through the perſwations of ſome, ſo to do. For elſe as touching God and Conſcience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no Marriage was to be accounted, but rather an inceſtuous and deteſtable Adultery, as the Act of Parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the diſſolution of this firſt Marriage made between the King and the Lady Princeſs Dowager, ſhe nevertheleſs bearing a ſtout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the Univerſities, nor to the cenſure of the Clergy, nor of the whole Realm; but following the Counſel rather of a few *Spaniards*, to moleſt the King and the Realm by ſute, and means made to the Pope, procured certain Writings, firſt of monition and aggravation, then of Excommunication and Interdiction to be ſent down from *Rome*, wherein the Pope had Interdicted both the King and the whole Realm. But the Popes Curſes being not the hardieſt man, belike, that ever ſhewed his Head, thought it much more ſure for him to diſcharge his Popiſh carriage without the Kings reach, and ſo keeping himſelf a loof off (like a pretty man) ſet up his writings in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*. In the which Town, firſt upon the North door of the Church was ſet up a monition, that the King of *England* ſhould ſurceaſe the ſute of Divorce; the which *John Butler*, Clerk, then Commiſſary of *Calice*, by Commandment, took down in a Night.

Writings ſet up at Dunkirk againſt the King. John Butler of Calice took down the Writ at Dunkirk againſt the King. King Henry and the Realm interdicted. Cited by the Pope.

After that, before *Whitſunweek*, there was ſet up in the ſame place an Excommunication, Aggravation, Reaggravation, and Interdiction. For the which alſo, the ſaid *Butler* by commandment was ſent to *Dunkirk* to take it down. And becauſe the Council of *Calice* would be certified of his diligence therein, they ſent a Servant of

the Lord *Liste*, then Deputy of *Calice*, whose name was *Crawvel*; and upon *Wednesday* in *Whitson* week, at seven of the Clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the Lord Deputy aforesaid: which was about the year, 1533.

This being known and certified to the King, he was motioned by his Council, That such as were about her, and moved her thereunto, should be put from her. And therefore the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to *Bugden*, beside *Huntingdon*, where the said Lady *Katharine* lay: who perceiving he stomach to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her privy Chamber, and shut the door, brake up the order of her Court, and discharged a great sort of her houshold Servants, and yet left her a convenient number to serve her like a Princess. They that remained still were sworn to serve her as Princess only, and not as Queen: of whom some said, they were once sworn to serve her as Queen, and otherwise would not serve, and so were dismissed. The other which were sworn to serve her as Princess, she utterly refused for her Servants, and so she remained with the fewer, living after this about the space of two years.

The Lady *Katherines* Court discharged.

The abolishing of the Pope out of England.

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the Marriage of Queen *Ann*, and Divorce of Lady *Katherine* Dowager, next followeth the year, 1534. In the which was assembled the high Court of Parliament again, after many Prorogations, upon the third day of *February*; wherein was made an act of Succession, for the more surety of the Crown; to the which every person being of lawful age should be sworn. During this Parliament time, every *Sunday* preached at *Paul's* Cross a Bishop, which declared the Pope not to be head of the Church.

{Anno 1532.}

Preaching against the Pope.

After this, Commissions were sent over all *England*, to take the Oath of all men and women to the Act of Succession. At which few repined, except Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More*, late Lord Chancellor, and Doctor *Nicholas Wilson*, Parson of Saint *Thomas Apostles* in *London*. Wherefore these three Persons, after long exhortation to them made by the Bishop of *Canterbury* at *Lambeth*, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the *Tower*, where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworn: But the Bishop and Sir *Thomas More* excused them by their Writings, in which they said, That they had written before the said Lady *Katherine* to be Queen, and therefore could not well go from that which they had written. Likewise the Doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her Queen, and therefore now could not well unsay it again. Howbeit at length he was well contented to dissemble the matter, and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the Realm in their opinion.

Ex Ed. Hall.

The Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More* sent to the *Tower*.

Fisher Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More* refuse to be sworn.

From the month of *March* this Parliament furthermore was Prorogued to the third day of *November* abovesaid. At what time, amongst divers other Statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, That the Pope, and all his College of Cardinals, with his Pardons and Indulgences, which so long had clogged this Realm of *England*, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, was now abolished, eradicate and exploded out of this Land, and sent home again to their own Country of *Rome*, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised therefore, *Amen*.

{KING Hen. 8.}

An Act concerning the the Kings Highness to be the supream head of the Church of *England*, and to have authority to reform and redress all Errors, Heresies and abuses in the same. *Cap.* 1.

Albeit the Kings Majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be the supream head of the Church of England, *and so is recognised by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of vertue in Christs Religion within this Realm of* England, *and to repress and extirp all Errors, Heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supream head in Earth of the Church of* England, *called* Anglicana Ecclesia, *and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the title and stile thereof, as all honours, dignities, preheminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supream Head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And that our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit, represse, redresse, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, abuses, offences contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of vertue in Christs Religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this Realm; any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things, to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.*

The Kings Proclamation for the abolishing of the usurped power of the Pope.

'TRusty and Welbeloved, we Greet you well. And whereas not only upon good and just and vertuous grounds and respects, edified upon the Laws of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, advisement, and consent, as well of all other our Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also Spiritual, assembled in our High Court of Parliament, and by authority of the same, we have by good and wholesome Laws and Statutes, made for this purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our Realm, the abuses of the Bishop of Rome, his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped, as well upon us and our Realm, as upon all other Kings and Princes and their Realms (like as they themselves have confessed and affirmed) but also forasmuch as our said Nobles and Commons, both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in our high Court of Parliament, have upon good, lawful and vertuous grounds, and for the publick weal of this our Realm, by one whole assent, granted, annexed, knit, and united to the Crown Imperial of the same, the title, dignity, and stile of supream Head or Governour in Earth, immediately under God, of the Church of *England*, as we be, and undoubtedly have hitherto been: Which title and stile both the Bishops and Clergy of this Realm have no only, in Convocation Assembled, Consented, Recognized, and approved lawfully and justly to appertain unto us, but also by Word, Oath, Profession, and writing under their Signs and Seals, have confessed, Ratified, Corroborated and confirmed the same, utterly renouncing all other Oaths and Obedience to any other foreign Potentates, and all foreign jurisdictions and powers, as well of the said Bishop of *Rome*, as of all other whatsoever they be, as by their said professions and writings Corroborated with the subscription of their names, and appendon of their Seals more plainly appeareth: we let you to wit, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commission given unto us of Almighty God, and upon

The Kings Proclamation against the Pope.

The stile of supream annexed to the Crown of *England*.

{KING Hen. 8.}

upon a vehement love and affection toward our loving and faithful Subjects, perceiving right well what great rest, quietness, and tranquillity of Conscience, and manifold other commodities might insurge and arise unto them, if that the said Bishops and other of the Clergy of this our Realm should set forth, declare and preach to them the true and sincere Word of God, and without all manner of colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisie, manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities, and abuses which the said Bishop of *Rome*, as well in the title and stile, as also in authority and jurisdiction of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and our Progenitors, and also other Christian Princes; have therefore addressed our Letters unto the Bishop of the Diocess, straightly charging and commanding him in the same, that not only he in his own proper person, shall declare, teach and preach unto the people forthwith upon the receit of our said Letters unto him directed, every *Sunday* and other high Feasts through the year, the true, meer and sincere Word of God; and that the same title, stile, and jurisdiction of supream head appertaineth only to our Crown and dignity Royal, likewise, as the said Bishop and all other the Bishops of our Realm have by Oath affirmed and confirmed by subscription of their names, and setting to their Seals, but also gave warning, monition, and charge, to all manner Abbats, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Ecclesiastical persons, within his said Diocess, as well to teach, preach, publish, and declare in all manner Churches our aforesaid just title, stile, and jurisdiction, every *Sunday* and high Feast through the year, and further to monish and command all other Schoolmasters within his said Diocess, to instruct and teach the same unto the Children committed unto them, as also to cause all manner Prayers, Orisons, Rubricks, Canons of Mass Books, and all other Books in the Churches, wherein the said Bishop of *Rome* is named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicate and raced out, and his name and memory to be never more (except to his contumely and reproach) remembred, but perpetually suppressed and obscured: and finally, to desist and leave out all such Articles as be in the general sentence, which is usually accustomed to be read four times in the year, and do tend to the glory and advancement of the Bishop of *Rome*, his name, title, and jurisdiction.

The Popes name and memory abolished.

Whereupon we see esteeming and reputing you to be of such singular and vehement zeal and affection toward the Glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful, loving and obedient heart towards us, as you will not only do and accomplish with all Power, Wisdom, Diligence, and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forward of Gods Word, but also practise, study, and endeavour your self, with all your policy, wit, power, and good will, to amplifie, defend, and maintain all such interest, right, title, stile, jurisdiction, and authority, as is in any wise appertaining unto us, our dignity and prerogative, and Crown Imperial of this our Realm: have thought good and expedient, not only to signifie unto you by these our Letters the particulars of the charge, monition, and commandment given by us unto the said Bishop, as before is specified, but also to require, and straightly charge and command you, upon pain of your Allegiance, and as ye shall avoid our high indignation and displeasure at your uttermost peril, laying apart all vain affections, respects, or other carnal considerations, and setting only before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignity of your Sovereign Lord and King, and the great concord and unity, and inestimable profit and utility, that shall by the due execution of the premises insue to your self and all other faithful and loving Subjects, ye make or cause to be made diligent search and wait, and especially in every place of your Shirewick, whether the said Bishop do truly, and sincerely, and without all manner cloke, colour, or dissimulation, execute, and accomplish Our Will and Commandment, as is aforesaid. And in case ye shall hear, perceive, and approvably understand, and know that the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical person within his Diocess, do omit and leave undone any part or parcel of the Premises, or else in the execution and setting forth of the same, do coldly and feignedly use any manner of limiter addition, wrong interpretation, or painted colour: then we straightly charge and command you, that forthwith upon any such default, negligence, or dissimulation of the said Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical person of his Diocess, contrary to the true tenour, meaning and effect of the said charge by us to him appointed aforesaid, ye do make indelayedly, and with all speed and diligence, declaration and advertisement to us and our Council, of the said default, and of the behaviour, manner, and fashion of the same.

'And forasmuch as we upon singular trust, and assured confidence which we have in you, and for the special love and zeal we suppose and think ye bear toward us and the publick and Commonwealth, unity and tranquillity of this our Realm, have specially elected and chosen you among so many, for this purpose, have reputed you such men, as unto whose wisdom, discretion, truth and fidelity, we might commit a matter of such great weight, moment, and importance as whereupon the unity and tranquillity of our Realm doth consist: If ye should contrary to our expectation and trust which we have in you, and against your Duty and Allegiance towards us, neglect or omit to do with all your diligence and wisdom, whatsoever shall be in your power for the due performance of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalf, or halt, or stumble at any part or speciality of the same, he ye assured that we like a Prince of justice will so extreamly punish you for the same, that all the World besides shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their Allegiance, to disobey the Lawful commandment of their Sovereign Lord and Prince in such things, as by the faithful execution whereof, ye shall not only advance the honour of Almighty God, and set forth the Majesty and Imperial dignity of your Sovereign Lord, but also bring an inestimable Weal, Profit, and Commodity, Unity and Tranquility to all the Common State of this our Realm, whereunto both by the Laws of God, Nature, and Man, ye be utterly bound.

Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, *the 9th day of* June.

Furthermore, That no man shall Cavil or Surmise this fatal fall and ruine of the Pope to have come rashly upon the Kings own partial affection, or by any sensual temerity of a few, and not by the grave and advised judgment, approbation, and consent, generally and publickly, as well of the Nobles and Commons Temporal, as also Spiritual and most learned persons in this Realm: it shall be requisite moreover to these Premises to adjoyn the Words and Testimonies also of the Bishops own Oaths and Profession made to the King, yielding and rendring unto him only the stile of Supreme head next under Christ of the Church of *England*, all other service, subjection, and obedience to be given to any other foreign Potentate, which should be prejudicial to the Kings Highness in this behalf, being excluded, and that both Frankly and Freely, of their own voluntary motion, and also upon the Faith and Fidelity of their Priesthood, as by their own words and hand-writing may appear, in form as hereunder followeth.

The Oath of Stephen Gardener *to the King.*

The Oath of Stephen Gardener to the King.

Ego Stephanus Wintonien. Episcopus, pure, sponte, & absolute, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac spondeo Illustrissime vestræ Regiæ Majestati, singulari ac summo Domino meo, & patrono, Henrico Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediate sub Christo capiti, quod posthac nulli externo Imperatori, Regi, Principi aut Prælato, nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem & obedientiam, &c.

In English.

I *Stephen* Bishop of *Winchester* do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Princely Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, *Henry* the Eighth by the grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth of the Church of *England* supream Head immediately under Christ, that from this day forward I shall Sweer, Promise, Give, or cause to be Given to no foreign Potentate, Emperor, King, Prince, or Prelat, nor yet to the Bishop of *Rome*, whom they call Pope, any Oath or Fealty, directly or indirectly, either by word or writing; but at all times, and in every case and condition I shall Observe, Hold, and Maintain, to all effects and intents, the quarel and cause of your Royal Majesty and your Successors, and to the uttermost of my power shall defend the same against all manner of persons whomsoever I shall know or suspect to be adversaries to your Majesty, or to your Successors; and shall give my Faith, Truth, and Obedience, Sincerely, and with my very heart, only to your Royal Majesty, as to my supream Prince. I profess the Papacy of *Rome* not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm, and openly declare, and shall declare it, to be set up only by man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any Treaty with any person or persons either privily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the Bishop of *Rome* shall have or exercise here any authority or jurisdiction, or is to be restored to any jurisdiction hereafter.

Stephen Gardener abrenounceth the Pope.

Furthermore, that the said Bishop of *Rome* now being, or any that shall succeed him hereafter in the said See, is not to be called Pope nor Supream Bishop or Universal Bishop, nor most holy Lord, but only ought to be called Bishop of *Rome*, and fellow Brother (as the old manner of the most ancient Bishops hath been:) this I shall to my power openly maintain and defend.

And I shall firmly Observe and cause to be Observed of other, to the uttermost of my cunning, wit, and power, all such Laws and Acts of this Realm, how and whatsoever, as have been enacted and established for the extirpation and suppression of the Papacy, and of the authority and jurisdiction of the said Bishop of *Rome*. Neither shall I appeal hereafter to the said Bishop of *Rome*, nor ever consent to any person that shall appeal to him; neither shall I attempt, prosecute, or follow any suite in the Court of *Rome*, for any cause of right or justice to be had, or shall make answer to any Plea or Action, nor shall take upon me the person and office either of the Plaintiff or Defendent in the said Court. And if the said Bishop by his Messenger or by his Letters shall make any means or signification unto me, of any matter whatsoever it be, I shall with all speed and diligence make declaration and advertisment thereof, or cause the same to be signified either to your Princely Majesty, or to some of your secret Council, or to your Successors, or any of their Privy Council. Neither shall I send or cause to be sent at any time any writing nor Messenger to the said Bishop or to his Court, without the knowledge and consent of your Majesty or your Successors willing me to send writing or Messenger unto him. Neither shall I procure, or give Counsel to any person to procure Bulls, Briefs, or Rescripts whatsoever, either for me or any other, from the said Bishop of *Rome* or his Court. And if any such shall be procured against my will and knowledge, either in general or in special, or else howsoever they shall be granted unto them, I shall utter and disclose the same, and not consent thereunto, nor use them in any case, and shall cause them to be brought to your Majesty, or your Successors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my Faith and Truth by firm promise, and in the Faith of a Bishop, that against this my foresaid profession and promise made, I shall defend my self by no dispensation, exception, nor any remedy or cautel of Law or example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I have done or made any protestation in prejudice of this my profession and promise here made; the same I do revoke at this present, and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce, by these presents. Whereunto I have subscribed and under written the name both of my self and of my Bishoprick, with my proper Hand, and thereto also have put my Seal, in perpetual and undoubted testimony of the Premises.

{KING} {Hen. 8.}

Given the Tenth day of *February*, *An.* 1534, and of our Soveraign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, twenty sixth.

Stephen Winton.

The like Oath of John Stokesly *Bishop of* London.

I *John Bishop of* London *do purely and of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Princely Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron,* Henry *the Eighth, by the grace of God King of* England *of* France, *Defender of the Faith, Lord of* Ireland, *and in Earth of the same Church of* England *supream head immediately under Christ*, &c. *Like to the Oath before.*

The Oath of Stokesly.

Joan. London.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Edward Lee, *Archbishop of* York.

I *Edward* by the permission of God Archbishop of *York*, do purely of my own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Royal Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, &c. In like form to the Oath before.

The Oath of Lee, Archbishop of York.

Edwardus Eborac.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Cuthbert *Bishop of* Duresme.

I *Cuthbert*, By the permission of God Bishop of *Duresme*, do purely of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, in the word of a Bishop, profess and promise to your Royal Majesty, my singular and chief Lord and Patron, &c. As before.

The Oath of Tonstal of Durham.

Per me Cuthbertum Dunelm.

And so likewise all the other Bishops after the same order and form of Oath were obliged and bound to the King, as to the supream head of the Church of *England* immediately under Christ, renouncing and abjuring utterly and voluntarily the Popes too long usurped jurisdiction in this Realm, testifing moreover the same both with their own Hand, and also with their Seal.

Besides these confirmations and Testimonials of the Bishops aforesaid, ye shall hear yet moreover the Decree and publick sentence of the university of *Cambridge*, written likewise and subscribed, and signed with the publick Seal of their University, the tenour of which their Letter here followeth.

A Letter of the *University of* Cambridge *against the usurped power of the Bishop of* Rome.

A Letter of the University of Cambridge.

Universis Sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentes literæ perventuræ sunt, cætus omnis regentium & non regentium Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, salutem in omnium salvatore Jesu Christo. Cum de Romani Pontificis potestate, &c.

In English.

TO all and singular Children of the Holy Mother Church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of Regents and not Regents of the University of *Cambridge*, sendeth greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas

{KING} {Hen. 8.}

Whereas now of late it hath risen up in question among us, concerning the power of the Bishop of *Rome*, which he doth both claim to himself by the holy Scripture over all Provinces and Nations in *Christendom*, and hath now of long time exercised in this Realm of *England*: and forasmuch as our censure concerning the cause is required, to wit, Whether the Bishop of *Rome* hath any power or authority in this Kingdom of *England* allotted to him by God in the Scripture, more than any other foreign Bishop, or no: We thought it therefore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the verity of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole endeavour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and censure is touching the premises. For therefore we suppose, that Universities were first provided and instituted of Princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might in the Law of God be instructed, and also that false errors, if any did rise, might through the vigilant care and industry of learned Divines be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For the which cause we in our assemblies and Convocations (after our accustomed manner) resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with our selves how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length chusing out certain of the best learned Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity, and other Masters, have committed to them in charge, studiously to inearch and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certifie us what is to be said to the question propounded.

The censure of the University of Cambridge against the Popes supremacy.

Forasmuch therefore, as we having heard, and well advised, and throughly discussed in open disputations, what may be said on both parts of the foresaid question, those reasons and arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and sounding much more near to the pure and native sense of Scriptures, which do deny the Bishop of *Rome* to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason and force of which arguments we being persuaded, and conjoyning together in one opinion, have with our selves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesaid, and in these writings thus resolutely do answer in the name of the whole University, and for a conclusion undoubted do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the Bishop of *Rome* hath no more State, authority, and jurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures, over this Realm of *England*, than any other extern Bishop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common Seal to be put to these our foresaid Letters accordingly.

The Bishop of Rome hath no more State in England than hath any other Bishop.

At Cambridge *in our regent house*: Anno *Dom.* 1534.

Steph. Wint. *De vera obedientia.*

Steph. Wints. De vera Obedientia.

YOu have heard before of *Stephen Gardener*, of *Lee*, of *Tonstal*, and of *Stokesley*, how of their voluntary mind they made their profession unto the King, every one severally, taking and accepting a corporal Oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the usurped superiority of the Bishop of *Rome*. Now for a further testimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall hear over and beside their Oaths, what the foresaid Bishops in their own Books, Prologues, and Sermons do write, and publish abroad in Print, touching the said cause of the Popes Supremacy.

Steph. Wints. against the marriage of the King with his Brothers Wife in his Book De vera obedientia.

And first, God willing, to begin with *Stephen Gardiners* Book *De vera obedientia*, we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein with great Scriptures and good deliberation he not only confuteth the Popes usurped authority, but also proveth the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katherine* his Brothers Wife not to be good nor lawful, in these words.

Of the which moral precepts in the old Law, to speak of some (for to rehearse all it needs not) the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous Marriages, as far as they concern chast and pure wedlock, wherein original of mans increase consisteth, are always to be reputed of such sort, that although they were first given to the *Jews*, yet because they appertain to the Law of Nature, and expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless, both the voice of nature and Gods Commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and divers from the one and from the other. And amongst these, this there is commandment that a man shall not marry his Brothers Wife, what could the Kings excellent Majesty do otherwise, than he did by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his Church, that is, to be divorced from unlawful Marrige, and use lawful and permitted copulation and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, cast off her, whom neither Law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chast and lawful Marriage? Wherein although the sentence of Gods word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed; yet his Majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous Universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both that he might do, and ought to do uprightly, seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto; shewing therein such obedience as Gods Word requireth of every good and godly man; so as it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly. Of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak.

Steph. Wints against the marriage with his Brothers Wife.

Winchesters *Reasons against the Popes Supremacy.*

Steph. Wints. De vera Obedientia.

MOreover, the said *Gardener* in the forenamed Book *De vera Obedientia*, what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on the Kings side against the usurped state of the Bishop of *Romes* authority, by the words of his Book it may appear: whereof a brief Collection here followeth.

The Sword of the Church how it is to be tendeth.

IN the proces of his foresaid Book, he alledging the old diffinction of the Papists, wherein they give to the Prince the regiment of things temporal and to the Church of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater Light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same diffinction, declaring the sword of the Church to extend no farther, than to teaching and Excommunication, and referreth all preheminence to the sword of the Prince: alledging for this the second Psalm; *And now you Kings be wise, and be learned ye that judge the Earth*, &c. Psal. 2.

Also the example of *Solomon*, who being a King, *according to his Fathers appointment ordained the Offices of the Priests in their ministeries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and minister before the Priests, after the order of every day, and Porters in their divisions gate by gate.* 2 Par. 8.

And speaking more of the said *Solomon*, he saith: *For so commanded the man of God, neither did the Priests nor* Levites *omit any thing of all that he had commanded*, &c. Exod. 32.

Beside this, he alledgeth also the Example of King *Ezechias*, 2. *Paralip.* 28. He alledgeth moreover the example and fact of *Justinian*, which made laws touching the Faith, Bishops, Clerks, Hereticks and such other. 1 Reg. 22.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed *Moses*. *Solomon* gave sentence upon *Abiathar* the High Priest.

Alexander the King, in the first of *Machabees* writeth thus to *Jonathan*: *Now we have made thee this day the High-priest of thy people*, &c. So did *Demetrius* to *Simon*. 1 Machi. 10. 1 Machi. 14.

Then coming to the words of Christ spoken to *Peter*, Mat. 16. *Matthew 16.* upon which words the Pope pretendeth to build all his authority: To this he answereth, That if Christ by those words had limited to *Peter* any such special state or preheminency above all Princes, then were it not true that is written; *Capit Jesus docere & facere:* forasmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his own facts and example, who in all his life never usurped either to himself any such domination above Princes, shewing himself rather subject unto Princes: nor yet did ever permit in his Apostles any such example of ambition to be seen; but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of majority amongst them.

The Kings stile and title approved by *Scrpt. Wint.*

And where he reasoneth of the Kings stile and title, being called King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and supream head in Earth of the Church of *England* immediately under Christ, &c. Thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this Title, why any man should be offended, that the King is called head of the Church of *England*, rather than of the Realm of *England*; and adeth his reason thereunto saying, If the Prince and King of *England* be the head of his Kingdom, that is, of all *English* men that be his Subjects, is there any cause why the same *English* Subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect because they are Christians, that is to say, for the title of godliness, as though that God, which is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of Rebellion?

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation saying; To say (saith he) that a King is the head of the Kingdom, and not of the Church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this?

The King is as well the head of the Church, as of his Kingdom.

And further, adding for example the subjection of the Servant and Wife: If the Servant (saith he) be subject to his Master, or Wife to her Husband, being Infidels, doth their conversion afterward, or name of Christians, make them less Subjects than they were before? As Religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the Master over the Servant, nor of the Husband over the Wife: no more (saith he) doth it between the Prince and Subject.

Paul making no exception nor distinction of subjection, save only of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their Princes: And what Princes? Those Princes which bear the Sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our Bishops and spiritual Pastors of the Church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chief and head authority that ought to be given to the Prince, no more than the obedience of the Servant to his Master, or of the Wife to her Husband exempteth them from subjection due to their superior powers.

A rule of the Law.

And herewithal he inferreth a principle of the Law: Divers jurisdictions (saith he) proceeding from one person do not mar nor hinder themselves, but rather do confirm and fortifie one another.

Again, whereas the Bishop of *Rome* under the name of *Peter* doth appropriate to himself the highest place in the Church, for that he is the Successor of *Peter*: thereunto he answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough, and to the full: I would (saith he) she were; for so in very deed he might well exceed and pass all Kings and Princes, if not in preheminency of Dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of Vertue. In which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his Apostles and Ministers to go before all Kings and Emperors in the whole world.

Winchesters reply that the Pope were *Peters* Successors.

Argument. The Prerogative was not given to him which confessed the Faith and blood in *Peter* did not confess Christ *Ergo*, the Prerogative was not given to the Faith and blood of *Peter*.

After this, in prosecuting the argument of *Peters* confession, he argueth thus and saith; That as flesh and blood did not reveal to *Peter* that confession, so neither was that Prerogative given to the flesh and blood of *Peter*, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of *Peter*, which is to mean, in respect of the spiritual confession of *Peter*, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

Item, If the Scholer ought not to be above the Master, how then could either *Peter* take that upon him, which Christ his Master so constantly did refuse; or how can the Bishop of *Rome* now claim that by Succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his Predecessor before him? for so we read in *Eusebius*, both of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, that they did arrogate no such primacy unto them, but were content that *James*, surnamed *Justus*, should be the Bishop of the Apostles.

And as for the name and signification of the word *Primatus*, i. Primacy, if it be taken for the first nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth that *Peter* had the preferment of the first name and place in the order of the Apostles. But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had also a Kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an impery upon his brethren; for so were they not his brethren, but his Subjects.

Primus Primatus. First Primacy meaneth as much as the first standing in vocation, and is the name of vertue, and not of power.

That *Peter* was *Primus*, that is, first or chief in the number of them which confessed Christ, it is not to be denyed. For first he confessed, first he taught the *Jews*, first he stood in defence of the verity, and was the first and chief prolocutor among them: but yet that maketh not, that he should therefore vindicate a general primacy and rule over all other states, and potestates of the World, no more than *Apelles*, because he is noted the first and chief of all Painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all Painters; or because the University of *Paris* is nominate for the first and chief of other Universities, shall therefore the French King, and all other Princes in their publick administration, wherein they are set of God, become subjects and underlings to that University?

Thus after many other reasons and perswasions contained in said Book *De Obedientia* (for I do but superficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments) Finally in the end of his probation, he concludeth the whole summ of his mind, in this effect; first, he denying that the Bishop of *Rome* had ever any such extern jurisdiction affigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over Kings and Princes. For the probation whereof he hath alledged sufficiently, as he saith, the examples and doings of Christ himself, which ought to be to us all a sufficient document.

And as concerning the term of Primacy, albeit it be used sometime of the Fathers, yet the matter being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the Bishop of *Rome*, which now he doth usurpe.

Also as for the Prerogatives granted unto *Peter*, by the which Prerogatives our Saviour would Crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and blood of *Peter*, but the marvellous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothing for the Popes purpose.

Succession of *Peter*.

Likewise as concerning the local succession of *Peter*, the Pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be Successor of *Peter*, he must succeed him in Faith, Doctrine, and conditions; and in so doing, he neither will, neither yet shall need to seek for honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be, and that much more than he being a good man would require.

Stephen. When taketh his Feast of the Pope, but not his ambition Feste.

And thus *Stephen Winchester* taking his leave and bidding the Pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. The light of the Gospel, saith he, so spreadeth his beams in all mens eyes, that the works of the Gospel be known, the mysteries of Christs Doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women being Englishmen born, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with *Rome*, nor with the Bishop of *Rome*, but that every Prince in his own dominion is to be taken and accepted as a Vicar of God, and Vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds. And therefore seeing this order is taken of God, and one in the Church should bear the Office of teaching, another should bear the Office of ruling (which Office is only limited to Princes) he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the fame, wherein consisteth our true and special obedience, &c.

The Office of teaching. The Office of ruling.

To this Book of *Stephen Winchester De Obedientia* we will adjoyn for good fellowship the Preface also of *Edmund Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leicester*, prefixed before the fame, to the intent that the Reader seeing the judgments of these men as they were then, and again the sudden mutation afterward of the said parties of the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain glory and pompe of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where Gods grace lacketh to sustain. The Preface of *Bonner*,

{KING Hen. 8.} *Bonner*, before the said Book of *Winchester*, *De obedientia*, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

The Preface of *Edmund Bonner*, Arch-deacon of *Leicester*, prefixed before *Stephen Gardiners* Book, *De vera obedientia.*

Bonner's Preface before Winchesters Book of Obedience.

FOrasmuch as some there be no doubt (as the judgments of Men be always variable) which think the controversie which is between the Kings Royal Majesty, and the Bishop of Rome, consisteth in this point, for that his Majesty hath taken the most excellent and most vertuous Lady Ann to Wife, which in very deed is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent therefore that all true hearty favourers of the Gospel of Christ, which hate not, but love the Truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversie, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned Bishops, with all the Nobles and Commons of England, not only in that cause of Matrimony, but also in defending the Doctrine of the Gospel: here shall be published the Oration of the Bishop of Winchester (a Man excellently learned in all kind of Learning) entituled De vera obedientia; that is, concerning true obedience. But as touching this Bishops worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal. And as for the Oration it self (which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth it self enough, and seeing good Wine needeth no Tavern-Bush to utter it? But yet in this Oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle Reader, thou shalt beside other matters see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance, and how invincible the power and excellency of Gods Truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the Enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkned after such sort, but it sheweth it self again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching Obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of Mens traditions, which for the most part be most repugnant against the truth of Gods Law. And there by the way, he speaketh of the Kings said Highness Marriage, which by the ripe Judgment, Authority, and Priviledge of the most and principal Universities of the World, and then with the consent of the whole Church of England, be contracted with the most Excellent, and most Noble Lady Queen Ann. After that, touching the Kings Majesties Title, as pertaining to the Supreme head of the Church of England. Last of all, of the false pretensed Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in the Realm of England most justly abrogated: and how all other Bishops being fellow-like to him in their function, yea and in some point above him with in their own Provinces, were before-time bound to the King by their Oath.

Queen Ann.

The Doctrine of the Gospel.

See how Rom clawbacks can cling together in truth and in falshood, and all to fashion themselves to the World, and the time present.

Mens Traditions. The Contents of Winchesters Book. De vera obedientia.

The Kings Marriage with Queen Ann.

Supreme head. The Bishop of Romes pretensed Supremacy.

Bonner knows well what morsel would best please his Father of Rome, and that Money and Bribes would soon stop his mouth. Seeing then knoweth the Pope to be such a cruel Tyrant, why then wouldst thou against thy knowledge, become his slaughter Man?

But be thou most surely perswaded of this, good Reader, That the Bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this Marriage, would easily content himself, specially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon. But when he seeth so mighty a King, being a right vertuous and a great learned Prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the Gospel of Christ, and perceiving the yearly and great prey (yea so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the Kings Revenues) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his Tyranny in the Kings Majesties Realm (alas heretofore too cruel and bitter) nor make Laws, at he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the Majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the Catholick Church, and the Authority of Peter and Paul (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening Wolf, dressed in Sheeps clothing, calling himself the Servant of Servants) to the great damage of the Christian Common-wealth: here, here began all the mischief, thereof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling; For if it were not thus, could any Man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus, (which sadly hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controlment) would have wrought so diligently by all means possible, to stir up all other Kings and Princes so traiterously against this so good and godly and so true Gospel-like Prince, as he hath done? Neither let it move thee (gentle Reader) that Winchester did not before now apply to this Opinion: for he himself in this Oration sheweth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a Man to suspend his judgment, and not to be too rash in giving of Sentence. It is an old said saw; Mary Magdalen professed us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt. A Man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his advised taking of leisure refused the matter. Albeit I speak not this as if Winchester had not bolted out this matter secretly with his self before hand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago) but that running fare and softly he would first with his painful study pluck the matter out of the dark, although of it self it was clear enough, but by reason of sundry Opinions it was lapped up in darkness, and then did he debate it wittily to and fro; and so at last after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely with his learned and consummate judgment confirm it.

He saith confirm thy brethren, but not thy Subjects.

Winchester verieth deceit the Pope with advised judgments.

Thou shouldest, gentle Reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly and at all adventures, but with judgment (as thou seest) and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, seeing that not only this Man, but many Men oftentimes, yea and right great learned Men afore now, have done the same even in writing, whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, fallhood, frauds and deceitful wyles openly known to the World. Therefore if thou at any time hereafter have doubted either of true obedience, or of the Kings Majesties Marriage, or Title, or elfe of the Bishop of *Romes* false pretended Supremacy, as if thou hadst a good smelling Nose, and a found Judgment, I think thou didst not: yet having read this Oration, (which, if thou favour the Truth, and hate the Tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his fatanical fraudulent fallhood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee) forsake thine Error, and acknowledge the Truth now freely offered thee at length, confidering with thy self, that it is better late so to do, than never to repent. Fare thou heartily well, most gentle Reader, and not only love this most valiant King of *England* and of *France*, who undoubtedly was by the Providence of God born to defend the Gospel, but also honour him and serve him most obediently. As for this *Winchester*, who was long ago without doubt reputed among the greatest learned Men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation.

No deed vertue against the Bishop of Rome.

The end of Bishop Bonner's *Prologues.*

What Man reading and advising this Book of *Winchester*, *De vera Obedientia*, with *Bonners* Preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in Mans heart, to make these Men thus to turn the Cat (as they say) in the Pan, and to start so suddainly from the Truth so manifestly known, so pitifully proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and sware unto: what perjury most execrable was it before God and Man? If they meant good Faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this so suddainly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before, or that to be now true, which before was false? Thus to say and unsay, and then to say again, to do and undo, and as a Man would say to play fast or loose with truth, truly a Man may say is

Note. The historical mutability of Winchester and Bonner.

not the doing of a Man which is in any cafe to be trufted, whatfoever he doth or faith. But here a Man may fee what Man is of himfelf, when Gods good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

The Sermon of *Tonftal* before the King, made on Palm-Sunday.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment alfo and argument of *Tonftal* Bifhop of *Dureme*, let us fee how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his Sermon made before King *Henry* upon *Palm-Sunday*, remaining yet in Print: in the which Sermon difputing againft the wrongful Supremacy of the Bifhop of *Rome*, he proves by manifeft grounds moft effectuoufly, both out of the Scripture, ancient Doctors, and of Counfels, not only that the Bifhop of *Rome* hath no fuch Authority by the Word of God committed to him, as he doth challenge; but alfo in requiring and challenging the fame he reproveth and condemneth him with great zeal and ardent fpirit, to be a proud Lucifer, difobedient to the ordinary powers of God fet over him, contrary to Chrift and *Peter*: and finally, in raifing up War againft us for the fame, he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a moft deteftable fower of difcord, and a murderer of Chriftian Men.

That Popes and Bifhops ought to be fubject to their Sovereigns.

Firft by the Scripture he reafoneth thus, and proveth, That all good Men ought to obey the Poteftates and Governors of the World, as Emperors, Kings, and Princes of all forts, what name foever the faid fupreme powers do bear or ufe for their Countries in which they be; for fo St.*Pet.* doth plainly teach us, 1 *Pet.* 2. faying, *Be ye fubject to every human creature for Gods cauſe, whether it be King, as chief head, or Dukes or Governors*, &c. So that St. *Peter* in his Epiſtle commandeth all worldly Princes in their office to be obeyed as the Miniſters of God, by all Chriſtian Men: and according unto the ſame, St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. faith, *Let every living man be ſubject to the high powers; for the high powers be of God, and whoſoever reſiſteth the high powers, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, and purchaſeth thereby to himſelf damnation.*

1 Pet. 2.

Whoſoever reſiſteth the High Powers reſiſteth God.

And in the ſame place of *Tonftal* it followeth. And leſt Men ſhould forget their duty of obedience to their Princes, it is thrice repeated, *That they be the Miniſters of God*, whoſe place in their governance they repreſent: for that unto them all Men muſt obey, Apoſtles, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, and all of the Clergy, &c. And therefore, faith he, the Biſhop of *Rome*, owech to his Sovereign and Superior like ſubjection by the Word of God, taught unto us by *Peter* and *Paul*, as other Biſhops do to their Princes, under whom they be, &c.

Alſo, an other expreſs Commandment we have of Chriſt, *Luke* 22. who upon the occaſion of his Diſciples ſtriving for ſuperiority, diſcuſſeth the matter, ſaying on this wiſe, *The Kings of the people and Nations have dominion over them, and thoſe that have power over them be called gracious Lords, but ſo it ſhall not be among ſt you: but whoſoever amongſt you is the greater, ſhall be as the younger; and whoſoever amongſt you ſhall be chief, ſhall be as a ſervant and a Miniſter*, &c.

Luke 22.

And again, Chriſt ſpeaking to Pilate of his Kingdom, declareth that his Kingdom is not of this World, and therefore ſaith *Tonftal*, thoſe that go about to make of Chriſts Spiritual Kingdom a Wordly Kingdom, do fall into the Error of ſome Hereticks that look that Chriſt, after the Day of Judgment, ſhall reign with all his Saints here in the Earth carnally in *Jeruſalem*; the *Jews* do believe that *Meſſias* is yet to come, and when he ſhall come, he ſhall Reign worldly in *Jeruſalem*.

John 18.

By theſe and ſuch other places it may well appear, That Chriſt neither before his Incarnation, (as *Tonftal* ſaith) nor after his Incarnation, did ever alter the Authority of Worldly Kings and Princes, but by his own Word commanded them ſtill to be obeyed of their ſubjects, as they had been in the ancient time before, &c. and for example of the ſame he alledgeth firſt the example of Chriſt himſelf, *Matth.* 22. who being asked of the *Jews*, Whether they ſhould give tribute to *Cæſar* or no, he bade them give to *Cæſar* thoſe things that be his, and to God thoſe things that be his; ſignifying, that Tribute was due to *Cæſar*, and that their Souls were due to God, &c.

Matt. 22. Examples of Chriſts humble ſubjection.

Alſo in the ſeventeenth of *Matthew* it appeareth that *Chriſt bade Peter pay tribute for him and his Diſciples, when it was demanded of him.* And why? Becauſe he would not change the order of obeyſance to Worldly Princes due by their Subjects, &c.

KING 1 Hen. 8. Mat. 17.

Another example of Chriſt he citeth out of the 6th of *John*, *where after Chriſt had fed five thouſand and more, with a few Loaves, and fewer Fiſhes, and that the Jews would have taken him and made him their King, he fled from them, and would not conſent unto them:* For the Kingdom, ſaith he, that he came to ſet here in Earth, was not a Worldly and Temporal Kingdom, but an Heavenly and Spiritual Kingdom; that is, to reign Spiritually by Grace and Faith in the hearts of all Chriſtian and Faithful people, of what degree, or of what nature ſoever they be, and to turn all People and Nations, which at his coming were carnal and lived after the luſts of the Fleſh, to be Spiritual, and to live after the luſts of the Spirit, that Chriſt with his Father of Heaven might reign in the hearts of all Men, &c.

John 6.

And here in theſe examples of Chriſts humility farther is to be noted, how Chriſt the Son of God did ſubmit himſelf not only to the rulers and powers of this World, but alſo dejected himſelf, and in a manner became ſervant to his own Apoſtles: ſo far off was he from all ambitious and pompous ſeeking of Worldly honour: for ſo it appeared in him, not only by waſhing the Feet of his Apoſtles, but alſo the ſame time a little before his Paſſion, when the Apoſtles fell at contention among themſelves, who among them ſhould be ſuperior, he letting before them the example of his own ſubjection asketh this queſtion: *Who is ſuperior; he that ſitteth at the Table, or he that ſerveth at the Table? Is not he Superior that ſitteth? but I am amongſt you, as he that miniſtreth, and ſerveth*, &c.

Luke 22.

The like examples *Tonftal* alſo inferreth of *Peter*'s Humility. For where we read in the *Acts*, how the Centurion, a Noble Man of great Age, *did proſtrate himſelf upon the ground at the feet of Peter*; then *Peter, not ſuffering that, eſt-ſoons took him up and bade him riſe, ſaying, I am alſo a man as thou art.*

Examples of Peter's ſubjection. Acts 10.

So likewiſe did the Angel, *Apocalypſe* 19. and the 22d. Apoc. to whom when *John* would have fallen down to have adored him which ſhewed him thoſe Viſions, the Angel ſaid unto him: *See thou do not ſo; for I am the ſervant of God, as thou art*, &c.

Apoc. 19. 22.

Again, in the foreſaid *Peter*, what an example of reverent Humility is to be ſeen in this, that notwithſtanding he with other Apoſtles having his Commiſſion to go over all the World, yet nevertheleſs he being at *Joppa*, and ſent for by *Cornelius*, durſt not go unto him, without the Viſion of a Sheet let down from Heaven, by the which Viſion he was admoniſhed not to refuſe the *Gentiles*: or elſe he knew in himſelf no ſuch Primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor no ſuch Commiſſion ſo large above the other, &c.

Furthermore, the ſaid *Peter*, being rebuked of *Paul* his fellow Brother, took no ſcorn thereof, but was content, ſubmitting himſelf to due correction.

But here faith *Tonftal*, ſteppeth in the Biſhop of *Rome* and ſaith, That *Peter* had Authority given him above all the reſidue of the Apoſtles, and alledgeth the words of Chriſt ſpoken to him, *Matth.* the 16th. *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and will give to thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven.* This ſaid Chriſt, ſaith the Pope, and St. *Peter* is buried at *Rome*, whoſe ſucceſſor I am, and ought to rule the Church, as *Peter* did, and to be Porter of Heavengates, as *Peter* was, &c.

The Popes objection. Mat. 16.

And Chriſt ſaid alſo to *Peter* after his Reſurrection, *Feed my ſheep*; which he ſpake to him only, ſo that thereby he had Authority over all that be of Chriſts flock; and I, as his ſucceſſor have the ſame. And therefore whoſo will not obey me, King or Prince, I will curſe him, and deprive him of his Kingdom of Seigniory: for all power is given to me that Chriſt hath, and I am his Vicar-General as *Peter* was here in Earth over all, and none but I, as Chriſt is in Heaven.

John 21. The ambitious pride of the Pope.

This

KING 1 Hen. 8.

This ambitious and pompous objection, ſaith *Tonſtal*, of the Pope and his adherents, hath of late years much troubled the World, and made diſſenſion, debate, and open War in all parts of Chriſtendom, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture. Who if he would take thoſe places after the right ſenſe of them, as both the Apoſtles themſelves taught us, and all the ancient beſt learned Interpreters do expound them, the matter were ſoon at a point. But otherwiſe, ſith they pervert the Scripture, and preach another Goſpel in that point to us, than ever the Apoſtles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: *That though an Angel came from Heaven, and would tell us ſuch new expoſitions of thoſe places, as are now made, to turn the words, which were ſpoken for Spiritual authority of preaching the Word of God and miniſtring of the Sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him*: as St. *Paul* willeth us, *Galat.* 1.

The Scriptures falſly perverted by the Pope.

Gal. 1.

To open therefore the true ſenſe of the Scripture in the places aforeſaid, and firſt to begin with the ſixteenth Chapter of *Matthew*: here is to be obſerved, that the queſtion being put in general of Chriſt to all his Apoſtles, what they thought or judged of him; *Peter* anſwering for them all (as he was always ready to anſwer) ſaid, *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* To whom Jeſus anſwered again, *Bleſſed be thou Simon the ſon of Jonah, for fleſh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven: And I ſay unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church; and the gate of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it.* That is to ſay, Upon this Rock of thy confeſſion of me to be the Son of God I will build my Church; for this Faith containeth the whole Summary of our Faith and Salvation, as it is written, *Rom.* 10. *The Word of Faith that we do preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thine heart. For if thou confeſs with thy mouth our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and with thy heart do believe that God raiſed him from death to life, thou ſhalt be ſaved*, &c. And this confeſſion being firſt uttered by the mouth of *Peter*, upon the ſame confeſſion of his, and not upon the Perſon of *Peter*, Chriſt buildeth his Church, as *Chryſoſtom* expoundeth that place in the 26th Sermon of the Feaſt of *Penteco*ſt, ſaying, Not upon the Perſon of *Peter*, but upon the Faith Chriſt hath builded his Church. And what is the Faith? This: *Thou art Chriſt the Son of the living God.* What is to ſay, *Upon this Rock?* That is, Upon this confeſſion of *Peter*, &c. And with this ſaying of *Chryſoſtom* all ancient Expoſitors (ſaith *Tonſtal*) treating of that place, do agree: for if we ſhould expound that place, that the Church is builded upon the Perſon of *Peter*, we ſhould put another Foundation of the Church, than Chriſt; which is directly againſt St. *Paul*, ſaying, *No man may put any other foundation but that which is put already, which is Chriſt Jeſus*, &c.

The place of Matth. 16. expounded.

Rom. 10. Faith the mother of Salvation.

Peter the firſt confeſſor of Chriſt. The Church builded upon the confeſſion of Peter, not upon the Perſon of Peter.

1 Cor. 3.

And becauſe *Peter* was the firſt of all the Apoſtles that confeſſed this, That Chriſt is the Son of God, by the which Faith all Men muſt be ſaved; thereof cometh the Primacy; that is, the firſt place or ſtanding of *Peter* in the number of all the Apoſtles.

What is the Primacy of Peter, and how it cometh.

And as *Peter* was the firſt of them that confeſſed Chriſt to be the Son of God, ſo was he moſt ardent in his Faith, moſt bold and hardy in Chriſt, as appeared by his coming out of the Ship in the great Tempeſt; and alſo moſt vehement in his Maſters cauſe, as appeared by drawing out his Sword; and after the Lords Reſurrection is declared out of the Second, Third, and Fourth Chapters of the *Acts*; where the *Jews* withſtanding the Apoſtles preaching the Faith of Chriſt, *Peter* as moſt ardent in Faith, was ever moſt ready to defend the Faith againſt the impugners thereof, ſpeaking for them all unto the people, &c. and therefore hath theſe Honourable names given him by the ancient Interpreters, that ſometimes he is called, The mouth of the Apoſtles; The chief of the Apoſtles; ſometime the Prince of the Apoſtles, ſometime the Preſident of the whole Church, and ſometime hath the name of Primacy or Priority attributed unto him. And yet that the ſaid *Peter*, notwithſtanding theſe honourable names given to him, ſhould not have a rule or a judicial power above all the other Apoſtles, is plain by St. *Paul* and many other.

The honorable names of Peter in the old Doctors, how and wherefore they be given.

First, St. *Paul*, *Gal.* 2. plainly declareth the ſame, ſaying, That as the *Apoſtleſhip of the Circumciſion, that is, of the Jews, was given by Chriſt to Peter; ſo was the Apoſtleſhip of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles.* Hereby it appeareth that *Paul* knew no Primacy of *Peter* concerning people and places, but among the *Jews*. And thereof St. *Ambroſe*, expounding that place ſaith thus: The Primacy of the *Jews* was given chiefly to *Peter*, albeit *James* and *John* were joyned with him; as the Primacy of the *Gentiles* was given to *Paul*, albeit *Barnabas* was joyned with him: ſo that *Peter* had no rule over all.

Gal. 2. The Authority of the Apoſtles all alike. Ambroſius.

Alſo in the *Acts* 10. when *Peter* was ſent for to *Cornelius* a *Gentile*, he durſt not go to him without a ſpecial Viſion given him from Heaven by the Lord.

Acts 10

Item, That all the Apoſtles had like Dignity and Authority, it appeareth by St. *Paul. Epheſ.* 2. where he ſaith; *Now ye are not ſtrangers nor Foreigners, but ye be Citizens with the Saints, and of the houſhold of Almighty God, builded* (ſaith he) *upon the foundations of the Apoſtles and the Prophets, Chriſt being the corner-ſtone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an Holy Temple in our Lord*, &c. Here he ſaith that they be builded not upon the Foundation of *Peter* only, but upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles, ſo that all they be in the Foundation ſet upon Chriſt the very Rock, whereupon ſtandeth the whole Church.

Epheſ. 2. The Church founded not of Peter only, but of the Apoſtles.

In the 21ſt Chapter alſo of the *Apocalypſe*, the new City, and the Heavenly *Jeruſalem* of Almighty God is deſcribed of the Holy Ghoſt, not with one Foundation only of *Peter*, *but with twelve foundations*, after the number of the Apoſtles.

Apoc. 21

S. *Cyprian. lib. de ſimplic. Prælat.* giveth Record likewiſe to the ſame, that the Apoſtles had equal Power and Dignity given to them by Chriſt; and becauſe all ſhould preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof firſt came by one, which was *Peter*, who confeſſed for them all, *That Chriſt was the Son of the living God.* Saying further, That in the Church there is one office of all the Biſhops, whereof every Man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the Biſhop of *Rome* may meddle over all, where he will, then every Man hath not wholly his part, for the Biſhop of *Rome* may alſo meddle in his part joyntly with him; ſo that now he hath it not wholly; which is againſt *Cyprian*.

Cyprian. lib. de ſimplic. Prælat. Every Biſhop hath his part wholly to himſelf.

S. *Auſten* likewiſe expounding the Goſpel of *John*, in the fiftieth Treaty, ſpeaketh there of the Keys of *Peter*, which he faith were given of Chriſt to *Peter*, not for himſelf alone, but for the whole Church.

Aug. in Johan. Tract. 50.

Cyrillus expounding the laſt Chapter of *John*, and there ſaying of the Words of Chriſt ſpoken unto *Peter*, *Feed my ſheep*, &c. thus underſtandeth the ſame: That becauſe *Peter* had Thrice denied Chriſt, whereby he thought himſelf he had loſt his Apoſtleſhip, Chriſt to comfort him again, and to reſtore him to his Office that he had loſt, asked him thrice whether he loved him, and ſo reſtored him again to his Office, which elſe he durſt not have preſumed unto; ſaying unto him, *Feed my ſheep*, &c. With which expoſition the ancient Holy Expoſitors of that place do likewiſe agree. So that by theſe words of feeding Chriſts Sheep, the Biſhop of *Rome* can take no advantage to maintain his Univerſal Paſtorality over all Chriſtian Dominions.

Cyrillus lib. 12. thes. cap. Johan. Popes univerſal Paſtorality.

Again, whereas the Biſhop of *Rome* ſaith, that *Peter* by theſe words of Chriſt ſpoken to him hath a preheminency above the other, S. *Paul*, *Acts* 20. proveth the contrary, where he, ſpeaking to the Biſhops aſſembled at *Miletе*, ſaith to them, *Take heed to your ſelves, and to all your Flock, in which the Holy Ghoſt hath put you to overſee, govern*, &c.

Acts 20. *Scripture is not reconcilably alledged for the Popes Supremacy.*

And *Peter* himſelf likewiſe, 1 *Peter* chapter 5. ſaith, *Ye that be Prieſts feed the flock of God among you*, &c.

So that by theſe Scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither the ſixteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, nor the one and twentieth of *John*, do prove that *Peter* had power, authority, or dignity given him of Chriſt over all the other, that they ſhould be under him: And yet notwithſtanding his Primacy, in that he firſt of all the Apoſtles confeſſed Chriſt to be the Son of the living God (with the which confeſſion all the other Apoſtles did conſent,

And

and also preached the same) standeth still. Which conclusion must follow also, and be taught to confess the same. And must follow also, and be taught to confess the same. And thus the Bishops of *Romes* power over all, which he would prove by those places wrongfully alledged for his purpose, utterly quaileth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and Doctors.

Now further proceeding in this matter, the said *Tonstal* cometh to Counsels, and Examples of the Primitive Church, as followeth:

Examples of the Primitive Church against the Popes Supremacy.

Faustinus, Legate to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the sixth Council of *Carthage*, alledged that the Bishop of *Rome* ought to have the ordering of all great matters in all places by his Supreme Authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it) but alledged for him, and that untruly, the like first Council of *Nice* to make for his purpose. After this, when the Book was brought forth, and no such Article found in it, but the contrary, yet the Council at that time sent to *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, where the Patriarchal Sees were, to have the true Copy of the Council of *Nice*, which was sent unto them. And another Copy also was sent from *Rome*, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

The Supremacy of *Rome* reproved by the Council of Nice.

After that the Copy was brought to them, and no such Article found in it, but in the fifth Chapter thereof the contrary, that all causes Ecclesiastical should either be determined within the Diocess, or else, if any were grieved, then to appeal to the Councel provincial, and there the matter to take full end, so that for no such causes Men should go out of their Provinces; the whole Council of *Carthag* wrote to *Celestine*, at that time being Bishop of *Rome*, That since the *Council of Nice* had no such Article in it, as was untruly alledged by *Faustinus*, but the contrary, they desired him to abstain hereafter to make any more such demand, denouncing unto him that they would not suffer any cause great or small, to be brought by Appeal out of their Country; and thereupon made a Law, That no Man should Appeal out of the Country of *Africk*, upon pain to be denounced accursed. Whereto with the Bishop of *Rome* ever after held him content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for himself to the contrary. And at this Council St. *Augustine* was present, and subscribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

The Council of Nice fulfilled by *Faustinus* the Popes Legate.

The fifth Article of *Nices* Council. The four chief Patriarchs equal in power.

It was determined also in the fixth Article of the said Council of *Nice*, That in the *Orient* the Bishop of *Antioch* should be chief; in *Egypt* the Bishop of *Alexandria*; about *Rome* the Bishop of *Rome*; and likewise in other Countries the Metropolitanes should have their preheminence: so that the Bishop of *Rome* never had meddling in those Countries.

And in the next Article following, the Bishop of *Jerusalem* (which City before had been destroyed, and almost desolate) was restored to his old Prerogative, to be the chief in *Palestine* and in the Country of *Jury*.

Pope *Agatho* subjected to the Emperor.

By this ye see how the Patriarch of *Rome*, during all this time of the Primitive Church, had no such Primacy preheminent above other Patriarchs, much less over Kings and Emperors, as may appear by *Agatho* Bishop of *Rome* long after that, in whose time was the sixth Council General. Which *Agatho* after his Election sent to the Emperor, then being at *Constantinople*, to have his Election allowed, before he would be Consecrate, after the old custom at the time used.

Pope *Vitalianus* subjected to the Emperor. 63. *Dist. Agatho.* 63. *Dist. cum longe.*

In like sort, another Bishop of *Rome* called *Vitalianus* did the same, as it is written in the Decrees, *Distinct.* 63. *Cap. Agatho.*

The like did St. *Ambrose* and St. *Gregory* before them, as it is written in the Chapter *cum longe*, in the same Distinction. During all which time the Bishops of *Rome* followed well the Doctrine of Saint *Peter* and St. *Paul*, left unto them, to be subjects, and to obey their Princes.

Bishop *Tonstal* a right *Lutheran*.

Thus after that Bishop *Tonstal*, playing the earnest *Lutheran*, both by Scriptures and ancient Doctors, also by examples sufficient of the Primitive Church, hath proved and declared, how the Bishops of *Rome* ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every Creature in this World to obey; now let us likewise see how the said Bishop *Tonstal* describeth unto us his Disobedience intolerable, his Pride incomparable, and his malignant Malice most execrable. {KING Hen.8.}

And first speaking of the Disobedience of *Adam* and *Eve*, then of the Pride of *Nabuchadonosor*, and of *Lucifer*, at length he comparesth the Bishops of *Rome* to them all. Who first for Disobedience refuse to obey Gods Commandment, and contrary to his Word will be above their Governours, in refusing to obey them. The disobedience, the pride, and the malice of the Pope described.

Secondly, Besides this rebellious Disobedience in these Bishops of *Rome*, not sufferable, their Pride moreover so far exceedeth all measure, that they will have their Princes, to whom they owe subjection, prostrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the Earth; and to kiss their Feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched Men, and yet they look that their Princes should do it unto them; and also all other Christian-men, owing them no subjection, should do the same. The pride of the Pope described.

And who be these I pray you, that Men may know them? Surely (saith he) the Bishops of *Rome* be these whom I do mean, who following the Pride of *Lucifer* their Father, make themselves fellows to God, and do exalt their Seat above the Stars of God, and do ascend above the Clouds; and will be like to Almighty God. By Stars of God be meant the Angels of Heaven; for as Stars do shew unto us in part the light of Heaven, so do Angels sent unto Men, shew the Heavenly Light of the grace of God to those to whom they be sent. And the Clouds signified in the *Old Testament* the Prophets; and in the *New* do signifie the Apostles and Preachers of the Word of God. For as the Clouds do conceive and gather in the Sky moisture, which they after pour down upon the Ground to make it thereby more fruitful; so the Prophets in the *Old Testament*, and the Apostles and Preachers in the *New*, do pour into our Ears the moisture of the Heavenly Doctrine of the Word of God, to make therewith by Grace our Souls, being fear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. This do all ancient Expositors, and amongst them St. *Augustine*, interpret to be meant in Scripture, Stars and Clouds, in the Exposition of the Five and fortieth *Psalm*. The Pope exalted above Clouds and the Stars of Heaven.

But St. *John* the Evangelist writeth in the Nineteenth Apoc. Chapter of the *Apocalypse*, and in the Two and twentieth also, that when he would have fallen down at the Angels Foot that did shew him those Visions these written, to have adored him with godly worship, the Angel said unto him: *See thou do not so, for I am the servant of God, as thou art*: give adoration and godly worship to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth, that the Bishops of *Rome* suffering all Men prostrate before them to kiss their Feet (yea the same Princes, to whom they owe subjection) do climb up above the Stars and Angels too, offering their Feet to be kissed, with Shooes and all. For so I saw my self being present Four and thirty years ago, when *Julius*, then Bishop of *Rome* stood on his Feet, and one of his Chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not (as he thought) with his Dignity, that he should do it himself, that his Shooe might appear, whilst a Noble Man of great Age, did prostrate himself upon the Ground, and kissed his Shooe: which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty. Where me think I saw *Cornelius* the *Centurion*, Captain of the *Italian* Band, spoken of in the Tenth Chapter of the *Acts*, submitting himself to *Peter*, and much honouring him: but I saw not *Peter* there to take him up, and to bid him rise, saying, *I am a man as thou art*, as St. *Peter* did say to *Cornelius*: so that the Bishops of *Rome*, admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb above the Heavenly Clouds; that is to say, above the Apostles sent into the World by Christ, to Water the Earthly and Carnal hearts of Men, by their Heavenly Doctrine of the Word of God. 19, 22. The Pope exalted above Angels. The Pope climbeth above the Apostles.

Thus Bishop *Tonstal* having described the passing Pride of the Pope, surmounting like *Lucifer* above Bishops, Apostles, Angels and Stars of Heaven, proceeding then further, to the later end of his Sermon, cometh to speak of his rage and malice most furious and pestilent, in that he being justly put from his Kingdom here to wreak his spiteful malice, stirreth up War against us, and bloweth the Horn of mischief in giving our Land for a spoil and prey to all, whosoever at his setting The Pope stirreth up War against *England*.

{KING Hen.8.} on will come and Invade us. But let us hear his own words preaching to the King and all *English*-men, touching both the Popes Malice, and the Treason of Cardinal *Pool*. The Treason of Cardinal *Pool*.

Now, saith he, because he can no longer in this Realm wrongfully use his Usurped power in all things (as he was wont to do) and suck out of this Realm by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of Mony yearly, to the great exhausting of the same: he therefore, moved and repleat with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all Christian Nations, that will give ears to his Devillish inchantments, to move War against this Realm of *England*, giving it in prey to all those, that by his instigation will invade it.

The Pope gloth *England* made for a prey.

And here Expounding these foresaid words (*To give our prey*) he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willeth every true *English*-man well to mark the same. First to make this Realm, saith he, a prey to all venturers, all spoilers, all snaphaunses, all forlorn hopes, all cormorants, all ravenors of the World, that will invade this Realm, is to say, Thou possessioner of any Lands of this Realm, of what degree foever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy Lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves: and thou maist be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor none of thy progeny to live to make any claim afterward, or to be revenged, for that were their usurety. Thy Wife shall be abused before thy face: thy Daughter likewise defloured before thee: thy Children slain before thine eyes: thy House spoiled: thy Cattel driven away and sold before thy visage: Thy Plate, thy Mony by force taken from thee; all thy Goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy Children, ravened, broken and distributed in thy presence, that every ravenor may have his share. Thou Merchant art sure to be slain, for thou hast either Mony or Ware, or both, which they search for. Thou Bishop or Priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt never escape, because thou wouldst not take the Bishop of *Romes* part, and rebel against God and thy Prince, as he doth. If thou shalt flee and escape for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt see and hear of so much misery and abhomination, that thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before: for sure it is, thou shalt not finally escape: for, to take the whole Realm in prey, is to kill the whole People, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do if they can.

Cardinal Pool traitor to *England*.

And the Bishop of *Rome* now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this Realm, *Reginald Pool*, comen of a Noble blood, and thereby the more errant Traitor, to go about from Prince to Prince, and from Country to Country, to stir them to War against this Realm, and to destroy the same, being his Native Country: whose pestilent purpose, the Princes that he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the Bishop of *Rome*, (who being a Bishop should procure Peace) is a stirrer of War, and because this most errant and unkind Traitor is his minister to so devillish a purpose, to destroy the Country that he was born in, which any Heathen Man would abhor to do.

The Popes name and memory abolished.

And so continuing in his Discourse against Cardinal *Pool* and the Bishop of *Rome* for stirring the People to War and Mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, That for these many years past, little War hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the Bishop of *Rome* either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. *Paul* saith, *That God* 1 Cor. 14 *is not the God of dissension, but of peace*, who commandeth by his Word, Peace alway to be kept; we are sure that all those that go about to break Peace between Realms, and to bring them to War, are the Children of the Devil, what holy names soever they pretend to cloak their pestilent malice withal; which clothing under Hypocrisie is double devillishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the Devils part.

Ezek. 39. And in the later end of his Sermon, concluding with the thirty ninth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, where the Prophet speaketh against *Gog* and *Magog*, going about to destroy the People of God, and prophesieth against them. That the People of God shall vanquish and overthrow them on the Mountains of *Israel*, that none of them shall escape, but their Carkasses shall there be devoured of Kites and Crows, and Birds of the Air; so likewise saith he of these our Enemies, wishing, that if they shall perish in their pestilent malice to make Invasion into this Realm, then their great Captain *Gog* (the Bishop of *Rome* he meaneth) may come with them to drink with them of the same Cup, which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the People of God might after live quietly in Peace. The Pope compared to *Gog*.

We have heard hitherto the Oaths, Censures, and Judgments of certain particular Bishops, of *York*, of *Winchester*, of *London*, of *Duresme*, and also of *Edmund Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leicester*, against the Popes unlawful Usurpation. Now for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the Reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the consent and approbation of these aforesaid, to infer also the publick and general agreement of the whole Clergy of *England*, as in a total sum together, confirmed and ratified in their own publick Book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then The Bishops Book. In the which Book, although many things were very slender and unperfect, yet as touching this cause of the Bishop of *Romes* Regality, we will hear (God willing) what their whole Opinion and Provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same Book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names, the Catalogue of whom, under their own cognisition, shall appear.

The Bishops Book, against the Popes Supremacy.

WE think it convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain Men do imagine and affirm, That Christ should give unto the Bishop of *Rome* Power and Authority, not only to be Head and Governor of all Priests and Bishops in Christs Church, but also to have and occupy the whole Monarchy of the World in his hands, and that he may thereby Lawfully Depose Kings and Princes from their Realms, Dominions and Seignories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, That is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto St. *Peter*, or unto any of the Apostles, or their successors, any such Authority, and the Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, do teach and command, That all Christian people, as well Priests and Bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the Princes and Potentates of the World, although they were Infidels.

How the Bishop of *Rome* crept by ambition.

And as for the Bishop of *Rome*, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any Primacy or Governance above any other Bishops, out of his Province in *Italy*: since the which time he hath ever Usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the Emperors, Kings and Princes, and by the consent also of the Clergy in General Councils assembled: yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvelous subtilty and craft, and especially by colluding with great Kings and Princes, sometime training them into his Devotion by pretence and colour of Holiness and Sanctimony, and sometime constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said Bishops of *Rome* aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be Heads, and to put Laws by their own Authority, not only unto all other Bishops within Christendom, but also unto the Emperors, Kings, and other the Princes and Lords of the World, and that under the pretence of the Authority committed unto them by the Gospel. Wherein the said Bishops of *Rome* do not only shoot and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christs Word; but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the Primitive Church; and do manifestly violate, as well the Holy Canons made in the Church immediately after the time of the Apostles; Conditions necessary for the Bishop of *Rome* to be Universal.

First the General Council of Nice Decreed, That the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and Antiochia, should have like power over the Countries about them, as the Bishops of Rome had over the Countries about Rome.

In the Council of Milevis it was Decreed, That if a Clerk of Africk would Appeal out of Africk unto any Bishop beyond the Sea, he should be taken as a person Excommunicate.

as also the Decrees and Constitutions made in that behalf by the Holy Fathers of the Catholick Church, assembled in the first General Councils. And finally, they do transgress their own profession, made in their Creation. For all the Bishops of *Rome* always, when they be Consecrated and made Bishops of that See, do make a solemn Profession and Vow, That they shall inviolably observe and keep all the Ordinances made in the eight first General Councils: among the which it is specially provided and enacted, That all Causes shall be finished and determined within the Province where the same begun, and that by the Bishops of the same Province, and that no Bishop shall exercise any Jurisdiction out of his own Diocess or Province; and divers such other Canons were then made and confirmed by the said Councils to repress and take away out of the Church all such Primacy and Jurisdiction over Kings and Bishops, as the Bishops of *Rome* pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good Fathers, Bishops of *Rome*, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the Gospel, and the Decrees of the Church) that any Bishop of *Rome*, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him the title and name of the Universal Bishop, or of the Head of all Priests, or of the Highest Priest, or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, neither in Scripture, nor in the Writings of any Authentical Doctor or Author of the Church, being within the time of the Apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the preheminence of Power, Order, or Jurisdiction, between the Apostles themselves, or between the Bishops themselves, but that they were all equal in Power, Order, Authority and Jurisdiction. And that there is now, and since the time of the Apostles, any such diversity, or difference among the Bishops, it was devised by the ancient Fathers of the Primitive Church for the conservation of good Order and Unity of the Catholick Church, and that either by the consent and authority, or else at the least by the permission and sufferance of the Princes, and Civil Powers for the time Ruling, &c.

In the General Council of Constantinople the first, it was likewise Decreed, That every cause between any persons, should be determined within the Provinces where the matters did lie: and that no Bishop should exercise any power out of his own Diocess or Province. And this was also the mind of Holy S. Cyprian, and of other holy men of Africa.

To conclude therefore, the Pope hath no such Primacy given him, either by the words of Scripture, or by any General Council, or by common consent of the holy Catholick Church.

Gregorius lib. 4. Epistolarum Indictione 13. Epist. 32.

And shortly after followeth; And for the better confirmation of this part, we think it also convenient, that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their Spiritual charge, that Christ did by express words prohibit, that none of his Apostles, nor any of their Successors should, under the pretence of the Authority given unto them by Christ, take upon them the Authority of the Sword; that is to say, the Authority of Kings, or of any Civil Power in this World, yea, or any Authority to make Laws or Ordinances in Causes appertaining unto Civil Powers. Truth it is, the Priests and Bishops may execute all such Temporal Power and Jurisdiction, as is committed unto them by the Ordinance and Authority of Kings, or other Civil Powers, and by the consent of the people (as Officers and Ministers under the said Kings and Powers) so long as it shall please the said Kings and People to permit and suffer them so to use and execute the same. Notwithstanding, if any Bishop of what Estate or Dignity soever he be, be he Bishop of *Rome*, or of any other City, Province, or Diocess, do presume to take upon him Authority or Jurisdiction in Causes or Matters which appertain unto Kings, and the Civil Powers and their Courts, and will maintain or think that he may so do by the Authority of Christ and his Gospel, although the Kings and Princes would not permit and suffer him so to do; no doubt, that Bishop is not worthy to be called a Bishop, but rather a Tyrant, and an Usurper of other Mens rights, contrary to the Laws of God, and is worthy to be reputed none otherwise, than he that goeth about to subvert the Kingdom of Christ. For the Kingdom of Christ in his Church is a Spiritual, and not a Carnal Kingdom of the World: that is to say, the very Kingdom that Christ by himself, or by his Apostles and Disciples fought here in this World, was to bring all Nations from the Carnal Kingdom of the Prince of Darkness unto the Light of his Spiritual Kingdom, and so himself to reign in the hearts of the People, by Grace, Faith, Hope, and Charity. And therefore, sith Christ did never seek nor exercise any Worldly Kingdom or Dominion in this World, but rather, refusing and flying from the same, did leave the said Worldly governance of Kingdoms, Realms, and Nations, to be governed by Princes and Potentates, (in like manner as he did find them) and commanded also his Apostles and Disciples to do the semblable, as it was said before; whatsoever Priest, or Bishop will arrogate or presume to take upon him any such Authority, and will pretend the Authority of the Gospel for his defence therein, he doth nothing else but (in a manner as you would say) Crowneth Christ again with a Crown of Thorn, and traduceth and bringeth him forth again with his Mantle of Purple upon his Back, to be mocked and scorned of the World, as the *Jews* did to their own damnation.

{KING Hen. 8.}

This Doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the Witnesses and Testimony of these Bishops and other learned Men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the Bishops Book before named.

Testes.

Testimonies of Bishops and Doctors of England against the Pope.

Thomas Cantuariensis.
Edovardus Eboracensis.
Johannes Londonensis.
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.
Stephanus Wintoniensis.
Robertus Carliolensis.
Johannes Exoniensis.
Johannes Lincolniensis.
Johannes Bathoniensis.
Rolandus Covent' & Lichfield.
Thomas Eliensis.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Johannes Bangor.
Edovardus Herefordiensis.
Hugo Wigornienſis.
Johannes Roffensis.
Richardus Cicestrensis.
Gulielmus Menevensis.
Robertus Assavensis.
Robertus Landavensis.
Guil. Norwicensis.
Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon. Sudbur.
Gulielmus Knight, Archidiacon. Richmond.
Johannes Bel, Archidiacon. Glocestr.
Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon. Leicestr.
Gulielmus Skippe, Archidiacon. Dorset.
Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon. Stafford.
Cuthbertus Marshal, Archidiac. Nottingham.
Richardus Curten, Archidiacon. Oxon.
Gulielmus Glise.
Galfridus Downes.
Robertus Oking.
Radulphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Mathew.
Johannes Prin.
Gulielmus Buckmaster.
Gulielmus May.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Richardus Cox.
Johannes Edmonds.
Thomas Robertson.
Johannes Baker.
Thomas Barret.
Johannes Hase.
Johannes Tyson.

These were Doctors of Divinity, and of both Laws.

Judge

{KING Hen. 8.}

JUdge now thy self, loving Reader, *per confessata & allegata*; that is, by these things heretofore confessed, alledged, allowed, proved and confirmed, by Pen set forth, by Words defended, and by Oath subscribed by these Bishops and Doctors, if either *Martin Luther* himself, or any *Lutheran* else could or did ever say more against the proud usurpation of the Bishop of *Rome*, than these Men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply, speaking so pithily? If they meant as they spake, who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these Men did? But because these things we write for edification of other, rather then for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reasons, and let the persons go.

The Bishops of England then good Lutherans.

And although the said proofs and arguments heretofore alledged, might suffice to the full discussion of this matter against the Popes usurped Primacy; yet because may do yet remain, which will not be satisfied, to refel therefore and confute this Popish Article of the Popes vain and proud Primacy, with as much matter and furniture of reasons and allegations, as the writings and testimonies of these Bishops and others do minister unto us; we mind (the Lord willing) to annex to these former confirmations of the Bishops aforesaid, another supplement also of a certain Epistle sent by Bishop *Tonstal*, and by *John Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, to Cardinal *Pool*, for a more ample confutation of the usurped Power. Concerning the argument of which Epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, Cardinal *Pool*, Brother to the Lord *Mountague*, was attainted of high Treason, and fled away unto *Rome*, where, within a short time after, he was made Cardinal of Saint *Mary Cosmeden*: Of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen *Mary*. In the mean time he remaining at *Rome*, there was directed unto him a certain Epistle exhortatory by *Stokesly*, Bishop of *London*, and *Tonstal*, Bishop of *Duresme*, perswading him to relinquish and abandon the Supremacy of the Pope, and to conform himself to the Religion of his King. The Copy of which Epistle, for the reasons and arguments therein contained about the same matter, we thought here not unworthy to be put in, or unprofitable to be read. The Tenor whereof here followeth.

The Epistle of Tonstal and Stokesly to Pool.

The true Copy of a certain Letter written by Cuthbert Tonstal *Bishop of* Duresme, *and* John Stokesly *Bishop of* London, *to Cardinal* Pool; *proving the Bishop of* Rome *to have no special superiority over other Bishops.*

This Letter was fulfilled by Cuthbert Tonstal to Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury and others to be his own, about 14 days before his death. Read his Eruditeous Oration to the Emperor in his Book intituled, De Ecclesiæ Concordia, moving him to seek the destruction of king Henry and the whole Realm of England.

FOr the good will that we have born unto you in times past, as long as you continued the Kings true Subject, we cannot a little lament and mourn, that you neither regarding the Inestimable kindness of the Kings Highness heretofore shewed unto you in your bringing up, nor the honour of the House that you be come of, nor the wealth of the Country that you were born in, should so decline from your Duty to your Prince, that you should be seduced by fair words and vain promises of the Bishop of *Rome*, to wind with him, going about by all means to him possible, to pull down and put under Foot your natural Prince and Master, to the destruction of the Country that hath brought you up, and for a Vain-glory of a red Hat to make your self an Instrument to set forth his Malice, who hath stirred up, by all means that he could, all such Christian Princes as would give ears unto him, to depose the Kings Highness from his Kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for them that should execute his malice, and to stir, if he could, his Subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing Rebellions in his Realm, where the Office and Duty of all good Christian Men, and namely of us that be Priests, should be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietness, all discord to concord; and in doing contrary, we do shew our selves to be but the Ministers of *Satan*, and not of Christ, who ordained all us that be Priests to use in all places the Legation of Peace, and not of discord. But since that cannot be undone that is done, second it is to make amends, and to follow the doing of the prodigal Son spoken of in the Gospel, who returned home to his Father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you will say as he said in knowledging your folly, and do as he did, in returning home again from your wandring abroad in service of them, who little care what come of you, so that their purpose by you be served. And if you be moved by your conscience, that you cannot take the King your Master as Supreme head of the Church of *England*, because the Bishop of *Rome* hath heretofore many years usurped that name Universally over all the Church, under pretence of the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, saying, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church*: Surely that Text many of the most holy and ancient Expositors wholly do take to be meant of the Faith, them first confessed by the mouth of *Peter*; upon which Faith, confessing Christ to be the Son of God, the Church is builded, Christ being the very lowest foundation Stone, whereupon both the Apostles themselves, and also the whole Faith of the Church of Christ, by them preached through the World, is founded and builded; and other foundation none can be, but that only, as Saint *Paul* saith, No other foundation can any Man lay beside that which is laid, which is *Christ Jesus*.

Luke 15.

Matth. 16. The place of Matthew, Tu es Petrus expounded.

1 Cor. 3.

And where you think that the Gospel of *Luke* proveth the same authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, saying: *Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith shall not fail: and thou being once converted, confirm thy Brethren.* Surely that speaketh only of the fall of *Peter*, known to Christ by his godly prescience, whereof he gave an inkling, that after the time of his fall, he should not despair, but return again, and confirm his Brethren, as he ever being most fervent of them, was wont to do. The place doth plainly open it self that it cannot be otherwise taken, but this to be the very meaning of it, and not to be spoken but to *Peter*: for else his successors must first fail in the Faith, and then convert, and so confirm their Brethren. And whereas you think that this place of the Gospel of *John*, Feed my Sheep, was spoken only to *Peter*, and that those words make him Shepherd over all, and above all; Saint *Peter* himself testifieth the contrary in his Canonical Epistle, where he saith to all Priests, Feed the flock of Christ which is among you, which he had them do by the authority that Christ had put them in as followeth: And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive the incorruptible Crown of eternal glory. The same likewise Saint *Paul* in the *Acts* testifieth, saying, Give heed to your selves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath set you to govern the Church of God. Where, in the original Text, the word signifying *Regere*, to govern, ποιμαίνειν is the same that was spoken to *Peter*, *Pasce*, Feed; for it signifieth both in the Scripture. And that by these words he was not constitute a Shepherd over all, it is very plain by the Fact of Saint *Peter*, which durst not enterprise much conversation among the *Gentiles*, but eschewed it as a thing unlawful, and much rather prohibited than commanded by Gods Law, until he was admonished by the revelation of the Sheet full of divers Viands, mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*: where if Christ by these words, Feed my Sheep, had given such an universal Governance to *Peter*, then *Peter*, being more fervent than other of the Apostles to execute Christs commandment, would of his own courage have gone, without any such new admonition, to *Cornelius*: except peradventure you would say, that *Peter* did not understand the said words of Christ, for lack of the Light which the later Men have obtained to perceive, and thereby understand the words of Christ to *Peter*, better than *Peter* himself did. And strange also it were to condemn *Peter* as an high Traitor to his Master after his Ascension: as he indeed were worthy, if his Master had signified unto him, that the Bishops of *Rome*, by his dying there, should be heads of all the Church;

The place of John 21. expounded.

1 Peter 5.

Act. 20.

Of this ſtriving away of *Peter* from *Rome* read before.

and he knowing the ſame by theſe words *Feed my ſheep*, yet notwithſtanding his Maſters high legacy and commandment, would flee as he did from *Rome*, until his Maſter, encountring him by the way, with terrible words cauſed him to return.

As great Primacy given to St. *Paul*, as to *Peter*.

And becauſe this Hiſtory peradventure cannot weigh againſt an obſtinate mind to the contrary; What shall we ſay to the words of Saint *Ambroſe*, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample Primacy was given to *Paul*, as to *Peter*? Upon theſe words of *Paul*, He that wrought by *Peter*, &c. thus he writeth; *Petrum ſolum nominat & ſibi comparat, quia primatum ipſe acceperat ad fundandam Eccleſiam; ſe quoquè pari modo electum ut primatum habeat in fundandis Eccleſiis Gentium, &c.* That is to ſay, He nameth *Peter* only, and compareth him to himſelf, becauſe he received a Primacy to build a Church; and that he in like ſort was choſen himſelf to have a Primacy in building the Churches of the *Gentiles*. And ſhortly after it followeth; Of thoſe (that is to ſay of the Apoſtles) which were the chiefeſt, his gift, he ſaith, was allowed, which he had received of God; ſo that he was found worthy to have the Primacy of preaching to the *Gentiles*, as *Peter* had in preaching to the *Jews*. And as he aſſigned to *Peter* for his compaſſions thoſe which were of the chiefeſt Men amongſt the Apoſtles, even ſo alſo did he take to himſelf *Barbaei*, who was joyned unto him by Gods judgment; and yet did he challenge to himſelf alone the Prerogative or Primacy which God had given him, as to *Peter* alone it was granted among the other Apoſtles. So that the Apoſtles of the circumciſion gave their Hands to the Apoſtles of the *Gentiles*; to declare their concord in fellowſhip, that either of them ſhould know that they had received the perfection of the Spirit in the preaching of the Goſpel, and ſo ſhould not need either other in any matter. And ſhortly after ſaith S. *Ambroſe*, who durſt reſiſt *Peter* the chief Apoſtle? But another ſaith a one, which by the confidence of his election might know himſelf to be no leſs, and ſo might reprove boldly that thing which he conſiderately had done.

Equality of degree among the Apoſtles.

This equality of dignity which Saint *Ambroſe* affirmeth by Scripture to be equally given to *Peter* and *Paul*, Saint *Cyprian* and Saint *Hierom* do extend to all the Apoſtles. *Cyprian* ſaying thus; *Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi, & honoris & poteſtatis*; all the reſt of the Apoſtles were the ſame, that *Peter* was, being endued with like equality of honour and power. And Saint *Hierom* thus, *Cunctis Apoſtoli claves regni cælorum acceperunt & ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo fundatur*: All the Apoſtles received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and upon them, as indifferently and equally, is the ſtrength of the Church grounded and eſtabliſhed. Which Saint *Hierom* alſo, as well in his Commentaries upon the Epiſtle to *Titus*, as in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*, ſheweth that theſe Primacies long after Chriſts Aſcenſion were made by the deviſe of Men, whereas before by the common agreement and conſent of the Clergy every of the Churches were governed, yea the Patriarchal Churches.

Cyprian. De ſimplicitate clericorum.

Contra Jouinianum.

The words of Saint *Jerom* be theſe; *Sciant ergo Epiſcopi ſe magis ex conſuetudine, quam diſpenſationis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris eſſe majores*: Let the Biſhops underſtand, that they be greater than other Prieſts, rather of cuſtom, than by the vertue and verity of the Lords Ordinance. And in his ſaid Epiſtle to *Euagrius* he hath the like ſentence, and addeth thereunto. *Ubicunque fuerit Epiſcopus, ſive Romæ, ſive Eugubii, ſive Conſtantinopoli, &c.* Whereſoever a Biſhop be, either at *Rome*, or at *Eugubium*, or at *Conſtantinople*, he is of all one worthineſs, and of all one Prieſthood. And that one was elected which ſhould be preferred before other, it was deviſed for the Redreſs of Schiſms, leſt any one, challenging too much to himſelf, ſhould rent the Church of Chriſt. Theſe words only of Saint *Jerom* be ſufficient to prove that Chriſt by none of theſe three Texts (which be all that you and others do alledge for your opinion) gave to *Peter* any ſuch ſuperiority, as the Biſhop of *Rome* by them uſurpeth, and that *Peter*, nor no other of the chief Apoſtoles, did vindicate ſuch Primacy or ſuperiority, but utterly refuſed it, and therefore gave Preheminence above themſelves to one, that thought be be ſometimes called an Apoſtle, yet he was none of the Twelve, as *Euſebius* in the beginning of his ſecond Book, called *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica*, doth teſtifie, alledging for him the great and antient Clerk *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ſaying thus, *Petrus, Jacobus, ac Johannes, poſt aſſumptionem Salvatoris, quamvis ab ipſo fuerant omnibus pene Prælati, tamen non ſibi vindicarunt gloriam, ſed Jacobum, qui dicebatur Juſtus, Apoſtolorum Epiſcopum ſtatuunt. Peter, James,* and *John*, after Chriſts Aſcenſion into Heaven, although they were by him preferred almoſt before all other, yet they challenged not that glory to themſelves, but decreed that *James*, who was called *Juſtus* ſhould be chief Biſhop of the Apoſtles. By theſe words it is clear, that *James* was the Biſhop of the Apoſtles, not becauſe as ſome Men do gloſe, he was elected by the Apoſtles, but becauſe he had thereby the Primacy and Honour of a Biſhop in *Jeruſalem*, above the reſt of the Apoſtles.

James the firſt made Biſhop of the Apoſtles.

Seeing Paul was chief Primate of the Gentils, It is againſt reaſon that the Romans ſhould challenge the Primacy by Peter.

And one thing is eſpecially to be noted, and alſo travelled at, that the Biſhops of *Rome* do challenge this Primacy only by *Peter*, and yet Saint *Paul*, who was his equal, or rather ſuperior by Scripture in his Apoſtleſhip amongſt the *Gentiles*, whereof *Rome* was the principal, ſuffered at *Rome* where *Peter* did, and is continually in all the *Roman* Church joyned with *Peter* in all appellations and titles of Preheminence, and both be called *Principes Apoſtolorum*, The chief of the Apoſtles. Upon both is equally founded the Church of *Rome*. The accounting of the Biſhops of *Rome* many years agreeth thereunto. For *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Clemens tertius poſt Paulum & Petrum pontificatum tenebat, Clement* was the third Biſhop after Saint *Paul* and *Peter*, reckoning them both as Biſhops of *Rome*, and yet therein preferring Saint *Paul's* with like words, ſaying of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome*, that *Quinta ſucceſſione poſt Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernacula ſortitus eſt. Alexander* obtained the governance of the people by ſucceſſion, the fifth Biſhop after *Peter* and *Paul*. *Irenæus* alſo ſaith, as *Euſebius* reciteth, that *Fundata & ædificata Eccleſia, beati Apoſtoli Luno officium Epiſcopatus in-jungunt*. After the Church was once founded and builded, the holy Apoſtles charged *Linus* with the Biſhoprick. Whereby appeareth, that they both joyntly conſtituted him Biſhop of *Rome*, and received only their Apoſtleſhip injoyned to them by Chriſt. And therefore if the Biſhops of *Rome* challenge any Preheminence of authority by *Peter*, they ſhould as well, or rather challenge the ſame by *Paul*, becauſe they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there ſuffered, religuing firſt that Biſhoprick to *Linus* and all at once.

Cyprian. lib. 3. Epiſ. ad Cornelium.

Lib. 3. cap. 1.

Lib. 5. cap. 6.

And if you will peradventure lean to the former preaching there by *Peter*, which by Scripture cannot be proved, yet then at leaſt Saint *Paul* and his ſucceſſors in *Epheſus*, ſhould have like Primacy, becauſe he founded firſt that Church, though Saint *John* after that did build it, as witneſſeth *Euſebius*, ſaying, *Eccleſia quæ eſt apud Epheſum, a Paulo quidem fundata eſt, a Joanne vero ædificata*. The Church which is at *Epheſus*, was founded of *Paul*, but it was built of Saint *John*. And ſo *Peter* ſhould have no other Primacy in *Rome*, but as *Paul* had in *Epheſus*, that is to ſay, to be counted as the firſt Preacher and converter of the people there to the Faith of Chriſt: and as well might all the Biſhops of *Epheſus* challenge Primacy of all Nations, both *Gentiles* and *Jews*, by Saint *Paul* the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* their Founder, as the Biſhop of *Rome* by Saint *Peter* the Apoſtle only of the circumciſion, in caſe he were the firſt Founder, challenging Primacy over all. But undoubtedly, this Primacy over all, that the Biſhops of *Rome* of late do challenge, was not allowed, nor yet known nor heard of amongſt the ancient Fathers, though they had their Church of *Rome* in high eſtimation, as well for the notable vertuous deeds that the Clergy did there ſhew and exerciſe aboundantly to their Neighbours (as witneſſeth the ſaid *Euſebius*, alledging there the Epiſtle that *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* wrote to *Soter*, Biſhop of *Rome*, teſtifying the ſame) as for that the City of *Rome* was the moſt ample and chief City of the World, witneſſing Saint *Cyprian*, ſaying, *Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine ſua rebeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora & graviora commiſit*; Certainly, becauſe that *Rome* ought for

Euſeb. lib. 3. cap. 23.

The firſt foundation of a Church maketh no Primacy.

Diſt. 16. Ita Gloſſa.

Cyp. Lib. 1. ad Cornel.

§ KING Hen. 8.

for the greatneſs thereof to excel *Carthage*, there *Novatus* committed the greater and more grievous offences. Which Saint *Cyprian* alſo, when he had ordained and appointed certain Decrees and Statutes unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, he did not ſubmit them to his reformation or judgment, but only ſignified his own ſentence to like him alſo; and yet adding thereunto, that if any Biſhops (meaning as well of *Rome* as of others) which were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwiſe think or do, he would not then that his ſentence ſhould be to them prejudicial, neither would he thereby compel them to any thing, but would that they ſhould follow their own minds and cuſtoms: partly for that every one of the Biſhops hath liberty of his own will, and partly for that every Governour ſhall make an account to God of his own deed, as it appeareth plainly in his Epiſtle to *Stephanus* and *Julianus*. And in the third Epiſtle to *Cornelius*, towards the end, ſpeaking of the appeal that one *Feliciſſimus* a *Novatian*, after his condemnation in *Africa*, made to *Rome*, he impugneth ſuch appeals, ſaying; *Quia ſingulis paſtoribus portio gregis eſt aſcripta, quam regat unuſquiſque & gubernet, rationem ſui actus Domino redditurus, &c.* For as much as every Paſtor hath his own flock committed unto him, which every one ought to rule and govern, and muſt give account to the Lord of his adminiſtration, it is decreed of us all, and we think it both meet and juſt, that every Mans cauſe and plea ſhould there be heard, where the crime is committed. This holy and excellent Clerk and Martyr Saint *Cyprian* would never either have impugned their appeal to *Rome* from their own Primacies, or ſo earneſtly having maintained his determinations in the Councils of *Africk* contrary to the opinion of the Biſhops of *Rome* and to their cuſtoms, without any ſubmiſſion by word or writing, if the Primacy over all, which the Biſhops of *Rome* do challenge and uſurp, had been grounded upon the plain Scriptures, as you with ſome others do think: And it is to be ſuſpected alſo, that he would in all his Epiſtles have called them *Patres*, or *Domines*, Fathers or Lords, as ſuperiors, and not always *Fratres & Collegæ*, Brothers and Fellows in office, as but only his equals.

Appeal to *Rome* forbidden.

Cyprian. lib. 3. Epiſ. ad Cornelium.

Which thing yet more plainly doth appear by the Acts of the Councils of *Africk* in Saint *Auguſtines* time: by which it is evident, that though the Faith of Chriſt was by the *Romans* firſt brought into *Africk*, (as Saint *Auguſtine* doth confeſs) yet it was not read nor known that the Biſhops of *Rome* uſed or challenged any ſoveraignty in *Africk*, unto this time. And yet then he did not challenge it by the right of Gods Word, but by the pretence of a certain Canon ſuppoſed to be in the Council of *Nice*: Which Article could never be found, though it were then very diligently ſought for through all the principal Churches of the *Eaſt* and *South*; but only was alledged of *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, out of his own Library. And you may be well aſſured, that if the Scriptures had made for it, neither the Biſhop of *Rome* would have left that certain proof by Scriptures, and truſted only to the teſtimony of an Article of that Council, being in doubt and unlikely to be found; nor yet Saint *Auguſtine*, with his holy and learned Company, would have reſiſted this demand, if it had been either grounded upon Scriptures, or determined in that or other Councils, or yet had ſtood with equity, good order or reaſon. Howbeit the largeneſs and magnificence of the buildings of that City, and the ancient excellency and ſuperiority of the ſame in temporal Dominions, was the only cauſe that in the Councils (where the Patriarchal Sees were ſet in order) the Biſhop of *Rome* was lotted to the firſt place, and not by any ſuch conſtitution made by Chriſt, as appeareth well by that, that *Conſtantinople* being at the ſame time of this ordering of the Patriarchal Sees, moſt amply enlarged by the Emperors, being before a ſmall Town, and of no renown and by them moſt magnificently builded and advanced with all worldly titles, prerogatives, and privileges temporal like unto *Rome*, and therefore called *Nova Roma, New Rome*, was therefore advanced alſo to the ſecond See and place; *Antiochia* in the *Eaſt* (where Saint *Peter* firſt took the Chair before he came to *Rome*, and where Chriſtian Men had firſt their name given them) yea, and *Jeruſalem* (which was the firſt Mother City of our Faith, and where Chriſt himſelf firſt founded the Faith) and alſo *Alexandria*, being recited to the third, fourth and fifth places, becauſe at that time they were not in ſo high eſtimation in the World, though in the Faith of Chriſt all they were Antients, and ſome of them Mothers to *Rome*.

Fide duas Epiſtolas ad Bonifacium pap. to concilium, Fol. 307, 308.

Truth it is, that the Biſhops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the Faith amongſt themſelves, made ſuites to the Biſhop of *Rome*; but that was not for the ſuperiority of juriſdiction over them, but becauſe they were greatly divided, and thoſe Countries, as well Biſhops as others, much infected with the Hereſies of the *Arrians*, whereof the *Weſt* was in a manner clear: and among them of the Orient, none were counted indifferent to decide thoſe matters, but were all ſuſpected of affection for one cauſe or other. Wherefore they deſired the opinions of the Biſhops of the *Weſt*, as indifferent, and not intangled with affections of any of thoſe parts, neither corrupted with any of the *Arrians*, as appeareth by the Epiſtles of Saint *Baſil*, written in all their names for the ſaid purpoſe. In the which alſo it is eſpecially to be noted, that their ſute was not made to the Biſhop of *Rome* ſingularly, or by name, but (as the Titles do ſhew) to the whole Congregation of the Biſhops of *Italy* and *France*, or of the whole *Weſt*, and ſometime preferring the *French* and *Italian* Biſhops, ſaying, *Gallis & Italis*, and never naming the *Romans*. And for a clear proof that the ancient Fathers knew not this Primacy of one above all, we need none other teſtimony but their determination in the Council of *Nice*, that *Alexandria*, and *Antiochia*, and Univerſally all other Priſhates, ſhould have the whole governance of their confine Countries, like as the Biſhop of *Rome* had of thoſe that Inhabited within his Suburbs. And this determination proveth alſo, that your three Scriptures meant nothing leſs than this Primacy over all. For God forbid that we ſhould ſuſpect that Council as ignorant of thoſe plain Scriptures, to which ſince that time all Chriſtendom hath leaned, as the Anchor of our Faith. And if you like to read the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, there you may ſee, that *Athanaſius*, and other Patriarchs did execute that Primacy, as in making, conſecrating, and ordering of Churches, Biſhops and Clerks, in their Countries *Eaſt* and *South*, as the Biſhops of *Rome* in that time did in the *Weſt* and *North*.

The old Fathers there never knew the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*.

In the time of Pope *Anacletus*, the See of *Rome* had no rule over the *Eaſt* and *South* Churches. *Petrus Damianus* hath go ſtiffe-ly.

And if you would yet any thing object againſt any of theſe witneſſes, then to eſchew contention, and for a final Concluſion, let the Biſhop of *Rome* ſtand to his own confeſſion made many years paſt by his Predeceſſor *Agatho*, to the Emperors, *Conſtantine*, *Heraclius*, and *Tiberius*, in his Epiſtle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the Synod which he thought to be under the See Apoſtolick: wherein, ſoon after the beginning of the Epiſtle, he comprehendeth them all under the name of the Biſhops dwelling in the *North* and *Weſt* parts of their Empire; ſo that there in his own Epiſtle he confeſſeth all his ſubjects and obediencaries to be only of the *North* and *Weſt*. And ſo it appeareth evidently by his own confeſſion, that neither by Gods Law nor Mans Law he had to do with any perſon of the *Eaſt* or *South*. And this his high Sovereignty over all, challenged (as you and others ſay) by Scripture, as by his own confeſſion doth appear is brought, into a little and ſtraight Angle. And this *Agatho* was not a Man unlearned, as appereth by the Acts of the ſixth Synod of *Conſtantinople*, in the fourth Act, wherin is written at large and expreſſed the ſaid Epiſtle and Confeſſion. And the Primacy of *Peter*, which ancient Doctors ſpeak of, which was only in preaching and teaching the Faith of Chriſt, which he firſt among all the Apoſtles, and firſt of all mortal Men, did expreſs with his mouth, did after ſo adhere to his own perſon, that it was never derived either to any ſucceſſor, or to any other Apoſtle, but chiefly to himſelf; for all other afterwards profeſſing the ſame, ſpake it according unto him who had profeſſed it before. Moreover, all the Apoſtles (as Saint *John* ſaith) be foundations in the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, and not *Peter* only. Alſo *Cyprian* affirmeth, (as if aforeſaid) that all the Apoſtles were of equal Dignity and Power; which all ancient Authors likewiſe do affirm. For Chriſt gave

Apoc. 21.

gave the Apostles like power in the Gospel, saying; *Go, and teach all nations, baptising them, &c.* And Saint *Paul* (as is said before) knew no other Primacy given to *Peter* to preach in any place but among the *Jews*, as he himself had amongst the *Gentiles*, as he writeth to the *Galathians*. Whereupon Saint *Ambrose* writing (as is aforesaid) affirmeth the same. And that the Mother of all Churches is *Jerusalem* (as is aforesaid) and not *Rome*, the Scripture is plain, both in the Prophet *Esay*; Out of *Sion* shall the Law proceed, and the Word of the Lord out of *Jerusalem*: Upon the which place Saint *Jerom* saith; *In Hierusalem primum fundata Ecclesia totius orbis Ecclesiæ seminavit*: Out of the Church being first founded in *Jerusalem*, sprung all other Churches of the whole World: and also in the Gospel which Christ before his Ascention commanded his Apostles to preach thorowout all the World, beginning first at *Jerusalem*; so that the Bishop of *Romes* Universal power by him claimed over all cannot by any Scripture be justified: as if you have read the ancient Fathers expositions of the said Scriptures (as we suppose you have, since your Letters sent hither concerning this matter) and would give more credence to their humble and plain speaking, than to the later contentious and ambitious Writers of that high, and above the *Ideas* of *Platoes* subtilty (which passeth, as you write, the Lawyers learning and capacity) we doubt not but that you perceive and think the same,

Matth. 28.

Esay 2.

A Prince may be head of his Church, and yet not preach nor ministre Sacraments.

And where you think that the King cannot be taken as supreme head of the Church, because he cannot exercise the chief Office of the Church in preaching and ministring of the Sacraments; it is not requisite in every Body natural, that the Head should exercise either all manner of Offices of the Body, or the chief Office of the same. For albeit the Head is the highest and chief Member of the natural Body, yet the distribution of life to all the Members of the Body, as well to the Head as to other Members, cometh from the Heart, and it is the Minister of life to the whole Body, as the chief act of the Body.

Neither yet hath this similitude his full place in a mystical Body, that a King should have the chief Office of Administration in the same: and yet notwithstanding the Scripture speaking of King *Saul*, saith, I made thee head amongst the Tribes of *Israel*. And if a King amongst the *Jews* were the head in the Tribes of *Israel*, in the time of the Law, much more is a Christian King head in the Tribes of spiritual *Israel*, that is, of such as by true Faith see Christ who is the end of the Law. The Office deputed to the Bishops in the mystical Body, is to be as eyes to the whole Body, as Almighty God saith to the Prophet *Ezechiel*; *I have made thee an overseer over the house* of Israel. And what Bishop soever refuseth to use the Office of an eye in the mystical Body, to shew unto the Body the right way of believing and living, which appertaineth to the spiritual eye to do, shall shew himself to be a blind eye; and if he shall take any other Office in hand, than appertaineth to the right eye, he shall make a confusion in the Body, taking upon him an other Office than is given him of God. Wherefore if the eye will not take upon him the Office of the whole head, it may be answered, it cannot so do, for it lacketh brain. And Examples shew likewise that it is not necessary alway that the head should have the faculty or chief Office of Administration, as you may see in a Navy by Sea; where the Admiral, who is a Captain over all, doth not meddle with steering or governing of every Ship, but every particular Master must direct the Ship to pass the Sea in breaking the Waves by his steering and governance, which the Admiral the head of all doth not himself, nor yet hath the faculty to do, but commandeth the Masters of the Ship to do it. And likewise many a Captain of great Armies, which is not able, nor never could peradventure shoot, or break a Spear by his own strength, yet by his wisdom and commandment only atchieveth the Wars, and attaineth the Victory.

1 Reg. 15.

Ezech. 3. A Bishop is an eye in the head, but not the head of the mystical Body.

The office of a head stands not in doing, but in commanding.

Unity, what it is, and wherein it consisteth.

And where you think that Unity standeth not only in the agreeing in one Faith and Doctrine of the Church, but also in agreeing in one head; if you mean the very and only head over all the Church our Saviour Christ, whom the Father hath set over all the Church, which is his Body, wherein all good Christian Men do agree, therein you say truth. But if you mean of any one mortal Man to be the head over all the Church, and that to be the Bishop of *Rome*, we do not agree with you. For you do there err in the true understanding of the Scripture; or else you must say that the said Council of *Nice*, and other most ancient did err, which divided the Administration of Churches, the Orient from the Occident, and the *South* from the *North*, as is before expressed; and that Christ the Universal head is present in every Church, the Gospel sheweth, Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. And in another place, Behold, I am with you until the end of the world. By which it may appear Christ the Universal head every where to be with his mystical Body the Church; who by his Spirit worketh in all places (how far soever they be distant) the unity and concord of the same. And as for any other Universal head to be over all, than Christ himself, Scripture proveth not, as it is shewed before. And yet for a further proof, to take away the scruples that peradventure do to your appearance rise of certain words in some ancient Authors, and specially in Saint *Cyprians* Epistles, as that the Unity of the Church stood in the Unity with the Bishop of *Rome*, though they never call him supreme head; if you will weigh and consider all their sayings together, you shall perceive that they neither spake nor meant otherwise; but when the Bishop of *Rome* was once lawfully elected and inthroned, if then any other would by faction, might, force, or otherwise (the other living and doing his Office) enterprise to put him down, and usurp the same Bishoprick, or exercise the others Office himself, as *Novatianus* did attempt in the time of *Cornelius*; then the said Fathers reckoned them Catholicks that did Communicate with him that was so lawfully elected: and the custom was, one Primacy to have to do with another, by congratulatory Letters, soon after the certainty of their Election was known, to keep the Unity of the Church; and all they that did take part with, or maintain the Usurper, to be Schismaticks, because that Usurper was a Schismatick; *Quia non fit sas in eadem Ecclesia, duos simul Episcopos esse, nec priorem legitimum Episcopum sine sua culpa deponi*; Because it was not lawful for two Bishops to be at once together in one Church, neither the former Bishop being lawful, to be deposed without his fault were proved. And this is not a Prerogative of the Church of *Rome*, more than of any other Cathedral, special, Patriarchal, or Metropolitical Church, as appeareth in the third Epistle of the first Book, and in the eighth of the second, and of the fourth Book of Saint *Cyprian* to *Cornelius*. Whose words and reasons, although peradventure they might seem to include the Unity of the Church in the Unity of the Bishop of *Rome*, because they were all written to him in his own case, may as well be written unto any other Bishop lawfully chosen, who percase should be likewise disturbed as the Bishops of *Rome* then were be any Factions of ambitious Heretick.

Answer to St. Cyprian.

The Church of Rome hath no more prerogative than any other Church.

The Unity of the Church standeth not on the Unity of the Bishop of Rome.

And where you think the name of supreme head under Christ, given and attributed to the Kings Majesty, maketh an innovation in the Church, and perturbation of the Order of the same; it cannot be any innovation or trouble to the Church to use the room that God hath called him to, which good Christian Princes did use in the beginning, when Faith was most pure, as Saint *Augustine, Ad Glorium & Eleusium* saith; *Ait enim quidam, non debuit Episcopus pro consulari judicio purgari, &c.* One there is which saith, that a Bishop ought not to have been put to his purgation before the Judgment Seat of the Deputy, as though he himself procured it, and not rather the Emperor himself caused this inquiry to be made, to whose jurisdiction (for the which he must answer to God) that cause did specially pertain. *Chrysostome* writeth of that Imperial authority thus: *Læsus est qui non habet parem ullum super terram: summitas & caput est omnium hominum super terram*: He is offended that hath no Peer at all upon the Earth, for he is the highest Potentate, and the head of all Men upon Earth. And *Tertullian ad Scapulam* saith, *Colimus ergo & Imperatorem sic, quomodo & nobis licet, & usque expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum, &c.* We honour and reverence the Emperor in such wise, as is lawful to us and expedient to him, that is to say, as a Man next and

Aug. Epist. 162.

General Councils called by the Emperors.

The Imperial authority is next under God.

{KING Hen. 8.}

{KING Hen. 8.} and the second to God, from whom he hath received all the power he hath, and also inferior to God alone, whose pleasure it is so to have it: for thus he is greater than all Men, whilst he is inferior but to God alone.

Tertul. in Apologet.

And the said *Tertullian* in his Book Apologetical speaking of the Emperors, saith, *Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, &c.* They know who hath given to them their government; they know that God is he alone, under whose only power they be, and take themselves as second to God, after whom they be chief above all other.

Theophil. in Rom.

Theophylact also to the *Romans* upon this place, *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit*, saith, The Apostle there teacheth every Man, *Sive Sacerdos ille sit, sive Monachus, sive Apostolus, ut se Principibus subdat*: That whether he be a Priest, or a Monk, or an Apostle, he should subject himself to Princes: That is, although thou be an Apostle, an Evangelist, a Prophet, or whatsoever thou art, be subject. *Non enim*, saith he, *subvertit pietatem hæc subjectio*; For this subjection overthrows not godliness: And the Apostle saith not only, Let him obey, but let him be subject.

And if the Apostles be subject to Princes, much more all Bishops and Patriarchs, yea the Bishops of *Rome* and all other.

It is written also in the *Chronicles*, *David* said to *Solomon*, behold the Priests and *Levites* divided in Companies, to do all manner of service that pertaineth to the House of God. Also *David* did appoint chiefly to thank the Lord, *Asaph* and his Brethren, &c. and *Jehoshaphat* the King did constitute Levites and Priests, and the ancient Families of *Israel* for the judgment and cause of the Lord towards all the Inhabitants of the Earth; and he charged them saying, Thus shall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully and in a perfect heart. Furthermore *Ezechias* appointed the Priests and the Levites in their Order, to wait by course every Man according to his Office. And it followeth, *Ezechias* gave commandment to the people dewelling in *Jerusalem*, that they should give their portions unto their Priests and Levites, that they might attend to the Law of the Lord. Where it followeth also, that by the Precept of *Ezechias* the King, and of *Azarias* the Bishop of the House of the Lord, all things were done, to whom pertained all the dispensation of the House of the Lord. And in the end it is said, *Ezechias* did these things in all *Jury*; he wrought that which was good, right and true before his Lord God in all the furniture of the ministery of the House of the Lord, according to the Law and Ceremonies, desirous to seek his Lord God with all his heart, as he did and prospered therein. *Josias* also did ordain Priests in their Offices, and commanded many things.

1 Paral. 28.

2 Paral. 16.

2 Paral. 19.

Chron. 31.

Chron. 31.

By all which it may appear, that Christian Kings be Sovereigns over the Priests, as over all other their Subjects, and may command the Priests to do their Offices, as well as they do others; and ought by their supreme Office to see that all Men of all degrees do the Duties, whereunto they be called either by God or by the King; and those Kings that so do chiefly do execute well their Office. So that the Kings Highness taken upon him, as Supreme head of the Church of *England*, to see that as well spiritual Men as temporal do their Duties, doth neither make innovation in the Church, nor yet trouble the Order thereof; but doth as the chief and best of the Kings of *Israel* did, and as all good Christian Kings ought to do. Which Office good Christian Emperors always took upon them, in calling the Universal Councils of all Countries in one place and at one time, to assemble together, to the intent that all Heresies troubling the Church might there be extirped; calling and commanding as well the Bishop *Rome*, as other Patriarks and all Primates, as well of the *East* as of the *West*, of the *South* as of the *North*, to come to the said Councils. As *Martianus* the Emperor did in calling the great Council of *Chalcedon*, one of the four chief and first general Councils, commanding *Leo* then Bishop of *Rome* to come unto the same. And albeit *Leo* neither liked the time, which he would for a season should have been deferred; nor yet the place, for he would have had it in *Italy*, whereas the Emperor by his own commandment had called it to *Chalcis* in *Asia*: yet he answered the Emperor, that he would gladly obey his commandment, and sent thither his Agents to appear there for him, as doth appear in the Epistles of *Leo* to *Martian* then Emperor, Forty first, Forty seventh, Forty eighth, and in the Forty ninth Epistle to *Pulcheria* the Empress. And likewise desireth *Theodosius* the Emperor to command a Council of Bishops to be called in *Italy*, for taking away such contentions and troubles, as at that time troubled the quietness of the Churches. And in many moe Epistles of the same *Leo* it doth manifestly appear, That the Emperors always assembled general Councils by their commandments: And in the Sixth general Council it appeareth very plainly, that at that time the Bishops of *Rome* made no claim nor used any title to call themselves heads Universal over all the Catholick Church, as it doth appear in the superscription or salutation of the foresaid Synodical Preamble, which is this, word for word.

To the most godly Lords and most noble Victors and Conquerors, the welbeloved Children of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, *Constantine* the great Emperor, and *Heraclius* and *Tyberius*, *Cæsars*: Bishop *Agatho* the Servant of the Servants of God, with all the convocations subject to the Council of the See Apostolick, sendeth greeting. And he expresseth what Countries he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation; for it followeth, that those were under his assembly, which were in the *North* and *East* parts, so that at that time the Bishop of *Rome* made no such pretence to be over and above all, as he now doth by usurpation, vendicating to himself the spiritual Kingdom of Christ, by which he reigneth in the hearts of all faithful People, and then changeth it to a temporal Kingdom over and above all Kings, to depose them for his pleasure, preaching thereby the Flesh for the Spirit, and an Earthly Kingdom for an Heavenly, to his own Damnation, if he repent not: whereas he ought to obey his Prince by 1 *Pet.* 2. the Doctrine of Saint *Peter* in his first Epistle, saying, *Be ye subject to every ordinance of Man, for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as to the chief, or unto Governours, as sent of him to the punishment of the evil doers, and to the praise of the good.* Again, Saint *Paul*, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, Rom. 13. With other things before alledged. So that this his pretensed usurpation to be above all Kings is directly against the Scriptures, given to the Church by the Apostles, whose Doctrine whosoever overturneth, can be neither the Head, nor yet the least Member of the Church.

Wherefore, albeit ye have hitherto sticked to the said wrongfully usurped Power, moved thereto, as ye write, by your conscience; yet sithence now ye see further, if ye list to regard the meer truth, and such ancient Authors as have been written to you of in times past, we would exhort you, for the wealth of your soul, to surrender into the Bishop of *Romes* hands your red Hat, by which he seduced you, trusting so to make you, being come of a Noble Blood, an instrument to advance his Vain-glory; whereof by the said Hat he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpose.

In which doing ye shall return to the truth from which ye have erred, do your duty to your Sovereign Lord, from whom ye have declined, and please thereby Almighty God, whose Laws ye have transgressed: and in not so doing ye shall remain in error, offending both Almighty God, and your natural Sovereign Lord, whom chiefly ye ought to seek to please. Which thing, for the good mind that we heretofore have born you, We pray Almighty God of his infinite mercy that you do not. *Amen.*

When all other the Kings Subjects, and the learned of the Realm had taken and accepted the Oath of the Kings Supremacy, only *Fisher* the Bishop of *Rochester* and Sir *Thomas More* refused (as is aforesaid) to be sworn: who therefore falling into the danger of the Law, were committed into the Tower, and executed for the same, *An.* 1535. This *John Fisher* aforesaid had written before against *Oecolampadius*, whose Book is yet extant, and afterward against *Luther*.

{Ann. 1535. John Fisher Bishop of Rochester enemy to Christs Gospel.}

Also amongst other his Acts he had been a great enemy and persecutor of *John Frith*, the godly and learned Martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir *Thomas More* caused

caused to be burned a year and half before: and shortly after the said *Fisher*, to his confusion, was charged with *Elizabeth Barton* (called the holy Maid of *Kent*) and found guilty by Act of Parliament, as is also recorded. For his learning and other vertues of life this Bishop was, well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented of some. But whatsoever his learning was pity it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly we see come to pass; as the Lord saith, *That whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword*, and they that stain their hands with blood seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody Tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christs poor Members. In the number of whom was this Bishop and Sir *Thomas More*, by whom good *John Frith*, *Tewkesbury*, *Thomas Hytten*, *Barfield*, with divers other good Saints of God were brought to their death. It was said, That the Pope, to recompence Bishop *Fisher* for his faithful service, had elected him Cardinal, and sent him a Cardinals Hat as far as *Calice*; but the head that it should stand upon was as high as *London Bridge*, ere ever the Popes Hat could come to him. Thus Bishop *Fisher* and Sir *Thomas More*, which a little before had put *John Frith* to death for Heresie against the Pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for Treason against the King; the one the 22*d* of *June*, the other the 6*th* of *July Anno* 1535.

Blood revenged with Blood.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Tho. More persecutors.

Bishop Fisher and Sir Tho. More beheaded.

Of Sir *Thomas More* something hath been touched before, who was also recounted a Man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was beside, a bitter Persecutor he was of good Men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the Gospel, as by his Books left behind him may appear, wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Tindal*, *Frith*, *Barnes*, *Barfield*, *Bainham*, *Tewkesbury*, falsly belying them in their Articles and Doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

The lying Books of Sir Tho. More.

Briefly, as he was a sore Persecutor of them that stood in defence of the Gospel, so again on the other side such a blind devotion he bare to the Pope-holy See of *Rome*, and so wilfully flood in the Popes quarrel against his own Prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the Scaffold of the *Tower-Hill*, with the Axe and all upon his own neck.

M. More a persecutor.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle, writing of the death and manners of this Sir *Thomas More*, seemeth to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise Man, or a wise foolish Man. For as by nature he was endued with a great Wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had minished some mock in the Communication; insomuch as at his coming to the Tower, one of the Officers demanding his upper Garment for his Fee, meaning his Gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his Cap, saying it was the uppermost Garment that he had. Likewise even going to his death, at the Tower Gate, a poor Woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain Evidences of hers in the time that he was in Office (which after he was apprehended she could not come by) and that he would intreat that she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered: Good Woman, have patience a little while, for the King is so good to me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself. Also when he went up the Stair of the Scaffold, he desired one of the Sheriffs Officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, When I come down again, let me shift for my self so well as I can. Also the Hang-man kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is. To whom he answered, I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honour of the striking off my Head, my neck is so short. Also even when he should lay down his neck on the block, he having a great gray Beard, thriked out his Beard, and said to the Hang-man, I pray you let me lay my Beard over the block, lest you should cut it; thus with a mock he ended his life.

M. More a persecutor beheaded.

{KING Hen. 8.}

There is no doubt but that the Popes Holyness hath hallowed and dignified these two persons long since for Catholick Martyrs. Neither is it to be doubted, but after an hundred years expired, they shall be also thrined and portissed, dying as they did in the quarrel of the Church of *Rome*, that is, in taking the Bishop of *Romes* part, against their own ordinary and natural Prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long Discourse, and a peculiar Tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with *Cope* my Friend. This briefly for a *Memorandum* may suffice; That if the causes of true Martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbred, and if the end of Martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these Men standing as it doth, and being tried by Gods Word, perhaps in the Popes Kingdom they may go for Martyrs, in whose Cause they died; but Certes in Christs Kingdom their Cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

The like also is to be said of the three Monks of the Charter-house, *Ermew*, *Middlemore*, *Nudigate*, who the same year in the month of *June* were likewise attached and arraigned at *Westminster*, for speaking certain Traiterous words against the Kings Crown and Dignity; for the which they were Hanged, drawn, and Quartered at *Tiburn*: whom also, because *Cope* my good Friend doth repute and accept in the number of holy Catholick Martyrs, here would be asked of him a Question; What Martyrs be they, which standing before the Judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these *Carthusians* did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that Cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore if my Friend *Cope* had been so well advised in setting out his Martyrs, as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controleth others.

Rochester, Mere, Brerton, Middlemore, Nudigate, executed for Treason.

In the same cause and quarrel of Treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the month of *May* were executed with the like punishment *John Houghton*, Prior of the Charter-house in *London*, *Robert Laurence*, Prior of the Charter-house of *Belvail*, *Austen Webster*, Prior of the Charter-house of *Exham*.

See Affairs of Germany, *Fol.* 856. Hen. 8.

Beside and with these Priors suffered likewise the same time, two other Priests, one called *Reignold*, Brother of *Sion*, the other named *John Haile* Vicar of *Thistleworth*.

Divers other Charter-house Monks also of *London* were then put in prison, to the number of Nine or ten, and in the same prison died, for whom we will, the Lord willing, reserve another place hereafter to intreat of more at large.

Nine Carthusians died in prison refusing the Kings supremacy.

In the mean time, for so much as the foresaid *Cope* in his doughty Dialogues, speaking of these nine Worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three Priors above recited, here by the way I would desire Master *Cope* simply and directly to answer me to a thing or two that I would put to him, and first of this *John Houghton* that angelical Prior of the Charterhouse, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom thus he writeth; *Atque cum Johannem illum Houghtonum cogito, non tam hominem quam Angelum in humana forme invelueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinae dotes, & heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satis pro dignitate explicare, &c.* By these his own words it must needs be confessed, that the Author of these Dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion and shape of his excellent Body, with such admiration of his personage, that, as he saith, as oft as he calleth the said *John Houghton* to mind, it seemeth to him even as though he saw an Angel in the shape and form of a Man. Whose eminent vertues moreover, whose divine gifts, and heroical celsitude of mind, no Man saith he, may sufficiently express, &c. And how old was this Master *Cope* then would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? For as I understand, Master *Cope*, being yet at this present

M. *Cope* nine Worthies.

Cope in fol. 995.

{KING Hen. 8.}

sent scarce come to the age of Forty years, he could not then be above Nine years old (the other suffering *Anno* 1535) in the which age in my mind, Master *Cope* had small discretion to judge either of any such angelical proportion of this Mans personage, or of his Divine qualities, and Heroical celsitude of his mind, and yet he remembreth him in his Dialogues. Which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to suspect that these Dialogues Printed in *Antwerpe*, *Anno* 1566, were brought over by Master *Cope* there to be Printed, but were penned and framed by another *Pseudocopus*, whatsoever, or in what Fleet soever he was, unless my marks do greatly fail me. But as the cause is of no great weight, so I let it pass, returning to other matters of more importance.

Cope Dialogues fol. pelled not to be his own.

Shortly after the overthrow of the Pope, consequently began by little and little to follow the ruine of Abbies and religious Houses in *England*, in a right order and method by Gods divine Providence. For neither could the fall of Monasteries have followed after, unless that suppression of the Pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the Church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious Houses had been joyned withal.

Whereupon, the same year in the Month of *October*, the King having then *Thomas Cromwel* of his Council, sent Doctor *Lee* to visit the Abbies, Priories, and Nunneries in all *England*, and to set at liberty all such religious Persons as desired to be free, and all other that were under the age of four and twenty years; providing withal, that such Monks, Canons, and Friers, as were dismissed, should have given them by the Abbot or Prior, in stead of their habite, a Secular Priests Gown, and forty Shillings of Money. And likewise the Nuns to have such apparel as Secular Women did then commonly use, and suffered to go where they would. At which time also from the said Abbies and Monasteries were taken their chief Jewels and Reliques.

Suppression of Abbeys first begineth in England.

Religious men under age let out of Monasteries.

The King first beginneth with the jewels of Abbeys.

{Anno 1536.}

WHen the King had thus established his supremacy, and all things were well quieted within the Realm, he like a wise Prince, and having wise Counsel about him, forecasting with himself what foreign dangers might fall unto him by other Countries about, which all were yet in subjection to the Bishop of *Rome*, save only a few *German* Princes, and misdoubting the malice of the Pope, to provide therefore betime for perils that might ensue, thought good to keep in by all means possible with other Princes.

And first to entertain the favour of the *French* King, who had been sick a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in signification of publick joy and friendship, the King commanded a solemn and famous Procession to be ordained through the City of *London*, with the Waits and Children of the Grammar Schools, with the Masters and Ushers in their Array: then followed the Orders of the Friers and Canons, and the Priors with their pomp of *Copes*, Crosses, Candlesticks, and Vergers before them. After these, followed the next Pergeant of Clerks and Priests of *London*, all in *Copes* likewise. Then the Monks of *Westminster* and other Abbies, with their glorious gardeviance of Crosses, Candlesticks, and Vergers before them in like fort. Last of all came the Quire of *Pauls* with their Residentiaries, the Bishop of *London* and the Abbots following after in their *Pontificalibus*. After these courses of the Clergy went the Companies of the City, with the Lord Maior and Aldermen in their best Apparrel, after their degrees. And left it might be thought this Procession of the Church of *London* to make but a small or beggerly shew, the furniture of the gay Copes there worn, was counted to the number of seven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this Procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides the singing Quires, and chanting of the Priests, there lacked no Minstrels withall, to pipe at the Processions. Briefly here lacked nothing else but only the Ordnance to shoot off also. But because that is used in the Processions at *Rome*, therefore for difference-sake the same is reserved only for the Popes own Processions, and for none other in the month of *October*.

A solemn Procession in London for joy of the French Kings health.

A piping Procession.

This grand Procession was appointed for a triumph or a thanksgiving for the late recovery of the *French* Kings health, as is aforesaid.

Over and besides this, the King, to nourish and retain Amity with Kings and Princes, left the Pope, being exiled now out of *England*, should incite them to War against him, directed sundry Embassadors and Messengers with Letters and Instructions. To the Emperor was sent Sir *Thomas Wyat*, to the *French* King Sir *Francis Brian*, and Doctor *Edward Fox*, who also sent for to the Princes of *Germany*; to the *Scottish* King was sent Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber.

Embassadors to sundry Kings.

In *Scotland* the same time were cast abroad divers railing *Ballets* and slanderous *Rimes* against the King of *England*, for casting of the Lady *Dowager*, and for abolishing the Pope: for the which cause the foresaid Sir *Ralph Sadler* being sent into *Scotland*, with Letters and Instructions how to address himself accordingly, after he had obtained access unto the King, and audience to be heard, first declareth the effectuous and hearty commendations from the Kings Majesty his Graces Uncle, and withall delivered his Letters of Credence. Which done, after a few words of Courtly entertainment, as occasion served him to speak, the said Sir *Ralph Sadler* obtaining audience, thus began in the King his Masters behalf to declare, as followeth.

Sir Ralph Sadler Ambassador to the Scottish King.

The Oration of the Kings Ambassador.

The Oration of Sir Ralph Sadler to the Scottish King.

WHereas there is nothing after the glory of Almighty God in this World so much to be tendered by Kings, Princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their Honour, Estimation, good Fame and Name, which whosoever neglecteth is to be esteemed unnatural: and unless a man labour to avoid and extinguish the false Reports, Slanders, and Diffamations made of him by malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemn himself: the King your Uncle considering the same, and hearing of sundry Ballets, Criminations, and infamous Libels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his Grace, by your Graces Subjects, not only upon trust to find with your Grace such natural Affection, Friendship, and Amity, as to the nearness of blood between Uncle and Nephew, the estimate of Reverence, proximity both of kin and dominion together doth require; but also upon assurance that your Grace and Wisdom will consider how these Slanders and Diffamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate: as the diffamation of Kings toucheth Kings, and so of other Degrees and Dignities: doth send at this time to your Grace, his Nephew (other he might have sent more worthy, but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he sent) to desire, pray, and require your Grace, according as the nearness of Blood, connexion of Estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice do require: beseeching your Grace, gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder the malice of those the said Slanderers, and to call in again all the said diffamatory Ballets, Libels, and other Writings, punishing the Authors and Setters forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open Proclamations to be made through your Realm, that none of your Inhabitants there shall in any manner wise so misuse himself hereafter, upon such great pain and punishment as to your Grace and your Counsel shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that other by their correction, and by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.

Evil example a pernicious thing in a Common wealth.

The example of such slanders is very pernicious to all Kings: for by such slanders of other Princes, the Slanderers take boldness so to deal afterward with their own King as they have done with other, and the next step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to Sedition: of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

Wherefore your Grace, at the contemplation of your dear Uncle, in tendering his proceedings, shall do well to follow therein the loving steps of his good Brother and Alley the French King, who hath already at Roan and sundry places else, caused certain slanderous Preachers to be sore punished; and further directed Commissions through his Realm for repressing the same. As also other Princes shall

ſhall be ready (his Majeſty truſteth) to do the like in their Dominions, if like occaſion ſhall be given to require the ſame of them. In which ſo doing, your Grace may be aſſured in this your gentle dealing in that part, to win your Uncles moſt ſincere and kind heart, to the increaſe of your Amity and Allyance, which as to you ſhall be moſt honourable, ſo ſhall it be no leſs profitable unto him.

And thus to conclude with the firſt part of my Narration, concerning the ſlanderous and diſſamatory Libels, leſt
The ſecond point. *I ſhould ſeem with prolixity of matter more than needs to abuſe your Graces ſilence; I will now deſcend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your Grace, as touching the Popes* Nuncio *or Meſſenger. Of whoſe late arrival the Kings Majeſty your Uncle having partly Intelligence, but not certainly knowing the ſpecial cauſe of his coming from* Rome, *and yet hearing by the common Bruit and talk of your Subjects, what his Errand ſhould be, that is to practiſe ſome annoyance by his pretended Cenſures againſt the Kings Majeſty your Uncle: he therefore premoniſhing your Grace before, as fearing the worſt, moſt juſtly maketh his complaint thereof unto your Grace his Nephew, requiring you, that foraſmuch as the foreſaid Bruits and Reports are ſlanderous to his Majeſty, and ſeeing that neither the Emperor nor the* French *King, nor any other Princes have conſented thereto, or underſtood thereof, the Kings Majeſty therefore your Uncle, willing to ſtop thoſe Bruits and talks, deſireth and moſt heartily prayeth your Grace, at his inſtant requeſt to vouchſafe to conſider and weigh,*

Supremacy of Princes. *Firſt, The Supremacy of Princes by the holy Scripture granted unto him and other Princes in Earth under Chriſt upon their Churches.*

Secondly, To weigh what the Goſpel and Gods Word calleth a Church.

Alſo what Superſtitions, Idolatries, and blind abuſes have crept into all Realms, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God by reaſon thereof.

Fourthly, What is to be underſtood by the true Cenſure or Excommunication of the Church, and how no ſuch can be in the power of the Biſhop of Rome, *or of any other man, againſt his Majeſty or any other Prince, having ſo juſt ground to avoid from the root, and to aboliſh that execrable authority, which the Biſhop of* Rome *hath uſurped and doth uſurp upon all Princes, to their great detriment and damage.*

As touching the conſideration of which four Points, although the Kings Majeſty your Uncle doubteth not your Grace to be furniſhed and provided with ſufficient knowledge, rightly to diſcern and judge upon the ſame; yet if it ſhall ſo pleaſe your Grace further to know your Uncles mind touching the ſaid Points, I aſſure your Highneſs in the behalf of your foreſaid Uncle his Majeſty, that he will not ſtick to ſend unto you ſuch learned, wiſe, and diſcreet ment, as ſhall amply inform you thereof, and of ſuch other things as your Grace having once a ſmack thereof, ſhall think moſt worthy for a Prince to know.

His requeſt therefore to your Highneſs is, that you will conſider of what moment and importance it ſhall be unto your Grace (having the Scots *your Subjects ſo evilly inſtructed in the premiſſes) for you to aſſent and agree to any ſuch Cenſure, and ſo by ſuch example to give ſuch an upper-hand over your ſelf and other Princes to that Uſurper of* Rome, *as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Chriſtendom, whereſoever the true declaration of the Truth and Word of God ſhall have free courſe, to ſcourge them, unleſs they will adore, worſhip, and kiſs the Feet of that corrupt Holineſs, which deſireth nothing elſe but pride and the univerſal thrall of Chriſtendom under* Romes *Yoke.*

Romes yoke. *But becauſe the Cenſures of that* Nuncio *be not yet opened, but lie ſecret and uncertain under muttering, I ſhall ceaſe further to proceed therein, till further occaſion ſhall miniſter to me more certain matter to ſay and to judge. In the mean time for ſo much as it is moſt certainly come to the Intelligence of the Kings Majeſty, that the Abbot of* Arboth *ſhould be choſen of late and decked to be a Cardinal in this your Realm of* Scotland, *his Majeſty therefore for the good love and hearty good will he beareth unto your Grace, as the Uncle is bound unto the Nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive*

The Abbot of Arboth choſen Cardinal of Scotland.

not ſo well the hypocriſie and deceitful guile and malice {KING Hen.8.} *of the* Romans *and their practiſes, as he himſelf doth by his long experience; could not but hearing thereof adverviſe your Grace, that his advice is, you ſhould not ſuffer any of your Subjects to take upon him that red Hat of pride, whereby he ſhall incontinently, the ſame being received (unleſs he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that ſort) not only be in manner diſcharged of his Obedience, and become the Biſhop of* Romes *true liege-man; but alſo ſhall preſume of his Cardinal-ſhip to be your Fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then ſhould the Biſhop of* Rome *creep into your own very boſom, know all your ſecrets, and at laſt, unleſs you will be yoked and ſerve their pleaſure in all points, your Grace is like to ſmart for it. The thing perchance in the beginning ſhall ſeem to your Grace very honourable and pleaſant: but wiſdom it is to beware of the tail, which is very black and bitter.*

Inconvenience that enſueth by Cardinals. *His Majeſties Father, and Grandfather to your Grace, had a Cardinal, whereof he was weary, and never admitted other after his deceaſe, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner alſo his Highneſs by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoid all the ſort: ſo well his Grace hath known and experienced their miſchief, yoke, and thraldom that thereby is laid upon Princes. By reaſon whereof, as his Highneſs is the more able by his own experience to inform your Grace, ſo of good will and meer propenſity of heart, cauſed partly by nature and kin, partly by conjunction and vicinity of Dominions adjoyning ſo near together, he is no leſs ready to forwarn your Grace before, wiſhing that God will ſo work in your Princely heart and noble ſtomach, that his Majeſties monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a ſincere affection and tender care of his part unto his Nephew, ſo it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your Grace wiſely in weighing with your ſelf, what ſupream Right Princes have and ought to have upon their Churches and Lands where they govern, and what little cauſe the Biſhop of* Rome *hath thereto, to proceed by unjuſt Cenſures againſt them: your Grace may therein not only ſtand to the juſt defence of your dear Uncle, but alſo may endeavour to follow his ſteps therein, and to take his counſel, which he doubteth not, but ſhall redound not only to your Graces honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your Realm and Subjects, but eſpecially to the Glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true Religion.*

And thus have I expounded unto your Grace, the ſum of my Errand and Meſſage from the Kings Majeſty your Uncle, who as he would be glad to be advertiſed by anſwer, of your Graces purpoſe, mind, and intention in this behalf, ſo for my part, according to my charge and duty, I ſhall be preſt and ready with all diligence to give mine attendance upon your pleaſure for the ſame accordingly.

The ſum and effect of the Kings Meſſage ſent to the French King in defence of his proceedings.

The Kings Meſſage to the French King.

THe King conſidering the preſent ſtate of his Marriage, which was not yet well digeſted nor accepted in the Courts of other Princes: and alſo having Intelligence of the ſtraight Amity intended by the marriages between the Emperor and the *French* King, and alſo of the Popes inclination to pleaſure the Emperor, and further underſtanding of the order and meaning of the *French* Kings Counſel, not greatly favouring his Purpoſes, ſent therefore into *France* for his Embaſſador *Edward Fox* Doctor of Divinity, his Chaplain and Counſellor, with Inſtructions and Admonitions how to frame and attemper himſelf in thoſe the Kings Affairs. The contents of which his Inſtructions came to this effect: That the ſaid *Edward Fox*, firſt declaring to the *French* King the moſt affectuous Commendations made on the Kings behalf, with Declaration of the Kings moſt intire and hearty good will to underſtand of his Proſperity, and the good ſucceſs of his Affairs, which his Majeſty

{KING Hen.8.} no leſs deſired than his own: and alſo after the Kings Letters being delivered to him and to other Perſonages of his Counſel, then, after his acceſs made unto the King, he ſhould utter and inſinuate unto the King his Maſters mind and intent in theſe three ſpecial Points following.

Three cauſes to be declared in the Kings defence. The firſt was, to declare the juſtneſs of the Kings cauſe concerning the late marriage with Queen *Anne*, and divorcement of the King from his Brothers Wife.

The ſecond to ſignifie and expreſs the injuries done by the Pope, as afterward ſhall be declared.

The third was, to win and allure to the Kings devotion the Chancellor of *France*.

And as touching the Declaration of the juſtneſs of the Kings cauſe, firſt he taking with him certain Books printed, containing the determinations of Univerſities in that behalf, with reaſons and authorities confirming the ſame, ſhould diſtribute the ſaid Books to the Biſhop of Saint *Lowe*, and to other Biſhops, to Mounſieur *de Langee*, and other of the Kings Council more, and to prove after the beſt faſhion, to obtain their approbations of the ſame Books, and with dexterity to aſſay whether he could induce them of the Univerſity of *Paris*, and other learned men, to ſend forth this Book with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he being acquainted with all thoſe Points and Articles of the Kings Cauſe, in communicating and conference (as the cauſe required) ſhould not only make anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be objected, but alſo furniſh and maintain the juſtneſs of that Opinion, with his Learning, in ſuch ſort as he could beſt invent and cogitate.

The Popes Injuries done to the King of *England*. As touching the ſecond part which contained the Injuries done by the Pope againſt the King, the ſaid Embaſſador in that behalf being a man no leſs acquainted, than alſo well beaten and ripe in the manifold miſbehaviours of the Pope, from the beginning of the cauſe, ſhould declare and expreſs to the *French* King, how injuriouſly the ſaid Pope had demeaned himſelf towards the Kings Highneſs: firſt, in ſending a Commiſſion decretal, and then commanding it to be burnt: as alſo in promiſing by Schedule of his own hand, not to call the cauſe out of *England*; and moreover, approving firſt the juſtneſs of the Kings cauſe, yet notwithſtanding afterward went from the ſame and did contrary.

The Pope inconſtant in his deeds and contrary to himſelf.

Touching all which Injuries received at the Popes hand, though the King had great cauſe juſtly to complain, yet other Injuries there were beſide theſe wherewith the King moſt eſpecially was moved.

The Pope eſteth and citeth the King to *Rome*. The one was for calling and citing the Kings Highneſs to appear at *Rome*.

Two ſpecial Injuries of the Pope againſt the King. The other was for rejecting the Perſon of the Kings truſty Subject and Chaplain Maſter *Kerne* his Embaſſador, from making ſuch Allegations as to the King in that caſe appertained; beſide ſundry other no ſmall griefs and inconveniences, which here might be ſhewed and alledged: but in theſe two eſpecial Injuries the King thought himſelf moſt chiefly touched and agrieved. In opening and ripping up of which Injuries, and firſt in the ſaid injurious calling of the King to *Rome*, Inſtructions were given to the ſaid Embaſſador to explicate the open violation therein of the moſt ancient and general Councils, the Council of *Nice*, the Council of *Africk*, and the Council of *Milvan*. In which Councils the contrary was, for quietneſs of the World, provided and ordered: Declaring withall, how agreeable the ſame is to all Laws, Reaſon and Equity, that Princes ſhould not be compelled to repair to *Rome* at the Popes calling, not be bound in a matter of ſach weight and moment to ſend out of their Realms and Dominions, the Writings, Inſtruments, and Monuments containing the ſecrets of their affairs, or to make and truſt a Proctor, being in ſo far diſtant parts in a matter of ſuch importance, to abide and fulfil that which the ſaid Proctor ſhould agree unto there. The matter and cauſe whereof did not ſo much concern the ſtate of any one Prince alone, as it touched the dignity of all other Chriſtian Kings ſo near, that unleſs they would ſuffer themſelves to be yoked with the Popes Authority, it was time (in as much as the Pope now made this enterprize on them) to ſearch and know the bottom and ground both of his and of their Authority; and if any thing by negligence or miſuſe had been loſt, to recover the ſame, rather than to ſuffer it to decay any more. As touching all which griefs, hurts, inconveniences, prejudice, and evil example which might thereof enſue, the Kings Highneſs doubted not but that his good Brother the *French* King, would aſſiſt and concur with his Highneſs for maintenance and defence of the ſame.

The ſecond Point to be declared. For declaration of the ſecond notable grief and injury done by the Pope to the Kings Highneſs, thus furthermore he was willed to inſinuate to the *French* King, what injury, or rather contumely the Kings Highneſs received at the Popes hand, in not ſuffering the Kings Subject and Embaſſador to alledge ſuch matter in defence of his Prince, as by Law, Reaſon and Equity was to be heard and admitted, for as much as the ſaid Embaſſador, Doctor *Kerne*, the Kings Chaplain being at *Rome*, at ſuch time as Citations were there publiſhed againſt the Kings Highneſs, and underſtanding his Grace by them to be called before one *Capaſuccha*, Dean of the *Rota*, was there ready to make anſwer to the Queens Agents complaint, and had by the advice of other great learned men conceived a certain matter containing cauſes reaſonable and lawful, why the Kings Highneſs ſhould not be bound to appear there either by himſelf, or by his Proctor. Which matter alſo he did exhibit on the Kings behalf, as a true Subject by Law of nature is bound to maintain and alledge in defence of his Prince that is abſent, and ought by equity to preſerve him from condemnation. And yet this notwithſtanding, the ſaid *Capaſuccha*, not regarding nor conſidering the matter alledged, demanded, whether the ſaid Doctor had any Proxy from the King, or no, for ſuch purpoſe, and upon default and lack of the ſaid Proxy (which was not neceſſary in this caſe) proceeded in the principal cauſe. By reaſon whereof the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* appealed to the Pope, alledging injury to be done not only to the Kings Highneſs, but alſo to himſelf, for that ſuch matter as he did alledge, was not conſidered nor regarded, but proceſs made. To the which Appellation notwithſtanding the ſaid *Capaſuccha* gave an ambiguous and a doubtful anſwer; which was, that as much as Doctor *Kerne* was by the Law a lawful perſon, ſo much he would give place, *& deferre appellationi*, and otherwiſe not.

The Kings Embaſſador could not be heard at Rome.

Thus, upon declaration of this doubtful anſwer paſſed certain days, the ſaid *Capaſuccha* promiſing always to open the ſaid anſwer and ſentence more plainly, and to give a determinate reſolution. Which he nevertheleſs did not, albeit he was divers times urged thereunto; but ſo paſſed the time, and ſuddenly retumed to Proceſs. Whereupon the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* appealed eft-ſoons again, and put up a Supplication to the Pope, for admiſſion of the ſaid Appeal. By reaſon whereof the matter was reaſoned in the ſignature. In which ſignature by no Law it could be denied why the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* ſhould not be admitted to alledge in defence of the Kings Highneſs, but only that they there among themſelves being the greater number, which were of the Emperors Dominions, and feed of him (among which was alſo the ſaid *Capaſuccha*) gave their Voices as the Pope ſaid, that Doctor *Kerne* ſhould not be heard, *Sine mandato Regiæ Majeſtatis*. Whereunto when Doctor *Kerne* replied, ſaying, *Whatſoever they decreed or ſaid, there was no Law to maintain and bear it*: It was ſaid again by Cardinal *Ancenitate, That the Pope might judge after his Conſcience*. And upon this reſolution, they determined there to proceed in the principal cauſe: unleſs the King would ſend a Proxy, intending by this injury and wrong, to inforce his Highneſs to the exhibition of a Proxy there, to his Highneſs high prejudice, to the pernicious example of the like to be done to other Princes, and alſo to the derogation of the Liberties and Prerogatives of his gracious Realm. Unto the obſervation whereof his Highneſs is bound by his Oath, and alſo by the ſame Oath is bound to recover and reſtore ſuch Liberties and Priviledges as by any of his Predeceſſors have been loſt, diminiſhed or decayed in time paſt.

The Pope violateth the Councils of Nice, Africk and Milevites.

The Pope would have the King to appear by Proxy at Rome.

The third part or purpoſe of this Meſſage

Theſe, with other like injuries and wrongs of the Pope done to the King, the foreſaid Embaſſador Mr. *Fox*, according as he had in charge and Commiſſion, did declare, open, and ſhew unto the *French* King, to the intent to ſolicite the ſaid King, to do by his mediation for the remedy and redreſſing of thoſe foreſaid injuries and wrongful dealings of the Pope in this behalf.

Further-

Furthermore, for the third purpose touching the Chancellor of *France*, forsomuch as he was one of the chief Personages whom the *French* King most trusted in his great Affairs (by whose advice all matters of Learning were then conduced and trained) the King thought it not unprofitable by all ways and means to win and allure his Friendship and Amity also unto his devotion, either that by his means and dexterity the Kings Purposes might be advanced the better, or at least for a *Ne noceat*; that is, to mitigate and diminish such favour as he by the Admiral or otherwise was moved to shew to the Imperials. For the which cause the King committing in Charge to his Embassador aforesaid, willed and instructed him how and what to do, and after what manner to attemperate himself to all occasions and times of opportunity; as first to deliver to him from the King his Letters of Credence, and withall to declare and extend the Kings most effectuous Commendations, with the hearty good will and sincere affections which his Highness bare to the said Cardinal, Chancellor of *France*, with no less defire also most gladly to do that thing which might be to his commodity and benefit, according as the manifold Pleasures, Gratuities, and kindness done on his part for the Kings Highness did worthily deserve. Then after such words of mollification, to enter into further Communication with him, in such sort as might best serve his honour.

The vain-glory and avarice of the Cardinal.

And for as much as the Cardinal was then noted much to be moved with the affections of vain-glory and covetise; therefore amongst other Communication, it was devised to infer mention of the Papality, noting what ways and means might be used to attain unto that dignity. Wherein if the Kings Highness could stand him in any stead, as he thought the person of the said Chancellor most meet for the same, so he would not fail to move and to procure it to the best furtherance of his advancement. And finally, to declare how desirous the Kings Highness was to retain and make sure unto him the amity and friendship of the said Chancellor, and that his Highness devising by what means and ways he might do the same (albeit his Grace knew well, that the Faith and Sincerity of the said Chancellor towards his Master was such, as no Gift, Pension, or other offer could advance or increase that good will which for his Masters sake he would imploy in the Kings Highness affairs) thought, that for declaration of his hearty good will towards the said Chancellor, it were convenient to offer unto him some yearly remembrance, &c.

The fashion of Princes Courts to be noted.

This was the sum and effect of the Message which the King sent unto the *French* King, and to other of his Council, by his Embassador, Master *Edward Fox*, which was especially to signifie and make manifest to the said *French* King, the unjust dealings and prejudicial proceedings of the Pope, in calling up the King of *England* to appear at *Rome* by Proxy, which was derogatory to the Kings Dignity and Crown, and also prejudicial both to General-Councils of the Primitive-time, and to the ancient Laws and Statutes of this Realm (as is afore declared) and no less hurtful for example to all other Princes and Kings likewise, &c.

Stephen Gardiner Embassador to the *French* King.

This Message so done, shortly after was sent to the said *French* King, *Stephen Gardiner*, Bishop of *Winchester*, with the Kings Answer and Message again on this manner: That forasmuch as the saying of the *French* King to the Embassadors was this, That notwithstanding all the Kings Realm should agree and condescend never so much to the Right and Title which the Succession procreated of this his lawful Matrimony hath in this his Realm; yet when outward Parties shall conceive any other or contrary opinion thereof, great trouble and vexation might insue. Whereunto the King made answer again, declaring that he could not but greatly marvel, that the King his Brother, being so wise a Prince, and thereto well expert and learned in Chronicles and Histories, not only of his own Realm, but also of all others, or any of his Council, being men of such experience as they were taken to be, would think that the opinion and consent of other outward Realms was so highly to be considered and regarded of any Prince or King, in establishing or in executing things which might be lawfully done, and which touched the preservation of the Rights,

The *French* King doubteth not but the Kings Realm should agree to the Right and Title which the Succession procreated of this his lawful Matrimony hath in this his Realm.

The Kings answer to the *French* King.

{KING *Hen.* 8.}

Preheminences, Dignity and State of his Realm, and did also notably confer unto the singular benefit and tranquillity of the same, so as the words both of the said King his Brother, and of the great Master did pretend. Who furthermore were not ignorant themselves, that many things have been by his noble Progenitors Kings of *France* attempted and done, as well in cases of Matrimony, as otherwise, which in some part in the opinion of the Popes of *Rome* then being, and in some part in the opinion of divers other outward Princes, States, Seigniories, and common people, have been thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable unto them; and yet that notwithstanding his said Progenitors knowing themselves the prosecuting of those causes to be beneficial to them and to the Realm, have not therefore desisted from their said purposes, but diligently imploying their own strength and powers with the Succours of their Friends, have finally atchieved their said enterprizes, without requiring or greatly regarding the opinion or agreement thereunto of outward Princes.

Kings in the right of their Realms are not bound to the agreement of outward Realms.

Again, whereas the Chancellor of *France* made this Overture to the said Bishop of *Winchester*, Whether the King would be contented to have indifferent Judges to be appointed by the Authority of the Pope, to determine his Cause, with a Commission decretal from the same, declaring, *Quid juris*, &c. The King, by his Embassador thereunto answering, declared, That the Pope having done unto him so notable and evident Injuries as he had done, it were his office and duty now to labour himself to end this matter, and to study how to make due satisfaction to God, and his Justice, which he hath, *tam indignis modis*, offended and violated, and to deliver himself out of the danger, and the perpetual infamy of the World, which he hath incurred by reason of these his most ungodly doings, and not to look that the King should make any request or suit unto him therefore, or recompence for the same, &c.

The Overture of the Chancellor of *France*, to the King, to take indifferent Judges by the Popes authority.

The King answer to the Overture.

The Pope forgetteth his old Benefactors and Friends.

Furthermore, whereas the Pope, at the request of the *French* King, had in open Consistory prorogued execution of his Censures and Excommunication against the King unto the first day of *November*, and word thereof was sent to the King by his Embassadors, from the great Master of *France*, that the King might have the said Prorogation made authentickly in writing, if he would: The King answering thereunto, thought it not unprofitable, that his Embassadors resident in *France* should receive into their hands the possession of the said new Prorogation, conceived and written in authentick form and manner, according to the order of the Laws.

The benefits of the King upon the Pope, when he was taken by the Duke of Burbon.

After this again came other Letters to the King from *France*, namely, from the great Master of *France*, tending to this end; That if the King would do nothing for the Pope (meaning by the revocation of such Acts of Parliaments as were made in the Realm of *England*, to the Popes prejudice) it were no reason, neither should it be possible for the *French* King to induce the Pope to any gratuity or pleasure for the King in his affairs.

The King requested by the *French* King to relent to the Pope.

Whereunto the King answering again, sendeth word to the *French* King, trusting and hoping well of the perfect Friendship of the *French* King his good Brother, that he will never suffer any such Perswation to enter into his breast, whatsoever the great Master, or any other shall say to the contrary thereof, nor that he will require any thing more of him to do for the Pope, Chancellor, or other, than his Council hath already devised to be done in this behalf, especially, considering the words of the said *French* Kings promise made before, as well to the Duke of *Norfolk*, as to the other Embassadors, promising his Friendship to the King simply, without requiring him to revocate or infringe any such act or constitution made by the Realm and Parliament to the contrary. Perswading moreover, and laying before the eyes as well of the Pope, as of the *French* King, how much it should redound to the Popes dishonour and infamy, and to the slander also of his cause, if he should be seen so to pact and covenant with the King upon such conditions, for the administration of that thing which he in his own Conscience hath reputed and adjudged to be most rightful and agreeable to justice and equity, and ought of his office and duty to do in this matter *simpliciter & gratis*, and without all worldly respects, either for the advancement

The Kings answer to the *French* King, touching the Popes request.

The Pope seeketh not for justice, but his own lucre and commodity.

{KING *Hen.* 8.}

ment of his private lucre and commodity, or for the preservation of his pretended power and authority. For surely it is not to be doubted, but that the Pope, being minded and determined to give Sentence for the invalidity and nullity of the Kings first pretensed Matrimony, hath conceived and established in his own conscience a firm and certain opinion and perswasion, that he ought of justice and equity so to do.

The Pope defileth Justice.

Then to see the Pope to have this opinion indeed, and yet refuse this to do for the King, unless he shall be content for his benefit and pleasure, *Cedere juri suo*, and to do some things prejudicial unto his Subjects contrary to his honour: it is easie to be foreseen, what the World and the Posterity shall judge *De tam turpi nundinatione justitiæ, & illius tam sæda & sordida lucri & honoris ambitione.* And as for the Kings part, if he shall not attain now justice at the mediation of his good Brother, knowing the Pope to be of this disposition and determination in his heart, to satisfie all his desires, being moved thereunto by justice, and that the let thereof is no default of justice in the cause, but only for that the King would not condescend to his request: it is to the King matter sufficient enough for discharge of his conscience to God and to the World, although he never did execute indeed his said determination. For such his corrupt affection is the only impediment thereof, what need either the King to require him any further to do in the cause, or else his Subjects to doubt any further in the justness of the same?

The Pope doth against his own Conscience.

Albeit if respects to benefits and merits done towards the Pope and See of *Rome*, should be regarded in the attaining of justice in a cause of so high consequence as this is, reason would, that if it would please the Pope to consider the former kindness of the King shewed unto him in time past, (whereof he is very loth to enter the remembrance) *Ne videatur ipselle exprobrare quæ aliis facerit benè*) he should not now require of him any new benefit or gratuity to be shewed unto him, but rather study to recompence him for the old graces, merits, pleasures and benefits before received. For surely he thinketh that the Pope cannot forget, how that for the conservation of his Person, his Estate and Dignity, the King hath not heretofore spared for any respect, in using the office of a most perfect and stedfast Friend, to relinquith the long continued good will established between him and the Emperor, and to declare openly to all the World, that for the Popes sake, and in default of his deliverance, he would become enemy to the said Emperor, and to make against him actual War.

The Pope forgetteth not the Kings benefits.

Beside this, the King hath not failed him with right large and ample subventions of money, for the better supporting of his charges against the enterprizes of the said Emperor, combining and knitting himself with the *French* King, to procure the advancement of the said *French* Kings Army into *Italy*, to the Charges whereof the King did bear little less than the one half: Besides notable losses sustained as well in his Customs, Subsidies, and other Duties, as also to the no little hinderance and damage of his Subjects and Merchants, occasioned by discontinuance of the Traffick and entercouse heretofore used with the Emperors Subjects. In doing of all which things, the King hath not been thus respective, as the Pope now sheweth himself towards him, but like a perfect Friend hath been always contented frankly, liberally, and openly to expone all his study, labour, travel, treasure, puissance, Realm and divers Subjects for the Popes aid, and maintenance of the State and Dignity of the Church and See of *Rome*. Which things although he doth not here rehearse *animo exprobrandi*, yet he doubteth not but the same, weighed in the ballance of any indifferent mans judgment, shall be thought to be of that weight and value, as that he hath justly deserved to have some mutual correspondency of kindness to be shewed unto him at the Popes hands; especially in the ministration of Justice, and in so reasonable and just cause as this is, and not thus to have his most rightful Petition rejected and denied, because he will not follow his desire and appetite in revoking of such Acts, as be here made and passed for the weal and commodity of his Realm and Subjects.

All is lost that is done for a shadow.

¶ Thus ye have heard how instantly the King had laboured by the means of the *French* King, to the Pope being then in *France*, for Right and Justice to be done for the dissolution and nullity of his first pretensed Matrimony with his Brothers wife. Which when it could not be attained at the Popes hands, unless the King would recompence and requite the same, by revoking of such Statutes as were made and enacted here in the High Court of Parliament, for the surety of Succession and establishment of the Realm; what the King thereunto answered again, ye heard, declaring that to be a far unequal recompence and satisfaction for a thing which ought of right and justice to be minister unto him, that a King therefore should revocate and undo the Acts and Statutes passed by a whole Realm contrary to his own honour and weal of his Subjects, &c.

The crafty packing of the Papists.

Where is moreover to be understood, how that the Pope with all his Papists, and the *French* King also, and peradventure *Stephen Gardener* too, the Kings own Embassador, had ever a special eye to disprove and disappoint the Kings Succession by Queen *Anne*, whom they knew all to be a great enemy unto the Pope, thinking thereby that if that succession were diminished, the Popes Kingdom might soon be restored again in *England*. But yet for all their unjust and crafty packing, they were through Gods Providence frustrate of their devised purpose. For although they so brought to pass the next year following, to admull the Order of that Succession by a contrary Parliament, yet neither did they so addihilate it, but that both King *Edward* followed, yea, and also the same Succession afterward by the said King and other Parliaments was restored again, and yet, God be praised, hath hitherto reigned, and doth yet flourith in the Realm of *England*.

The Papists frustrate of their purpose.

Now, as we have declared the Kings doings in the Realm of *Scotland* and of *France* proceeding further in the Kings proceedings with other Princes, let us see how the King defended himself and his cause before the Emperor, sending his Embassador unto him; using these words before his Majesty, as here followeth.

The Oration of the Kings Embassador before the Emperor in Defence of his Cause.

The Oration of the Embassador to the Emperor.

Sir, the King my Master, taking and reputing you as his perfect Friend, Confederate and Allie, and not doubting, but you remembring the mutual kindness between you in times past, will shew your self inall occurrents to be of such mind and disposition, as Justice, Truth, and Equity doth require, hath willed me by his Letters, to open and to declare unto you, what he hath done, and in what wise he hath proceeded concerning such Marriage as by many years was supposed to have been between your Ant and his Grace. In which matter there being two principal Points specially to be regarded and considered: that is to say, the justice of the Cause, and the order of the Process therein, his Highness hath so used him in both, as no man may right-wise complain of the same.

Divisions consisting in two parts.

For as touching the justness of the Cause; that is to say, of that marriage between him and your said Ant to be naught, and of no moment, ne effect, but against the Law of God, Nature, and Man, and indispensable by the Pope, and in no wise available; his Highness hath done therein as much as becometh him for discharge of his Conscience, and hath found so certain, so evident, so manifest, so open and approved truth, as wherunto his Majesty ought of good congruence to give place, and with all other ought to be allowed and received, not as a matter doubtful, disputable, or depending in question and ambiguity; but as a plain determined and discussed verity of the true understanding of Gods Word and Law, which all Christian men must follow and obey, and before all other worldly Respects prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if his Highness had used only his own particular judgment and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own natural Subjects (although the same might in his Conscience have sufficed) it would not much have regarded, if some other had made difficulty to assent to him in the same, till further discussion had been made thereupon. But now, for as much as besides his own certain understanding, and the agreement of his whole Clergy in the same in both

The truth of the Kings Cause.

both Provinces of this Realm, his Majesty hath also for him the determination of the most famous Universities of Christendom, and most indifferent to pronounce and give judgment in this case, and among them, the University of Bononi, (all fear of the Pope set apart) concluding against his Power, and also Padua (the Venetians threats not regarded) giving their Sentence for the truth and evident words of Gods Law; there should no man, as seemeth to him, gain-say or withstand, either in word or deed, the truth thus opened, but for his honour and duty to the observation of Gods Law, willingly embrace and receive the same.

Universities standing with the Kings cause.

According whereunto his Grace perceiveth also as well in his Realm, as elsewhere, as a notable consent and agreement amongst all Divines, and such as have studied for knowledge of Gods Law without contradiction of any number, unless it be such as applying their mind to the maintenance of worldly affections, do either in defence of such Laws as they have studied, or for satisfaction of their private appetite, forbear to agree unto the same. The number of whom is so small, as in the discerning of truth it ought not to be regarded in a case so plainly described and determined by Gods Word, as this is.

Both the number and matter maketh with the side King.

And if percease your Majesty here not regarding the number, but the matter, shall seem to consider in this case, not so much who speaketh, as what is spoken; to answer thereunto, I say, Sir, the King my Master is of the same mind, for his own satisfaction, and taketh himself to be in the right, not because so many say it, but because he being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Nevertheless reason would, and inforceth also, that strangers to the cause, and not parties therein, should be induced to believe that to be truth that such a number of Clerks do so constantly affirm; especially not being otherwise learned to be Judges of their sayings, as your Majesty is not. And if you were, then could your Highness shew such Reasons, Authorities and Grounds as cannot be taken away, and be so firm and stable, as they ought not of Christian men in any part to be impugned, like as hath been partly heretofore shewed by his sundry Embassadors to your Imperial Majesty, and should ofttimes be done, were it not too great an injury to that which is already passed in the Realm, to dispute the same again in any other Country: which being constantly affirmed by the Laws and Ordinances of his Realm, be truth, your prudency will not require, but take that which is past for a thing done, and justly done; and as for Gods part, to leave his Conscience to himself, Qui Domino suo that aut cadit; *and for the World, to push over as a Friend that which nothing toucheth you, and not to marvel though the said King my Master, regarding the wealth of his Soul principally, with the commodity of his person, and so great benefit and quiet of his Realm, have percease done that which he for his private phantasie would had not chanced; like as his Highness also would wish it had not happed that such cause had been given unto him to compel him so to do.*

The second part of his Oration touching the manner of the Kings proceedings

But these things in their outward visage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concern the Soul. Quid autem prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur? Primum quærite Regnum Dei, &c. *And yet neither is his Highness ignorant what respect is to be had unto the World, and how much he hath laboured and travelled therein, he hath sufficiently declared and shewed to the World in his Acts and proceedings. For if he had utterly contemned the order and processe of the World, or the Friendship and Amity of your Majesty, he needed not to have sent so often and sundry Embassiates to the Pope, and to you both, nor continued and spent his time in delays, as he hath done hitherto, but might many years past have done that he hath done now, if it had so liked him, and with as little difficulty then as now; if he would have without such respect followed his pleasure in that behalf. But now I doubt not, your Majesty doth well remember how often the King my Master hath sent unto your Highness, and that your Majesty hath heard also what suits he hath made to the Pope, and how the said Pope hath handled him again, only in delay and dalliance, with open Commission given to his Legates to determine and give Sentence for him by a Commission decretal, and secretly*

How the Pope dallied with the King by delays.

{KING Hen. 8.} *secretly to give him Instructions to suspend and put over the same. By which means, and other semblable, he perceived plainly himself to be brought into such a Labyrinth, as going forward that way he were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to step right forth at once to the maxes end, there to quiet and repose himself at the last.*

And is it not time to have an end in seven years, or else to seek for it another way? The Pope hath shewed himself both unwilling to have an end, and also ready and prone to do him injury, as well in citing him to Rome, *as also sending forth certain Briefs to his Grace slanderous, and for the injustice and iniquity of them, to himself dishonourable: and he gave his Highness good and just cause to suspect, whether any end to be made at his hand (if any he would make) might be in his Conscience received and followed. For the Pope doing injury in some point, why should he be thought a convenient Judge, not using himself indifferently in this matter (as many more particularities may be shewed and declared) considering there is a general Council, willing all matters to be determined where they first began, and that the whole body of our Realm hath, for the wealth of the same, by a Law established the determination of such Causes? By reason whereof the Bishop of* Canterbury, *as Metropolitan of our Realm, hath given Sentence in due judgment for the Kings party. It is not to be asked, nor questioned, whether that matter hath been determined after the common fashion, but whether it hath in it common Justice, truth, and equity of Gods Law? For observation of the common order, his Grace hath done that lay in him, and inforced by necessity, hath found the true order maintainable by Gods Word and General-Councils, which he hath in substance followed with effect, and hath done as becometh him, tendering either Gods Law, or his Person, or the wealth of his Realm, like as he doubteth not but your Majesty (as a wise Prince) remembring his Cause from the beginning hitherto, will of your self consider and think, that among mortal men nothing should be immortal, and Suits must once have an end,* Si possis recte, si non quocunque modo. *And if he cannot as he would, his Highness then to do as he may; and he that hath a journey to be perfected, must, if he cannot go one way, assay another. Whatsoever hath been herein done, necessity hath inforced him (that is to say, Gods Law) in the matter, and such manner of dealing of the Pope as he hath shewed unto him in the same, doing sundry injuries without effect of justice, where in he promised the same. But as for the Kings matter to the Pope, he shall intreat with him apart. As touching your Majesty, he taketh you for his friend, and as to a friend he openeth these matters unto you, trusting to find your Majesty no less friendly hereafter unto him, than he hath done heretofore.*

By these matters thus passed and discoursed to and fro between the King and these foreign Princes above rehearsed, many things are to be understood of the Reader, who is disposed to behold and consider the state and proceeding of publick Affairs, as well to the Church appertaining, as to the Commonwealth. First, how the King cleareth himself both justly and reasonably for his divorce made with the Lady Katharine, *the Emperors Ant. Secondly, how he proveth and defendeth his marriage with Queen* Anne *to be just and lawful, both by the authority of Gods Word, and the comprobation of the best and most famous learned men and Universities, and also by the assent universal of the whole Realm.*

Furthermore, for the stablishing of the Kings Succession in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, for the suppression of the Pope, and uniting the Title of Supremacy unto the Kings Crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was set upon the same, may appear by the Act of Parliament set forth, Anno 1534. Ex H. reg. 26. cap. 13. in these words following:

This general Council was the first Council of Constantinople.

The Kings divorce just

The Kings Marriage with Queen Anne lawful.

The Pope Supprest.

The Kings Title of Supremacy. Stat. An. 26 H.8.c.13

If any person or persons after the first of Frebuary next, do maliciously imagine, invent, practice, or attempt to deprive the King of the Dignity, Title, or Name of his Royal Estate, &c. that then every such person and persons so offending in any of the premisses, their Aiders, Counsellors, Consenters, and Abettors, being thereof lawfully convict, according to the Laws and Customs of

Deeping of the Kings Supremacy made Treason.

{KING Hen. 8.} of this Realm, shall be reputed, accepted and adjudged Traytors, and that every such offence in any the premisses committed or done after the said first day of *February*, shall be reputed, accepted and adjudged high Treason; and the offenders therein, their aiders, consenters, counsellers and abettors, being lawfully convict of any such offence, shall have and suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as is limited and accustomed in cases of High-Treason.

Upon this and such other Acts concluded in those Parliaments, what stomach the Pope took, what stir he kept, and what practices he wrought with Cardinal Pool, *to stir up other Nations to War against us, what difficulty also there was with the Emperor, with the* French *King, and with the King of* Scots, *about the matter, and what labour was used on the Kings part to reconcile the Princes for his own indempnity, to keep from him their Wars and Invasions, and specially to obtain the Popes approbation, and to avoid his censures of Excommunication; and finally, what despightful injuries, and open wrongs the Pope wrought against him, upon the which Pope the King had bestowed so much mony, and great treasures before, all this likewise by the premisses may appear.*

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to go forward in our story, as the order and computation of years do give, we have now consequently to enter into the story of the good Martyr of God, *William Tindal*, being this present year falsly betrayed and put to death. Which *William Tindal*, as he was a special Organ of the Lord appointed, and as Gods Mattock to shake the inward roots, and foundation of the Popes proud Prelacy, so the great Prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to intrap him, and falsly to betray him, and maliciously to spill his life, as by the process of his story here following may appear.

The Life and Story of the true Servant and Martyr of God William Tindal; *who, for his notable pains and travel may well be called the Apostle of* England *in this our later Age.*

Will. Tindal Martyr. Ann. {1536}

WILLIAM *Tindal*, the faithful Minister and constant Martyr of Christ, was born about the Borders of *Wales*, and brought up from a Child in the University of *Oxford*, where he by long continuance grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal Arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he, lying then in *Magdalen* Hall, read privily to certain Students and Fellows of *Magdalen* College, some parcel of Divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose manners allo and conversation, being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most vertuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

The first tale of Gods truth in Magdalen College by the means of M. *Tind.*

Thus he, in the University of *Oxford*, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the Schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of *Cambridge*, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of Gods Word, leaving that University also, he reforted to one Master *Welch* a Knight of *Glocestershire*, and was there Schoolmaster to his Children, and in good favour with his Master. This Gentleman, as he kept a good Ordinary commonly at his Table, there reforted to him many times sundry Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, with divers other Doctors, and great Beneficed men; who there together with Master *Tindal* sitting at the same Table, did use many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of *Luther*, and of *Erasmus*; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master *Tindal*, as he was learned and well practised in Gods matters, so he spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought; and when as they at any time did vary from *Tindal* in opinions and judgment, he would shew them in the Book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Tindal confuteth the Doctors

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great Doctors had invited Mr. *Welch* and his Wife to a Banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gain-saying. Then Master *Welch* and his Wife, coming home, and calling for Mr. *Tindal*, began to reason with him about those matters, whereof the Priests had talked before at their Banquet. Master *Tindal* answering by Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the Lady *Welch*, a stout and a wise woman (as *Tindal* reported) *Well* (said she) *there was such a Doctor which may dispend an hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what, were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?* Master *Tindal* gave her no answer at that time, and also after that (because he saw it would not avail) he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the Translation of a Book called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, which being translated, he delivered to his Master and Lady. Who, after they had read and well perused the same, the Doctorly Prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the chear and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master *Tindal*, refrained themselves, and at last, utterly withdrew themselves, and came no more there.

Tindal instructeth *Welch* and his Wife in the truth.

Enchiridion, a Book of *Erasmus*, translated by *Tindal*.

As this grew on, the Priests of the Country clustering together, began to grudge and storm against *Tindal*, railing against him in Alehouses and other places. Of which *Tindal* himself, in his Prologue before the first Book of *Moses*, thus testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffered much in that Country by a sort of unlearned Priests, being full rude and ignorant (saith he) God knoweth: (which have seen no more *Latin*, than that only which they read in their Portesses and Missalles; which yet many of them can scarcely read) except it be *Albertus de secretis mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the Midwifes, as they say, and also another called *Lindwood*, a Book of Constitutions to gather Tythes, Mortuaries, Offerings, Customs, and other Pillage, which they call not theirs, but Gods part, the duty of Holy-Church, to discharge their Consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to Holy-Church. Thus these blind and rude Priests flocking together to the Alehouse (for that was their preaching place) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were Heresie; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the Chancellor, and other of the Bishops Officers.

The Priests storm against *Tindal*.

The unlearnedness of the ignorant Priests.

Tindal troubled by the Priests of the Country.

If followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the Bishops Chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the Priests to appear, amongst whom Master *Tindal* was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatnings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is (as he himself declared) that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fait to stand in the truth of his Word.

Tindal called before the Bishops Chancellors.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the Chancellor, he threatned him grievously, reviling and ratting at him as though he had been a Dog, and laid to his charge many things wherof no accuser yet could be brought forth (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser) notwithstanding that the Priests of the Country the same time were there present. And thus Master *Tindal* after those Examinations, escaping out of

Tindal could not have his accusers brought out

their hands, departed home, and returned to his Maſter again.

One good old Doctor amongſt many naught.

There dwelt not far off a certain Doctor, that had been an old Chancellor before to a Biſhop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Maſter *Tindal*, and alſo favoured him well. Unto whom Maſter *Tindal* went and opened his mind upon divers queſtions of the Scripture; for to him he durſt be bold to diſcloſe his heart. Unto whom the Doctor ſaid, *Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichriſt, whom the Scripture ſpeaketh of? But beware what you ſay; for if you ſhall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will coſt you your life*: and ſaid moreover, *I have been an Officer of his; but I have given it up, and deſie him and all his works.*

The Pope Antichriſt.

It was not long after, but Maſter *Tindal* happened to be in the company of a certain Divine, recounted for a learned man, and in communing and diſputing with him, he drave him to that iſſue, that the ſaid great Doctor, burſt out into theſe blaſphemous words, and ſaid, *We were better to be without Gods Laws than the Popes.* Mr. *Tindal* hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blaſphemous ſaying, replied again, and ſaid, *I deſie the Pope, and all his Laws*; and further added, *That if God ſpared him life, ere many years he would cauſe a boy that driveth the Plough to know more of the Scripture than he did.*

The blaſphemy of a blind Dr. The Popes law preferred before Gods Law.

After this, the grudge of the Prieſts increaſing ſtill more and more againſt *Tindal*, they never ceaſed barking and ratting at him, and laid many things fore to his charge, ſaying, *That he was an Heretick in Sophiſtry, an Heretick in Logick, an Heretick in Divinity*; and ſaid moreover to him, *That he bare himſelf bold of the Gentlemen there in that Country; but notwithſtanding, ſhortly he ſhould be otherwiſe talked withal.* To whom Maſter *Tindal*, anſwering again, thus ſaid, *That he was contented they ſhould bring him into any Country in all* England, *giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more, but to teach children, and to preach.*

To be ſhort, Maſter *Tindal* being ſo moleſted and vexed in the Country by the Prieſts, was conſtrained to leave that Country, and to ſeek another place; and ſo coming to Maſter *Welch*, he delired him of his good will that he might depart from him, ſaying on this wiſe to him, *Sir, I perceive that I ſhall not be ſuffered to tarry long here in this Country, neither ſhall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the Spirituality; and alſo what diſpleaſure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth, for the which I ſhould be right ſorry.* So that in fine, Maſter *Tindal*, with the good will of his Maſter, departed, and eſtſoons came up to *London*, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the Country before, and ſpecially about the Town of *Briſtol*, and alſo in the ſaid Town in the common place called St. *Auſtens* Green. At length he bethinking himſelf of *Cuthbert Tonſtal* then Biſhop of *London*, and eſpecially for the great commendation of *Eraſmus*, who in his Annotations ſo extolleth him for his learning, thus caſt with himſelf, that if he might attain unto his ſervice, he were a happy man. And ſo coming to Sir *Henry Gilford*, the Kings Controler, and bringing with him an Oration of *Iſocrates*, whish he had then tranſlated out of *Greek* into *Engliſh*, he deſired him to ſpeak to the ſaid Biſhop of *London* for him; which he alſo did, and willed him moreover to write an Epiſtle to the Biſhop, and to go himſelf with him. Which he did likewiſe, and delivered his Epiſtle to a ſervant of his, named *William Hebilthwait*, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who ſecretly diſpoſeth the courſe of things, ſaw that was not the beſt for *Tindal*'s purpoſe, nor for the profit of his Church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the Biſhops ſight. The anſwer of whom was this, *That his houſe was full, he had more than he could well find, and adviſed him to ſeek in* London *abroad, where he ſaid he could lack no ſervice, &c.* And ſo remained he in *London*, the ſpace almoſt of a year, beholding and marking with himſelf the courſe of the World, and eſpecially the demeanour of the Preachers, how they boaſted themſelves, and ſet up their authority and Kingdom; beholding alſo the pomp of the Prelates, with other things more, which greatly miſliked him. Inſomuch that he underſtood not only there to be no room in the Biſhops houſe for him to tranſlate the New Teſtament; but alſo that there was no place to do it in all *England*. And therefore, finding no place for his purpoſe within the Realm, and having ſome aid and proviſion by Gods Providence miniſtred unto him by *Humfry Munmouth*, above recited, (as you may ſee before) and certain other good men, he took his leave of the Realm, and departed into *Germany*. Where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his Country, refuſed no travel nor diligence, how by all means poſſible to reduce his Brethren and Countrymen of *England*, to the ſame taſte and underſtanding of Gods holy Word and verity, which the Lord had indued him withal.

Tindal departeth from Maſter Welch.

Tindal cometh to London.

An Oration of Iſocrates, tranſlated out of Greek into Engliſh by W. Tindal

Tindal ſueth to Biſhop Tonſtal to be his Chaplain.

Tindal refuſeth Mr. Tindal.

KING Hen. 8.

Whereupon he conſidering in his mind, and partly alſo conferring with *John Frith*, thought with himſelf no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar ſpeech, that the poor people might alſo read and ſee the ſimple plain Word of God. For firſt, he wiſely caſting in his mind, perceived by experience, how that it was not poſſible to eſtabliſh the lay-people in any truth, except the Scripture were ſo plainly laid before their eyes in their Mother Tongue, that they might ſee the proceſs, order and meaning of the Text; for elſe whatſoever truth ſhould be taught them, theſe enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reaſons of ſophiſtry and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or elſe jugling with the Text, expounding it in ſuch a ſenſe, as impoſſible it were to gather of the Text, if the right proceſs, order and meaning thereof were ſeen.

The cauſes moving Tindal to tranſlate the Scripture into the Engliſh Tongue.

Hiding of Scripture the cauſe of miſchief.

Againſt, right well he perceived and conſidered, this only, or moſt chiefly to be the cauſe of all miſchief in the Church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the peoples eyes; for ſo long the abominable doings, and idolatries maintained by the Phariſaical Clergy, could not be eſpied, and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, ſo that either it ſhould not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right ſenſe with the Miſt of their Sophiſtry, and ſo entangle them which rebuked or deſpiſed their abominations, with arguments of Philoſophy, and with worldly ſimilitudes, and apparent reaſons of natural wiſdom; and with wreſting the Scripture unto their own purpoſe, contrary unto the proceſs, order and meaning of the Text, would ſo delude them in deſcanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many ſenſes laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and were ſure that all were falſe that they ſaid, yet couldſt thou not ſalve their fabtil riddles.

The New Teſtament and the five Books of *Moſes* tranſlated with *Tindal*'s Prologues.

For theſe and ſuch other conſiderations this good man was moved (and no doubt ſtirred up of God) to tranſlate the Scripture into his Mother Tongue, for the publick utility and profit of the ſimple vulgar people of the Country; firſt ſetting in hand with the New Teſtament, which he firſt tranſlated about the year of our Lord 1527. After that he took in hand to tranſlate the Old Teſtament, finiſhing the five Books of *Moſes*, with ſundry moſt learned and godly Prologues prefixed before every one, moſt worthy to be read and read again of all good Chriſtians, as the like alſo he did upon the New Teſtament.

He wrote alſo divers other Works under ſundry Titles, amongſt the which is that moſt worthy Monument of his, entituled, *The obedience of a Chriſtian man*, wherein with ſingular dexterity he inſtructeth all men in the office and duty of Chriſtian obedience, with divers other Treatiſes, as, *The wicked Mammon*, *The practice of Prelates*; with Expoſitions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other Books alſo, anſwering to Sir *Thomas More*, and other adverſaries of the truth, no leſs delectable, than alſo moſt fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly alſo being almoſt abolliſhed and worn out by time, the Printer hereof (good Reader) for conſerving and reſtoring ſuch ſingular treaſures, hath collected and ſet forth in Print the ſame in one general Volum, all and whole together, as alſo the Works of *John Frith*, *Barns* and other, as are to be ſeen, moſt ſpecial and profitable for thy reading.

The

KING Hen. 8.

The Books of *William Tindal* being compiled, publiſhed, and ſent over into *England*, it cannot be ſpoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, which before were many years ſhut up in darkneſs.

At his firſt departing out of the Realm he took his journey into the further parts of *Germany*, as into *Saxony*, where he had conference with *Luther*, and other learned Men in thoſe Quarters, where after that he had continued a certain ſeaſon, he came down from thence into the *Netherlands*, and had his moſt abiding in the Town of *Antwerp*, until the time of his apprehenſion; whereof more ſhall be ſaid (God willing) hereafter.

Tindal went into Saxony.

Tindal departeth into Germany.

Tindal came to Antwerp.

Amongſt his other Books which he compiled, one Work he made alſo for the declaration of the Sacrament (as it was then called) of the Altar; the which he kept by him, conſidering how the people were not as yet fully perſwaded in other matters tending to ſuperſtitious ceremonies and groſs Idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that Work, but rather that it ſhould hinder the people from other inſtructions, ſuppoſing that it would ſeem to them odious to hear any ſuch thing ſpoken, or ſet forth at that time, ſounding againſt their great Goddeſs *Diana*, that is, againſt their Maſs, being but every where in great eſtimation, as was the Goddeſs *Diana* amongſt the *Epheſians*, whom they thought to come from Heaven.

Tindal being with time.

Wherefore Maſter *Tindal*, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no leſs zealous in the ſetting forth of Gods holy truth, after ſuch fort as it might take moſt effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but by Gods merciful grace, a time ſhould come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this preſent day, the Lord Almighty be always praiſed therefore, *Amen*.

Theſe godly Books of *Tindal*, and eſpecially the New Teſtament of his Tranſlation, after that they began to come into mens hands, and to ſpread abroad, as they wrought great and ſingular profit to the godly; ſo the unſhining beams of truth, their falſe hypocriſie and works of darkneſs ſhould be diſcerned, began to ſtir with no ſmall ado, like as at the birth of Chriſt *Herod* and all *Jeruſalem* was troubled with him. But eſpecially Satan the Prince of Darkneſs, maligning the happy courſe and ſucceſs of the Goſpel, ſet to his might alſo, how to impeach and hinder the bleſſed travels of that man; as by this, and alſo by ſundry other ways may appear. For at what time *Tindal* had tranſlated the firſt Book of *Moſes* called *Deuteronomium*, minding to Print the ſame at *Hamborough*, he ſailed thitherward; where by the way upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, he ſuffered Shipwrack, by the which he loſt all his Books, Writings and Copies, and ſo was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hindrance and doubling of his labours. Thus having loſt by that Ship, both Money, his Copies and time, he came in another Ship to *Hamborough*, where at his appointment, Maſter *Coverdale* tarried for him, and helped him in the tranſlating of the whole five Books of *Moſes*, from *Eaſter* till *December*, in the houſe of a worſhipful Widow, Miſtris *Margaret Van Emmerſon*, *Anno* 1529. a great ſweating Sickneſs being the ſame time in the Town. So having diſpatched his buſineſs at *Hamborough*, he returned afterward to *Antwerp* again.

Darkneſs hateth light.

Satan an enemy to all good purpoſes, eſpecially to the Goſpel.

Wm. Tindal loſt his Books and Copies by ſhipwrack. Mr. Coverdale a helper of Mr. Tindal in the Tranſlation of the Teſtament.

Thus as Satan is, and ever hath been an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of Gods Word, as by this and many other experiments may be ſeen, ſo his Miniſters and Members, following the like quality of their Maſter, be not altogether idle for their parts; as alſo by the Popes Chaplains and Gods enemies, and by their cruel handling of the ſaid Mr. *Tindal* the ſame time, both here in *England* and in *Flanders*, may well appear.

When Gods will was that the New Teſtament in the common tongue ſhould come abroad, *Tindal* the Tranſlator thereof added to the later end a certain Epiſtle, wherein he deſired them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amiſs. Wherefore if any ſuch default had been, deſerving correction, it had been the part of courteſie and gentleneſs, for men of knowledge and judgment to have ſhewed their learning therein, and to have redreſſed that which was to be amended. But the ſpiritual Fathers then of the Clergy, being not willing to have that Book to proſper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand, that there were a thouſand Hereſies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be ſuppreſſed. Some ſaid it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scripture into *Engliſh*; ſome that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their Mother-tongue; ſome that it would make them all Hereticks. And to the intent to induce the temporal Rulers alſo unto their purpoſe, they made matter, and ſaid that it would make the people to rebel and riſe againſt the King. All this *Tindal* himſelf, in his own Prologue before the firſt Book of *Moſes* declareth, and addeth further, ſhewing what great pains was taken in examining that Tranſlatic., and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with leſs labour, he ſuppoſeth, they might have tranſlated themſelves a great part of the Bible: ſhewing moreover, that they ſcanned and examined every tittle and point in the ſaid Tranſlation, in ſuch ſort, and ſo narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over his head, they did note it, and numbred it unto the ignorant people for an Hereſie. So great were then the froward devices of the *Engliſh* Clergy (who ſhould have been the Guids of light unto the people) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would tranſlate themſelves, nor yet abide it to be tranſlated of others; to the intent (as *Tindal* ſaith) that the Word being kept ſtill in darkneſs, they might ſit in the Conſciences of the people through vain ſuperſtition and falſe Doctrine, to ſatisfie their luſts, their ambition, and unſatiable covetouſneſs, and to exalt their own honour, above King and Emperor, yea and above God himſelf. *Hæc ille.*

The cauſes why the Popes Clergy could not abide the Scripture in the common tongue.

The Biſhops and Prelates of the Realm, thus (as ye have heard) incenſed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cauſe, againſt the Old and New Teſtament of the Lord newly tranſlated by *Tindal*, and conſpiring together with all their Heads and Councils, how to repeal the ſame, never reſted, before they had brought the King at laſt to their conſent. By reaſon whereof, a Proclamation in all haſte was deviſed and ſet forth under publick authority, but no juſt reaſon ſhewed, that the Teſtament of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, with other works more, both of his and of other Writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before. Which was about the year of our Lord 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to intangle him in their Nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to paſs, now it remaineth to be declared.

The Prelates procured not only the condemnation of Mr. *Tindal*'s Books, but alſo burned both them and the Teſtament, calling it *Diabrimum peregrinum*, a ſtrange doctrine.

In the Regiſters of *London* it appeareth manifeſtly, how that the Biſhops and Sir *Thomas More* having any power to man under *Coram*, to be examined before them, namely ſuch as had been at *Antwerp*, moſt ſtudiouſly would ſearch and examine all things belonging to *Tindal*, where and with whom he hoſted, whereabout ſtood the houſe, what was his ſtature, in what apparel he went, what reſort he had, *&c.* All which things when they had diligently learned (as may appear by the Examination of *Simon Smith* and others) then began they to work their feats, as you ſhall hear by the relation of his own Hoſt.

Privy cenſuration of the Biſhops againſt Mr. *Tindal*.

William Tindal being in the Town of *Antwerp*, the order had been lodged about one whole year, in the Houſe of *Thomas Poinтz* an *Engliſhman*, who kept there an Houſe of *Engliſh* Merchants. About which time came thither one out of *England*, whoſe name was *Henry Philips*, his Father being Cuſtomer of *Pool*, a comely fellow, like as he had been a Gentleman, having a ſervant with him, but wherefore he came, or for what purpoſe he was ſent thither, no man could tell.

The order of raiſing *Tindal*, reſpected by Mr. *Poinтz* his Hoſt.

Maſter *Tindal* divers times was deſired forth to Dinner and Supper amongſt Merchants; by the means whereof this *Henry Philips* became acquainted with him, ſo that within ſhort ſpace Maſter *Tindal* had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his Lodging to the Houſe of *Thomas Poinтz*, and had him alſo once or twice with him to Dinner and Supper, and further entred ſuch friendſhip with him, that through his procurement

The friendſhip of Tindal to Philips.

his betrayed.

he lay in the ſame Houſe of the ſaid *Pointz*; to whom he ſhewed moreover his Books and other ſecrets of his ſtudy, ſo little did *Tindal* then miſtruſt this Traytor.

But *Pointz* having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Maſter *Tindal* how he came acquainted with this *Philips*. Maſter *Tindal* anſwered, that he was an honeſt man, handſomely learned, and very comfortable. Then *Pointz*, perceiving that he bare ſuch favour to him, ſaid no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by ſome friend of his. The ſaid *Philips* being in the Town three or four days, upon a time deſired *Pointz* to walk with him forth of the Town to ſhew him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the Town, had communication of divers things, and ſome of the Kings affairs; by the which talk *Pointz* as yet ſuſpected nothing, but after, by the ſequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the ſetting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the King of *England*. But after, when the time was paſt, *Pointz* perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of mony, to help him to his purpoſe; for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that *Pointz* ſhould think no leſs; but by whom it was unknown. For he had deſired *Pointz* before to help him to divers things, and ſuch things as he named, he required might be of the beſt, for ſaid he, I have mony enough; but of this talk came nothing, but that men ſhould think he had ſome things to do; for no-thing elſe followed of his talk. So it was to be ſuſpected, that *Philips* was in doubt to move this matter for his purpoſe, to any of the Rulers or Officers of the Town of *Antwerp*, for doubt it ſhould come to the knowledge of ſome *Engliſhmen*, and by the means thereof Mr. *Tindal* ſhould have had warning.

The Papiſts will ſpare no coſt to fulfill their malicious enterpriſes.

Philips well monited by the Engliſh Biſhop.

So *Philips* went from *Antwerp* to the Court of *Bruxels*, which is from thence twenty four *Engliſh* miles, the King having there no Embaſſador; for at that time the King of *England* and the Emperor were at a controverſie, for the queſtion betwixt the King and the Lady *Katharine*, which was Aunt to the Emperor, and the diſcord grew ſo much, that it was doubted left there ſhould have been War between the Emperor and the King, ſo that *Philips* as a Traytor both againſt God and the King, was there the better retained, as alſo other Traitors more beſides him; who after he had betrayed Mr. *Tindal* into their hands, ſhewed himſelf likewiſe againſt the Kings own perſon, and there ſet forth things againſt the King. To make ſhort, the ſaid *Philips* did ſo much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to *Antwerp*, that Procuror General, which is the Emperors Attorney, with certain other Officers, as after followeth. The which was not done with ſmall charges and expences, from whom-ſoever it came.

Within a while after, *Pointz* ſitting at his door, *Philips* man came unto him, and aſked whether Mr. *Tindal* were there, and ſaid, his Maſter would come to him, and ſo departed. But whether his Maſter *Philips* were in the Town or not, it was not known; but at that time *Pointz* heard no more, neither of the Maſter nor of the Man. Within three or four days after, *Pointz* went forth to the Town of *Barrow* being eighteen *Engliſh* Miles from *Antwerp*, where he had buſineſs to do for the ſpace of a Month or ſix Weeks, and in the time of his abſence *Henry Philips* came again to *Antwerp* to the houſe of *Pointz*, and coming in, ſpake with his Wife, asking her for Mr. *Tindal*, and whether he would dine there with him, ſaying, *What good meat ſhall we have?* She anſwered, *ſuch as the Market will give.* Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and ſet the Officers which he brought with him from *Broxels*, in the ſtreet, and about the door. Then about Noon he came again, and went to Maſter *Tindal*, and deſired him to lend him forty ſhillings; for (ſaid he) I loſt my Purſe this morning, coming over at the paſſage between this and *Machelin*. So Maſter *Tindal* took him forty ſhillings, the which was eaſie to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wyly ſubtilties of this World he was ſimple and unexpert.

H Philips traytor and betrayer of Mr. Tindal.

The ſimplicity of Mr. Tindal.

Then ſaid *Philips*, *Maſter* Tindal *you ſhall be my Gueſt here to day. No*, ſaid Maſter *Tindal*, *I go forth this day to Dinner, and you ſhall go with me, and be my Gueſt, where you ſhall be welcome.* So when it was Dinner time, Maſter *Tindal* went forth with *Philips*, and at the going out of *Pointz* houſe, was a long narrow Entry, ſo that two could not go in a front. Maſter *Tindal* would have put *Philips* before him, but *Philips* would in no wiſe, but put Maſter *Tindal* afore, for that he pretended to ſhew great humanity. So Maſter *Tindal*, being a man of no great ſtature, went before, and *Philips* a tall comely perſon followed behind him; who had ſet Officers on either ſide of the Door upon two ſeats, which being there might ſee who came in the Entry; and coming through the ſame Entry, *Philips* pointed with his finger over Maſter *Tindal*'s head down to him, that the Officers which ſate at the door might ſee that it was he whom they ſhould take, as the Officers that took Maſter *Tindal*, afterward told *Pointz*, and ſaid to *Pointz* when they had laid him in Priſon, *That they pitied to ſee his ſimplicity when they took him.* Then they took him and brought him to the Emperors Attorney, or Procuror General, where he dined. Then came the Procuror General to the Houſe of *Pointz*, and ſent away all that was there of Maſter *Tindal*'s, as well his Books as other things, and from thence *Tindal* was had to the Caſtle of *Filford*, eighteen *Engliſh* Miles from *Antwerp*, and there he remained until he was put to death.

{KING Hen. 8.}

How Tindal was betrayed into his enemies hands.

Tindal had to the Caſtle of Filford.

Then incontinent, by the help of *Engliſh* Merchants, were Letters ſent in the favour of *Tindal* to the Court of *Bruſſels*. Alſo not long after, Letters were directed out of *England* to the Council at *Bruſſels*, and ſent to the Merchant Adventurers to *Antwerp*, commanding them to ſee that with ſpeed they ſhould be delivered. Then ſuch of the chief of the Merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the ſaid *Pointz* to take in hand the delivery of thoſe Letters, with Letters alſo from them in the favour of Maſter *Tindal*, to the Lord of *Barrow* and others; the which Lord of *Barrow* (as it was told *Pointz* by the way) at that time was departed from *Bruſſels*, as the chiefeſt Conductor of the eldeſt Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, to be married to the Palſegrave, whoſe Mother was Siſter to the Emperor, ſhe being chief Princeſs of *Denmark*. Who, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at *Achon*, where he delivered to him his Letters. The which when he had received and read, he made no direct anſwer, but ſomewhat objecting, ſaid, *There were of their Countrymen that were burned in* England *not long before*; as indeed there were *Anabaptiſts* burned in *Smithfield*, and ſo *Pointz* ſaid to him; *Howbeit*, ſaid he, *whatſoever the crime was, if his Lordſhip or any other Nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they ſhould not have been denied. Well*, ſaid he, *I have no leiſure to write, for the Princeſs is ready to ride.*

Letters ſent from Kingſton by the Lord Cromwel and others in the behalf of Mr. Tindal.

Then ſaid *Pointz*, *If it ſhall pleaſe your Lordſhip, I will attend upon you unto the next haiting place*, which was at *Maſtricht*. *If you ſo do*, ſaid the Lord, *I will adviſe my ſelf by the way what to write.* So *Pointz* followed him from *Achon* to *Maſtricht*, the which are fifteen *Engliſh* Miles aſunder, and there he received Letters of him, one to the Council there, another to the company of the Merchant Adventurers, and another alſo to the Lord *Cromwel* in *England*.

Letters from the Lord of Barrow to the Cromwel concerning Mr. Tindal.

So *Pointz* rode from thence to *Bruſſels*, and then and there delivered to the Council the Letters out of *England*, with the Lord of *Barrows* Letters alſo, and received eſtſoons anſwer into *England* of the ſame by Letters, which he brought to *Antwerp* to the *Engliſh* Merchants, who required him to go with them into *England*. And he very deſirous to have Mr. *Tindal* out of Priſon, let not to take paines with loſs of time in his own buſineſs and occupying, and diligently followed with the ſaid Letters, which he there delivered to the Council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other Letters, of the which he was not diſpatched thence in a Month after. At length the Letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the Emperors Council at *Bruſſels*, and there tarried for anſwer of the ſame.

Pointz ſent with Letters from Bruſſels to England.

When

{KING Hen. 8.}

The gift of Philips againſt Mr. Tindal.

When the ſaid *Pointz* had tarried three or four days, it was told him of one that belonged to the Chancery, that Maſter *Tindal* ſhould have been delivered to him according to the tenour of the Letters; but *Philips* being there, followed the Suit againſt Maſter *Tindal*, and hearing that he ſhould be delivered to *Pointz*, and doubting leſt he ſhould be put from his purpoſe, he knew none other remedy but to accuſe *Pointz*, ſaying, *That he was a dweller in the Town of* Antwerp, *and there had been a ſuccurer of* Tindal, *and was one of the ſame Opinion, and that all this was only his own labour and ſuit, to have Maſter* Tindal *at liberty, and no mans elſe.*

The Martyrdome of Maſter William Tindall in Flanders, by Vilvord Caſtle.

Pointz attached by Philips.

Thus upon his information and accuſation *Pointz* was attached by the Procuror General, the Emperors Attorny, delivered to the keeping of two Serjeants at Arms; and the ſame Evening was ſent to him one of the Chancery, with the Procuror General, who miniſtred unto him an Oath, that he ſhould truly make anſwer to all ſuch things as ſhould be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his meſſage. The next day likewiſe they came again, and had him in examination, and ſo five or ſix days one after another, upon not ſo few as an hundred Articles, as well of the Kings affairs, as of the meſſage concerning *Tindal*, of his aiders, and of his Religion. Out of the which examinations, the Procuror General drew twenty three or twenty four Articles, and declared the ſame againſt the ſaid *Pointz*, the Copy whereof he delivered to him to make anſwer thereunto, and permitted him to have an Advocate and Proctor, that is, a Doctor and Proctor in the Law; and order was taken, that eight days after he ſhould deliver unto them his anſwer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the Proceſs were ended. Alſo that he ſhould ſend no meſſenger to *Antwerp* whereas his houſe was, being twenty four *Engliſh* Miles from *Bruſſels*, where he was Priſoner, nor to any other place, but by the Poſt of the Town of *Bruſſels*, nor to ſend any Letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in *Dutch*, and the Procuror General, who was party againſt him, to read them, to peruſe and examine them throughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were ſent or delivered: neither might any be ſuffered to ſpeak or talk with *Pointz* in any other Tongue or Language, except only in the *Dutch* Tongue, ſo that his Keepers, who were *Dutch* men might underſtand what the contents of the Letters or talk ſhould be. Saving that at one certain time the Provincial of the White Friers came to Dinner where *Pointz* was Priſoner, and brought with him a young Novice, being an *Engliſhman*, whom the Provincial after Dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the ſaid *Pointz*, and ſo with him he was licenſed, to talk. The purpoſe and great policy therein was eaſie to be perceived. Between *Pointz* and the Novice was much pretty talk, as of Sir *Thomas More*, and of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and of their putting to death, whoſe death he ſeemed greatly to lament, eſpecially dying in ſuch a quarrel, worthy (as he ſaid) to be accounted for Martyrs; with other noble Doctrine, and deep learning in Divinity, meet to feed Swine withal. Such blindneſs then in thoſe days reigned amongſt them. After this *Pointz* delivered up his anſwer to the Procuror General, and then after, at the days appointed, went forth with Replication duplick, with other anſwers each to other in writing, what they could.

Pointz examined.

Talk between Pointz and a Novice.

As the Commiſſioners came to *Pointz*, *Philips* the Traitor accompanied them to the Door in following the Proceſs againſt him, as he alſo did againſt Maſter *Tindal*, for ſo they that had *Pointz* in keeping, ſhewed him. Thus *Pointz* for Maſter *Tindal* was ſore troubled, and long kept in Priſon; but at length, when he ſaw no other remedy, by night he made his eſcape, and avoided their hands. But good *Tindal* could not eſcape their hands, but remained in Priſon ſtill, who being brought unto his anſwer, was offered to have an Advocate and a Proctor; for in any criminal cauſe there, it ſhall be permitted to have Council, to make anſwer in the Law. But he refuſed to have any ſuch, ſaying, *That he would anſwer for himſelf*; and ſo he did.

Pointz troubled for Mr. Tindal.

At laſt, After much reaſoning, when no reaſon would ſerve, although he deſerved no death, he was condemned by vertue of the Emperors Decree, made in the Aſſembly at *Auſburgh* (as is before ſignified) and upon the ſame brought forth to the place of Execution, was there tied to the Stake, and then ſtrangled firſt by the Hangman, and afterward with fire conſumed in the morning at the Town of *Filford*, *Anno* 1536. crying thus at the Stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, *Lord open the King of* England's *Eyes.*

The condemnation of M. Tindal

The Martyrdom of Mr. Tindal, Ann. 1536.

The Prayer of M. Tindal

Mr. Tindal converted his Keeper. Commendation of Mr. Tindal, by item that are about us.

Such was the power of his Doctrine, and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half) it is said, he converted his Keeper, his Daughter, and other of his houshold. Also the rest that were with him conversant in the Castle reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The Procurator General, the Emperors Attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was *Homo doctus, pius & bonus*, that is, *a learned, a good and a godly man.*

The same Morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a Letter to the Keeper of the Castle which the Keeper himself brought to the House of the foresaid *Pointz* in *Antwerp*, shortly after; which Letter with his Examinations and other his Disputations, I would might have come to our hands; all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the Keepers Daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the Castle Prisoner, there was much writing, and great Disputation to and fro, between him and them of the University of *Louain* (which was not past nine or ten Miles from the place where he was Prisoner) in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his Doctrine.

Gods judgment upon Philip the betrayer of Tindal.

Of *Judas* that betrayed Christ it is written, *That he returned the Mony again to the Pharisees, and afterward hanged himself.* So *Philips* this miserable Traitor, after he had bin received of *Tindal*, and borrowed mony of him, and yet betrayed him and pursued him to death; albeit he rejoyced a while after that he had done it, yet the saying so goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent bloud, but was consumed at last with Lice.

The worthy vertues and doings of this blessed Martyr, who for his painful travels, and singular zeal to his Country, may be called in these our days, an Apostle of *England*, it were long to recite. Among many other, this because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overpass, which hath unto me been credibly testified by certain grave Merchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive. The Story whereof is this.

There was at *Antwerp* on a time, amongst a company of Merchants, as they were at Supper, a certain Jugler, which through his Diabolical Inchantments of Art Magical, would fetch all kind of Viands, and Wine from any place they would, and set it upon the Table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this Jugler being much talked of, it chanced that as Master *Tindal* heard of it, he delired certain of the Merchants, that he might also be present at Supper, to see him play his parts.

The power of Gods Saints against the Devil.

To be brief, the Supper was appointed, and the Merchants with *Tindal* were there present. Then the Jugler being required to play his feats, and to shew his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At the last with his labour, sweating and toyling, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at Supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the Martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the Miracles of true faith, if Miracles were now to be defired.

If Tindal's Works looked for to be all set out in one Volum.

As concerning the Works and Books of *Tindal*, which extend to a great number, thou wast told before, loving Reader, how the Printer hereof minded, by the Lords leave, to collect them all in one Volume together, and put them out in Print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needful to make any several rehearsal of them.

And as touching his Translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be so full of Heresies, to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt hear and understand, what faithful dealing, and sincere Conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words written in the Epistle to *John Frith* as followeth, *I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me*, &c.

KING Hen. 8. The faithful dealing of Tindal in translating the New Testament.

And as ye have heard *Tindal*'s own words thus protesting for himself, now let us hear likewise the faithful testimony of *John Frith*, for *Tindal* his dear companion and Brother, thus declaring in his answer to Master *More*, as followeth:

The Testimony of John Frith *in his Book of the Sacrament, concerning* William Tindal.

The testimony of J. Frith, for Tindal.

AND *Tindal* I truft liveth, well content with fuch a poor Apoſtles life, as God gave his Son Chriſt, and his faithful Miniſters in this World, which is not ſure of ſo many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am ſure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the Biſhops in *England*. I received a Letter from him, which was written ſince *Chriſtmas*, wherein among other matters he writeth this, *I call God to record againſt the day we ſhall appear before our Lord Jeſus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one ſyllable of Gods Word againſt my Conſcience, nor would do this day, if all that is in Earth, whether it be honour, pleaſure, or riches might be given me.*

The words of Tindal written to J. Frith.

Moreover, I take God to witneſs to my Conſcience, that I deſire of God to my ſelf in this World, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his Laws, &c. Judge, Chriſtian Reader, whether theſe words be not ſpoken of a faithful clear innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is ſuch, that I am ſure no man can reprove him of any ſin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart. Thus much out of *Frith.*

And thus being about to conclude and finiſh with the life and ſtory of *William Tindal*, it ſhall be requiſite now that the Reader do hear ſomething likewiſe of his ſupplications made to the King and Nobles of the Realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be ſeen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Eu lib. Tind. pravi pratis-trum.

Tindal's *Supplication to the King, Nobles and Subjects of* England.

Tindal's ſupplication to the King and ſtates of England.

I Beſeech the Kings moſt Noble Grace, well to conſider all the ways, by the which the Cardinal, and our holy Biſhops have led him ſince he was firſt King, and to ſee whereunto all the pride, pomp and vain boaſt of the Cardinal is come, and how God hath reſiſted him and our Prelates in their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have medled yet with all matters, and have ſpent for our Priests cauſes, more than all *Chriſtendom*, even unto the utter beggering of our ſelves, and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all Nations, and a mock and a ſcorn of them whom we have moſt holpen. For the *Frenchmen* (as the ſaying is) of late days made a Play, or a Diſguiling at *Paris*, in which the Emperor daunced with the Pope, and the *French* King, and wearied them: the King of *England* ſitting on a high Bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he daunced not, it was anſwered *that he ſat there but to pay the Minſtrels their wages*. As who ſhould ſay, we paid for all mens dauncing. We moyed the Emperor openly, and gave the *French* King double and treble ſecretly; and to the Pope alſo. Yea, and though *Ferdinandus* had many ſent openly to blind the World withal, yet the ſaying is through all *Dutchland*, that we ſent mony to the King of *Pole*, &c.

The King of England pays for all.

Furthermore, I beſeech His Grace alſo to have mercy of his own ſoul, and not to ſuffer Chriſt and his holy Teſtament to be perſecuted under his name any longer, that the ſword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which for that cauſe, no doubt, is moſt chiefly drawn.

The 3d Petition of Tindal.

Thirdly,

KING Hen. 8.

The third Petition of Tindal.

Thirdly, My Petition is to his Grace, to have compaſſion on his poor ſubjects, that the Realm utterly periſh not with the wicked counſel of our perſilent Prelates. For if his Grace, which is but a man, ſhould die, the Lords and Commons not knowing who hath moſt right to enjoy the Crown, the Realm could not but ſtand in great danger.

The fourth Petition of Tindal. Limitation of ſucceſſion to the Crown. I pray God this be not a Prophetic ſpirit of England.

My fourth ſuit and exhortation is to all the Lords Temporal of the Realm, that they come and fall before the Kings Grace, and humbly deſire his Majeſty to ſuffer it to be tried, who of right ought to ſucceed: and if he or ſhe fail, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly: and let all the Lords Temporal be ſworn thereto, and all the Knights, and Squires and Gentlemen, and the Commons above eighteen years old, that there be no ſtrife for the Succeſſion. If they try it by the ſword, I promiſe them, I ſee no other likelihood, but it will coſt the Realm of *England*, &c.

The 5th Petition of Mr. Tindal.

Further, of all the ſubjects of *England* this I crave, That they repent. For the cauſe of evil rulers is the ſin of the ſubjects, as teſtifieth the Scripture. And the cauſe of falſe Preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, ſaith *Paul*, in the ſecond Chapter of the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*. We be all ſinners an hundred times greater than all that we ſuffer. Let us therefore each forgive other, remembring the greater ſinners, the more welcome if we repent, according to the ſimilitude of the vicious Son, *Luk.* 15. For Chriſt died for ſinners, and is their Saviour, and his bloud their treaſure, to pay for their ſins. He is that fatted Calf which is ſlain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again; and his merits is the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their ſins.

Finally, if the perſecution of the Kings Grace, and other Temporal perſons conſpiring with the Spiritualty, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes ſhall be opened ſhortly, and they ſhall fee and repent, and God ſhall ſhew them mercy. But if it be of a fet malice againſt the truth, and of a grounded hate againſt the Law of God, by the reaſon of a full conſent they have to ſin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto being now paſt all repentance, they have utterly yielded themſelves, to follow with full luſt without bridle or ſnaffle which is the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, then ye ſhall fee even ſhortly, that God ſhall turn the point of the ſword, wherewith they now ſhed Chriſts blood homeward to ſhed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible.

These things thus diſcounted pertaining to the ſtory and doings of *Tindal*, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private Letters and Epiſtles, whereof among divers other which have not come to our hands, two ſpecial he wrote to *John Frith*, one properly under his own name, another under the name of *Jacob*, but in very deed was written and delivered to *John Frith*, being priſoner then in the Tower, as ye ſhall further underſtand by the ſequel hereafter. The Copy and tenour of the Epiſtles here followeth.

A Letter ſent from *Tindal*, unto Maſter *Frith*, being in the Tower.

A Letter of Tindal to Mr. Frith.

THE Grace and Peace of God our Father, and of *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord be with you, Amen. *Dearly beloved Brother John, I have heard ſay, how the hypocrites now that they have overcome that great buſineſs which letted them, or at the leaſt way have brought it to a ſtay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all.*

Dearly beloved, however the matter be, commit your ſelf wholly and only unto your moſt loving Father, and moſt kind Lord, fear not men that threat, nor truſt men that ſpeak fair: but truſt him that is true of promiſe, and able to make his word good. Your cauſe is Chriſts Goſpel, a light that muſt be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp muſt be dreſſed and ſnuffed daily, and that oyl poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be ſinners, yet is the cauſe right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we ſuffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God. For to that end we are called. For Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps, who did no ſin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he laid down his life for us; therefore we ought 1 Joh. 9. *alſo to lay down our lives for the Brethren. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. For we ſuffer with him, that we may alſo be glorified with him:* Mat. 5. *who ſhall change our vile body, that it may be faſhioned* Rom. 8. *like unto his glorious body, according to the working where-* Phil. 3. *by he is able even to ſubject all things unto him.*

Pet. 2.

Dearly beloved, be of good courage, and comfort your ſoul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Chriſt in your mortal body, that it may at his coming be made like to his immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear Brethren, which choſe to ſuffer in hope of a better Reſurrection. Keep your conſcience pure and undefiled, and ſay againſt that nothing. Stick at neceſſary things; and remember the blaſphemies of the enemies of Chriſt. ſaying, they find none but that will abjure rather than ſuffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites ſay, he muſt needs die, denying helpeth not. But might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times, but ſeeing it would not help them, therefore of pure pride and meer malice together, they ſpake with their mouths that their conſcience knoweth falſe. If you give your ſelf, caſt your ſelf, yield your ſelf, commit your ſelf wholly and only to your loving Father, then ſhall his power be in you and make you ſtrong, and that ſo ſtrong, that you ſhall feel no pain, which ſhould be to another preſent death; and his ſpirit ſhall ſpeak in you, and teach you what to anſwer, according to his promiſe: he ſhall ſee cut his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine; yea and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have ſworn your death. Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem; *To look for no mans help, bringeth the help of God to them that ſeem to be overcome in the eyes of the Hypocrites: yea, it ſhall make God to carry you thorow thick and thin for his truths ſake, in ſpite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, neceſſity carrieth us hence though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.*

Would not conſcience ſtumbling upon things he neceſſary.

Boldneſs of Chriſt.

Death after denying evil ſpoken of by the adverſaries.

Obedience to God.

To look for no mans help bringeth help. Conſtancy in ſtanding. Patience in ſuffering.

Fear not the threatning therefore, neither be overcome of ſweet words; with which twain the hypocrites ſhall aſſail you. Neither let the perſwaſions of worldly wiſdom bear rule in your heart, no, though they be your friends that counſel you. Let Bilney *be a warning to you, let not their viſure beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end ſhall be ſaved. If the pain be above your ſtrength, remember, Whatſoever ye ſhall aſk in my name, I will give it you. And pray to your Father in that name, and he ſhall ceaſe your pain, or ſhorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you,* Amen.

Perſeverance to the end. Mat. 22. Bilney.

William Tindal.

Two Martyrs at Antwerp. Four Martyrs in Flanders. Five Doctors at Paris ſuffered. Perſecution at Roan. Five Doctors at Paris ſuffered. Five Doctors at Roan ſuffered

This chanced the ninth day of May.

Sir, your Wife is well content with the will of God, and would not for her sake have the glory of God hindred.

William Tindal.

Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tindal, *sent to the said* John Frith, *under the name of* Jacob.

The Grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, *Amen.*

Another Letter of *Mr. Tindal.*

DEarly beloved Brother Jacob, *mine hearts desire in our Saviour Jesus, is that you arm your self with patience, and be cold, sober, wise and circumspect, and that you keep you a low by the ground, avoiding high Quiddities, that pass the common capacity. But expound the Law truly, and open the vail of* Moses *to condemn all the flesh, and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the Law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable, and then as a faithful Minister, set abroach the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all Doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, I mean the Law of God, and mercy of Christ, that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.*

High Questions to be avoided.

All deeds before they be fulfilled by faith are sin.

Preaching the Law of God, and mercy of Christ.

Sacraments without significations to be refused.

Of the presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes *will be hot against you. The* Saxons *be fore on the affirmative; whether constant or obstinate I remit it to God.* Philip Melancthon *as faid to be with the* French *King. There be in* Antwerp *that say, they saw him come into* Paris *with an hundred and fifty Horses, and that they spake with him. If the* French *men receive the Word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them.* George Joy *would have put forth a Treatise of that matter, but I have stopt him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to that purpose; My mind is that nothing be put forth till we bear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace at leisure of both parties. If you be required, shew the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will. For as to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within the heart, in spirit and verity: even so to believe that the Body of Christ is every where (though it cannot be proved) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his Gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit if God shew you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.*

By the affirmative, he meaneth the opinion which *M. Luther* and the *Saxons* do hold of the Sacrament.

Mr. Tindal again beareth with vvith time.

I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the Spiritualty, to catch themselves in their own subtilty, and truth it is come to pass. And now me thinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the Whores flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the Rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things unto him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the Mother-tongue, and learning set up in the Universities. But if ought be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit your self to God, and be not overcome of mens persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

Ubiquity cannot be proved. Eating the Whores flesh, is to spoil the Popes Church only for the prey and spoil thereof.

Worldly wisdom so far as it may serve Gods glory may be used.

Brother Jacob, *beloved in my heart, there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth her self: as in you; not the thousand part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain: in fear, and not in boldness: in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of bid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure you will defer, or say (till other agree with you) Methinks the Text requireth this sense or understanding. Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings; that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the Earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take him to God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God to my self in this world, no more than that without which I cannot keep his Laws.*

Love Widkings.

The upright handling in the translation of Mr. Tindal.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow witted; your parts shall be to supply what lacketh in me: remembring, that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

A love heart maketh a man high with God. Authority is the glory of age. Meekness is the glory of youth. Purgatory hath no proof by Scripture.

Sir, as concerning Purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the Spiritualty hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of Gods Word, and alledged a thousand Texts, by reason of which Texts you believed as they taught you, but now you find them lyers, and that the Texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer, but are as ye were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit if you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them when you have found them with so many lyes, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

Queen Anne Bolenden.

My Lord of London *hath a servant called* John Tisen, *with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and was once my Scholar: he was seen in* Antwerp, *but came not among the* Englishmen: *whither he is gone an Embassador secret I wot not.*

The mighty God of Jacob *be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of* Joseph, *and the wisdom and the spirit of* Stephan, *be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in our selves, and trust in him: and his is the glory.* Amen.

William Tindal.

I hope our Redemption is nigh.

This Letter was written *Ann.* 1533, in the month of *January*. Which Letter, although it do pretend the name of *Jacob*, yet understand (good Reader) that it was written in very deed to *John Frith*, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence whereof, read *Friths* Book of the Sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certain place of this Epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus, I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of Gods Word against my conscience, &c. Which Epistle *John Frith* himself witnesseth that he received from *Tindal*, as in his testimony above appeareth.

The

{KING Hen. 8.}

The death of Lady Katharine, *and of Queen* Anne.

{Anno 1536} The death of Lady Katherine, Princess Dowager. The death of Queen Anne.

THE same year in the which *William Tindal* was burned, which was the year of our Lord 1536, in the beginning of the year, first died Lady *Katharine* Princess Dowager, in the month of *January*.

After whom the same year also in the month of *May* next following, followeth the death also of Queen *Anne*, who had now been married to the King the space of three years. In certain Records thus we find, that the King being in his Justs at *Greenwich*, suddenly with a few persons departed to *Westminster*, and the next day after Queen *Anne* his wife was had to the Tower, with the Lord *Rochford* her Brother and certain other; and the nineteenth day after was Beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian Lady at her death were these.

The words of Q. Anne at her death.

Good Christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the Law, and by the Law I am judged to death, and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die, but I pray God save the King, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler, or a more merciful Prince was there never; and to me he was a very good, a gentle, and a Sovereign Lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me. To God I commend my soul. And so the kneeled down, saying, *To Christ I commend my soul: Jesus receive my soul.* Repeating the same divers times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off.

Commendations of Q. Anne.

And this was the end of that godly Lady and Queen. Godly I call her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrel objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere Faith and truth in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that, to such as wisely can judg upon cases occurrent, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the King the third day after was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere Religion, joyned with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such Queens before her born the Crown of *England*. Principally this one commendation the left behind her, that during her life, the Religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

The mild nature of Q. Anne in ruling affections.

Many things might be written more of the manifold vertues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature, how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord would require her Chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amiss. Also how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other Queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate: insomuch that the Alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is summed to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds. Besides the great piece of money which her Grace intended to impart into four sundry quarters of the Realm, as for a flock there to be employed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender the was of Christs Gospel, all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the worlds end. Amongst which other her acts this is one, that she placed Master *Hugh Latimer* in the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and also preferred Doctor *Shaxton* to his Bishoprick, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true Faith she bare unto the Lord, this one example may stand for many: for that when King *Henry* was with her at *Woodstock*, and there being afraid of an old blind Prophetie, for the which neither he nor other Kings before him durst hunt in the said Park of *Woodstock*, nor enter into the Town of *Oxford*, at last through the Christian and faithful counsel of that Queen, he was so armed against all infidelity, that both he hunted in the foresaid Park, and also entred into the Town of *Oxford*, and had no harm. But because touching the memorable vertues of this worthy Queen, partly we have said something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her vertuous life (the Lord so permitting) by other who then were about her; I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

The great Alms of Q. Anne.

Defence of Q. Anne against slanderous reports.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the Parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty eighth year of the King (which Parliament three years before had established and confirmed this Marriage as most lawful) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and disable the said Marriage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before contracted. But more I marvel, why the said Parliament, after the illegitimation of the Marriage Enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnal desires of her body, as to misuse her self with her own natural Brother, the Lord *Rochford*, and others, being so contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

Stat. An. 28 Hen. 8. cap. 7

Parliaments not always constant.

But in this Act of Parliament lay (no doubt) some great mystery, which here I will not stand to discuss, but only that it may be suspected some secret practising of the Papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty stop she was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong Bulwark she was for the maintenance of Christs Gospel, and sincere Religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be eatily considered, that this Christian and devout *Deborah*, could lack no enemies amongst such a number of *Philistims*, both within the Realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that *Stephen Winchester*, being then abroad in Embassie, was not altogether asleep. The suspition whereof may be the more conjectural, for that *Edmund Bonner* Archdeacon of *Leicester*, and their Embassador in *France*, succeeding after *Stephen Winchester*, did manifestly detect him of plain Papistry, as in the sequel of their Stories, when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

The lawfull acts of this Queen Anne Sanctified and confirmed.

And as touching the Kings mind and assent, although at that time, through crafty setters on, he seemed to be not forebent both against the Queen, and to the disheriting of his own Daughter: yet unto that former Will of the King to set against her then, I will oppose again the last Will of the King, wherein expresly and by name he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow the succession of his Marriage to stand good and lawful.

Furthermore, to all other sinister judgments and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that vertuous Queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answer) the evident demonstration of Gods favour, in maintaining, preserving and advancing the off-spring of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH now Queen, whom the Lord hath so marvellously conserved from so manifold dangers, so Royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such vertuous patience, and with such a quiet Reign hitherto, that neither the Reign of her Brother *EDWARD*, nor of her Sister *MARY*, to hers is to be compared, whether we consider the number of the years of their Reigns, or the peaceableness of their state. In whose Royal and flourishing Regiment we have to behold; not so much the natural disposition of her Mothers qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and off-spring of that godly Queen.

Psalm 58. vers. 6.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of *Cardinal Pool*, and of *Paulus Jovius*, that Popish Cardinal, who measuring belike other women by his Curtezans of *Rome*, so impudently abuseth his pen in lying and railing against this noble Queen: To answer again in defence of her cause to that *Italian*, I object and oppose the content and judgment of so many noble Professants and Princes of *Germany*, who being in League before with King *Henry*, and minding no less but to have made him the Head of their Confederation, afterward hearing of the death of this Queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause.

The Protestants of Germany forsake it. *Henry* for the death of Q. Anne.

But

The wily practices of the Papiſts.

But all this ſeemeth (as is ſaid) to be the deſire of the wily Papiſts, who ſeeing the Pope to be repulſed out of *England*, by the means chiefly of this Queen, and fearing always the ſucceſſion of this Marriage in time to come; thought by ſiniſter practice to prevent that peril before, whiſpering in the Kings ears what poſſibly they could, to make that Matrimony unlawful, and all for the diſheriting of that ſucceſſion.

Again, *Stephen Gardiner* (who was a ſecret worker againſt that Marriage, and a perpetual enemy againſt Lady *Elizabeth*) being then abroad with the *French* King, and the great Maſter of *France*, ceaſed not in his Letters, ſtill to put the King in fear, that the foreign Princes and Powers of the world, with the Pope, would never be reconciled to the King, neither ſhould he be ever in any perfect ſecurity, unleſs he undid again ſuch Acts before paſſed, for the ratification of that ſucceſſion. Which thing when they had now brought to paſs after their own deſire, in that both now the Queen was Beheaded, and *Elizabeth* the Kings Daughter diſherited, they thought all things to be ſure for ever. But yet Gods Providence ſtill went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the ſuffering of Queen *Anne*, the King within three days after, married Lady *Jane Seimer*, of whom came King *Edward*, as great an enemy to Gods enemy the Pope, as ever his Father was, and greater too.

God Providence ſtill diſappointeth the Papiſts. The King married Lady Jane.

In the mean time as theſe troublous tumults were in doing in *England*, *Paul* the third, Biſhop of *Rome*, for his part was not behind, to help forward in his own advantage. Who ſeeing his uſurped Kingdom and ſeat to be darkened in the Countries of *Germany*, and alſo in *England*, thought it high time to beſtir him: and therefore to provide ſome remedy againſt further dangers, appointed a General Council at *Mantua* in *Italy*, requiring all Kings and Princes either perſonally to be there, or elſe to ſend their Embaſſadors under fair pretences, as to ſuppreſs Hereſies, and to reſtore the Church, and to war againſt the *Turk*, *&c.* This Bull was ſubſcribed with the hands of ſix and twenty Cardinals, and ſet up in divers great Cities, that it might be known and publiſhed to the whole world. Unto the which Bull firſt the Proteſtants of *Germany* do anſwer, declaring ſufficient cauſes why they refuſed to reſort to that Council, being Indicted at *Mantua*, in the Popes own Country. Whoſe Declaration, with their cauſes grave and effectual, being fet forth in print, and in the *Engliſh* Tongue, although they were worthy here to be inſerted, yet for brevity, and more ſpeed in our Story, I will pretermit the ſame, and only take the Oration or Anſwer of our King here: wherein he likewiſe rendereth reaſons and cauſes moſt reaſonable, why he refuſeth to come or ſend at the Popes call to this Council Indicted at *Mantua*. Whoſe Oration or Proteſtation, becauſe it containeth matter of ſome weight and great experience, I thought good here to expreſs as followeth.

The ſeat of the Beaſt darkned. *Apoc. 16.*

Ex Joan. Sleidan. lib. 12.

A Proteſtation in the Name of the King, and the whole Council and Clergy of England, *why they refuſe to come to the Popes Council at his call.*

The Kings Proteſtation why he finds not to the Popes Council.

SEeing that the Biſhop of *Rome* calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them Cardinals as he thinketh moſt meet, and moſt ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety caſt with our ſelves, what ſo great a preparance of wits ſhould mean. As chance was, we gueſſed even as it followed. We have been ſo long acquainted with *Romiſh* ſubtilties and Popiſh deceits, that we well and eaſily judged the Biſhop of *Rome* to intend an Aſſembly of his adherents, and men ſworn to think all his luſts to be Laws; we were not deceived. *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* hath called a Council, to the which he knew well either few or none of the Chriſtian Princes could come. Both the time that he Indicted it, and alſo the place where he appointed it to be, might aſſure him of this. But whither wander not theſe Popiſh Bulls: whither go they not aſtray? what King is not cited and ſummoned by a proud Miniſter and ſervant of Kings, to come to boliſter up errors, frauds, deceits and untruths, and to ſet forth this ſained General Council? For who will not think that *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* goeth ſooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a General Council, than that he deſireth one indeed? No, who can leſs deſire it, than they that do deſpair of their cauſe, except they be Judges, and give ſentence themſelves againſt their adverſaries? We which very fore againſt our will at any time leave off the procurement of the Realm any Commonweal, need neither to come our ſelves, nor yet to ſend our Procurators thither, no, nor yet to make out excuſe for either of both. For who can accuſe us, that we come not at his call, which hath no authority to call us?

{KING} {Hen. 8.}

The King not bound to come at the Popes call.

But for a ſeaſon let us (as a ſort of blindlings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath authority ſo to do, yet (we pray you) may not all men ſee, what availeth it to come to this Council, where ye ſhall have no place, except ye be known both willing to oppreſs truth, and alſo ready to confirm and ſtabliſh Errors? Do not all men perceive as well as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and Religion, theſe men go about to diſcuſs matters in controverſie, that take them in hand in ſo troubleſome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the Commonweal of Chriſtendom may look for there, whereas *Mantua* is choſen the place to keep his Council in? Is there any Prince not being of *Italy*, yea, is there any of *Italy*, Prince, or other diſſenting from the Pope, that dareth come to this aſſembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare ſpeak for troubled truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if the Biſhop of *Rome* being Judg, no man repining, no man gain-ſaying, the defenders of the Papacy obtain that Popiſh authority, now quailing and almoſt fallen, to be ſet up again?

Who be they that have place in the Popes Council.

The place of the Council miſtaſſigned.

No reaſon that the Pope ſhould be Judg in his own cauſe.

Is this the way to help things afflict? to redreſs troubled Religion? to lift up oppreſſed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the *Roman* Biſhops (which in very deed are, if ye look upon either their Doctrine or life, far under other Biſhops) ought to be made like their fellows, that is, to be Paſtors in their own Dioceſs, and ſo to uſe no other power; or elſe, whether they may make Laws, not only unto other Biſhops, but alſo to Kings and Emperors? O boldneſs, meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either *Paul* that now Lordeth, or any of his earneſtly go about (if they alone, or at the leaſt without any adverſary, be thus in a corner aſſembled together) to heal the ſickneſſes, to take away the Errors, to pluck down the abuſes that now are crept into the Church, and there be boliſtered up, by ſuch Councils as now is like to be at *Mantua*?

The Biſhop of *Rome* is learning and life to all or the other Biſhops.

Is it very like, that theſe which prole for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all ſuch things as their forefathers made, only for the increaſe of money? Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy was called into queſtion, would either in deſpight of Gods Law maintain their dignity, or to ſay better, their intolerable pride: Is it like, that theſe will not tread in their ſteps, and make naughty new Canons, whereby they may defend old evil Decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care, either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, foraſmuch as *England* hath taken her leave of Popiſh crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? *Roman* Biſhops have nothing to do with *Engliſh* people: The one doth not traffick with the other; at the leaſt, though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their Merchandize, none of their fluff. We will receive them of our Council no more. We have ſought our hurt, and bought our loſs a great while too long. Surely their Decrees, either touching things ſet up or put down, ſhall have none other place with us, than all Biſhops Decrees have, that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuſe them. But leſt peradventure men ſhall think us to follow our ſenſes too much, and that we, moved by ſmall or no juſt cauſes, forſake the Authority, Cenſures, Decrees, and Popiſh Councils, we thought it beſt here to ſhew our mind to the whole world. Wherefore we proteſt before God and all men, that we imbrace, profeſs, and will ever ſo do, the right and holy Doctrine of Chriſt. All the Articles of his Faith, no jot omitted, be all ſo dear unto us, that we ſhould much ſooner ſtand in jeopardy of our Realm, than to ſee any point of Chriſts Religion in jeopardy with us.

Paul the Pope refuſeth for his own cauſe.

The Pope how he can watch his time.

England refuſeth the Popes Merchandiſe.

We

{KING} {Hen. 8.}

We proteſt that we never went from the unity of his Faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much ſooner loſe our lives, than any Article of our belief ſhall decay in *England*. We which in all this cauſe ſeek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietneſs of the world, proteſt that we can ſuffer deceivers no longer. We never refuſed to come to a General Council; no, we promiſe all our labour, ſtudy, and fidelity, to the ſetting up of trodden truth, and troubled Religion, in their place again, and to do all that ſhall lye in us, to finiſh ſuch controverſies as have a great while too long vexed Chriſtendom. Only we will all Chriſtian men be admoniſhed, that we can ſuffer no longer that they be eſteemed willing to take away errors, which indeed, by all the ways their wits will ſerve them, go about this alone, that no man, under pain of death may ſpeak againſt any error or abuſe.

England goeth not from the unity of Faith, although it goeth from the Pope.

The Faith of England Catholick. England ready to ſend to any General Council wherein truth may be advanced.

We would have a Council, we deſire it, yea, and crave nothing ſo oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be ſuch, as Chriſtian men ought to have, that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may ſay his mind. We deſire that it be an holy Council, where every man may go about to ſet up Godlineſs, and not apply all their ſtudy to oppreſſing of truth. We will it be general, that is to ſay, kept at ſuch time, and in ſuch place, that every man which ſeeketh the glory of God may be preſent, and there frankly utter his mind: For when it ſhall ſeem general, either when no man that diſſenteth from the Biſhop of *Rome* is compelled to be from it; or when they that be preſent are not letted by any juſt terror, to ſay boldly what they truly think: for who would not gladly come to ſuch a Council, except it be the Pope, his Cardinals, and Popiſh Biſhops? On the other ſide, who is ſo fooliſh, whereas the chief point that is to be handled in this Council is the Popes own cauſe, power and primacy, to grant that the Pope ſhould reign, ſhould be Judg, ſhould be Preſident of this Council? if he, which indeed can never think himſelf able to defend his cauſe before any other Judg, be evermore made his own Judg, and ſo Controverſies not decided, but errors ſet up, what can be deviſed in the Commonwealth of Chriſtendom more hurtful to the truth, than General Councils?

What a true General Council ought to be.

Conditions of a true General Council.

The Pope would be Judg in his own cauſe.

The Pope hath no power to ſummon Councils.

And here to touch ſomewhat their impudent arrogancy, by what law, power, or honeſt title take they upon them to call Kings, to ſummon Princes to appear, where their Bulls command them? In time paſt all Councils were appointed by the authority, conſent and commandment of the Emperor, Kings and Princes; why now takes the Biſhop of *Rome* this upon him? Some will ſay, It is more likely that Biſhops will more tender the cauſe of Religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than Emperors, Kings and Princes. The world hath good experience of them, and every man ſeeth how faithfully they have handled Religious matters. Is there any man that doth not ſee how vertuouſly *Paul* now goeth about by this occaſion to ſet up his tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooſeth ſuch a time as this is, to keep a Council, much intendeth the redreſs of things that now are amiſs? that he ſeeketh the reforming of Religion, that now calleth a Council, the Emperor and the *French* King, two Princes of great power, ſo bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other Chriſtian Prince can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go too, go too Biſhop of *Rome*, occaſion long wiſhed for offereth her ſelf unto you; take her, ſhe openeth a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your Cardinals, your own creatures, ſhew them that this is a jolly time to deceive Princes in.

Truth may be priſoned, it cannot be cryſtalled.

O Fools: O wicked men! May we not juſtly ſo call you? Are ye not Fools, which being long ſuſpected, not only of Princes, but of all Chriſtian people in a manner, that in no caſe you could be brought to a General Council, plainly ſhew the whole world, that by theſe your conciliables, your hutter mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawful Catholick and General Council? Are you not wicked, which ſo hate truth, that except the be utterly baniſhed, ye will never ceaſe to vex her? The living God is alive, neither truth his darling, he being alive, can be called to ſo great ſhame, contumely, and injury; or if it may be called to all theſe, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievouſly lamenteth not, men to be of ſuch ſhameful boldneſs, to ſhew apertly that they be enemies unto Chriſt himſelf? On the other ſide, who will not be glad to ſee ſuch men as fooliſh as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light ſuſpition, as it hath been hitherto, that you intend no reformation of errors, but every man ſeeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye bear againſt the truth. Every man ſeeth how many miſerable Tragedies your pretence of an unity and concord hath brought into Chriſtendom? they ſee your fair face of peace hath ſerved Sedition, and troubled almoſt all Chriſtian Realms. They ſee ye never oppugn Religion more, than when ye will ſeem moſt to defend it. They be ſorry to ſee that great wits a long ſeaſon have ſpent their whole ſtrength in defence of deceits: Reaſon to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodlineſs; Vertues to ſerve vices: Holineſs to be ſlave to Hypocriſie; Prudence to ſubtilty: Juſtice to tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now tigheth for it ſelf, and not againſt it ſelf. They be glad that God is not compelled to be againſt God: Chriſt againſt Chriſt. They be glad that ſubtilty hath done no more hurt to Religion in time paſt, than now conſtancy doth good to truth. They ſee the marks that ye have ſhot at in all your Councils paſt, to be lucre, money, gains. They ſee you ſought your profit, yea, though it were joyned with the ſlaughter of truth. They ſee, ye would ever that ſooner injury ſhould be done to the Goſpel, than that your authority, that is to ſay, arrogant impudency ſhould in any point be diminiſhed.

The Pope enemy to Chriſt.

The Popes feared againſt the Truth.

The Pope troubler of all Chriſtendom Realms

The Popes marks whereat he ſhooteth.

And we pray you, what may *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* ſeem now to go about, which ſeeing all Princes occupied in great affairs, would ſteal (as he calleth it) a General Council what other thing, than hereby to have ſome excuſe to refuſe a General Council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of Religion ſhall be given unto Princes of Chriſtendom? He will think he may then do as Princes now do. He will think it lawful not to come then, becauſe Princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawle not one with another in Religion: and whereas diſſention is amongſt us, yet for our parts do ſay, that we, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to ſettle Religion. For except firſt Princes agree, and ſo (war laid aſide) ſeek peace, he loſeth his labour that ſeeketh a General Council. If the Biſhop of *Rome* may keep his Council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty Decrees? If they which would come if they had leiſure, be abſent, and we, which though we ſafely might come, will not loſe any part of our right; trow you, in all our abſence, that the Biſhop of *Rome* will not handle his profit and Primacy well?

The Popes crate in Pealing a General Councils.

Paul, how can any of ours not refuſe to come to *Mantua*, through ſo many perils, a City ſo far ſet from *England*, ſo nigh your friends, kinſmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, that where he may tarry at home, will paſs through ſo many jeopardies of life? Can he which cometh to *Cremona*, a City not far from *Mantua*, be ſafe if he be taken not to be the Biſhop of *Romes* friend, that is, (as the common ſort of deceived people doth interpret) an Heretick? And if there come to *Mantua* ſuch a number as would furniſh a General Council, not *Mantua* ſeem too little, to receive ſo many gueſts? Put theſe two together, all the way from *England* to *Mantua* is full of juſt perils, and yet if ye eſcape all thoſe, the very place where the Council is kept is more to be ſuſpected, than all the way. Do ye not know all Civil Laws to compell no man to come to any place, where he ſhall be in jeopardy of his life all the way? We have no ſafe conduct to paſs and return by the Dominions of other Princes. And if we had a ſafe conduct, yet ſhould not we be charged with raſhneſs, that where juſt terror might have diſwaded us from ſuch a journey, we committed our ſelves to ſuch perils? Surely, he that the time being as it is, things ſtanding as they do, will go from *England* to *Mantua*, may be careleſs, if he lack not wit; ſure of his coming, arrival, or return from thence he cannot be. For who doth not know how oft the Biſhops of *Rome* have plaid falſe parts with them, that in ſuch matters have truſted to their ſafe conducts? how oft have they cauſed by their *Perfidia* ſuch

The Pope enemy to Chriſt.

The Popes feared againſt the Truth.

The Pope troubler of all Chriſtendom Realms

The Popes marks whereat he ſhooteth.

The Popes crate in Pealing a General Councils.

The time and place preſently picked of the Pope.

What our Heretick is againſt the Papiſts.

The way to Mantua long and dangerous.

The fl. ſhood of Popes no new thing.

ſuch men to be ſlain, as they have promiſed by their faith before, that they ſhould both come ſafe, and go ſafe? Theſe be no newes, Popes to be falſe, Popes to keep no promiſe neither with God nor man; Popes contrary to their Oaths, to defile their cruel hands with moſt mens blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

We will, theſe now laid apart, turn our Oration unto ſuch things, as privately touch both us, King *Henry* the Eighth, and all *Engliſhmen*. Is it unknown to any man what mind *Paul* the Biſhop of *Rome* beareth to us, King *Henry* the Eighth, to us his Nobility, to us his Graces Biſhops, and to us all his Graces ſubjects, for the pulling down of his uſurped power, and proud Primacy; for expelling of his uſurped Juriſdiction; and for deliverance of our Realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who ſeeth not him even inflamed with hatred againſt us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he diſſembleth no longer, provoking all men by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our Country. Theſe three years he hath been occupied in no one thing ſo much, as how he might fir up the Commons of *England*, and corrupting ſome with money, ſome with dignities. We let paſs what Letters he hath written to Chriſtian Princes: with how great fervent ſtudy he hath exhorted them to ſet upon us. The good Vicar of Chriſt by his doing ſheweth how he underſtandeth the words of Chriſt. He thinketh he playeth Chriſts part well, when he may ſay as Chriſt did, *Non veni pacem mittere in terram, ſed gladium.* I come not to make peace in earth, but to ſend ſwords about; and not ſuch ſwords as Chriſt would his to be armed withal, but ſuch as cruel manquellers abuſe in the ſlaughter of their neighbours. We marvel little though they vext other Princes oft, ſeeing they recompence our favour ſhewed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

The hatred of the Pope againſt Eng-land.

The Pope bringeth not peace but the ſword to the earth; other-ſiſe than Chriſt did.

We will not rehearſe here how many our benefits beſtowed upon *Roman* Biſhops be loſt. God be with ſuch ungrate Carles, unworthy to be numbred amongſt men: Certes ſuch that a man may well doubt, whether God or man hath better cauſe to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wiſh them ſo evil, but they have deſerved much worſe? We wiſh them this hurt alone that God ſend them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their ſeditious intents ſooner to ſhew their great malice towards us, than to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, evermore to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to *Mantua*, and to leave their whelps amongſt the Lambs of our flock. VVhen we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then as they would have us now do. No, no, as long as we ſhall ſee his heart ſo good towards us, we truſt upon his warning we ſhall well provide to withſtand his cruel malice. No, let him now ſpend his deceits, when they can hurt none but ſuch as would deceive, and are deceived.

Benefits caſt away upon the Pope.

The Popes Curſes not feared in *England*.

The Popes Trumpery diſpatched out of *Eng-land*.

They have by ſundry ways made us privy, how much we be bound unto them. It went nigh their hearts, to ſee the judgment of *July*, of *Clement* the Seventh, of *Paul* the Third, nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we ſhould ſuſtain no hurt, becauſe we juſtly rejected their Primacy, that other Princes would begin to do likewiſe, and to ſhake from their ſhoulders the heavy burdens that they ſo long have born againſt Scriptures, all right and reaſon. They be ſorry to ſee the way ſtopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no paſſage unto *England*, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to toſs, to trouble all men. They can ſcarce ſuffer privileges, that is to ſay, license to ſpoil our Citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by erroneful cuſtom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful, that we require things lawful of them that will be under no Laws. They think we do them wrong, becauſe we will not ſuffer them to do us wrong any longer. They ſee that we will buy no longer Chalk for Cheeſe. They ſee they have loſt a fair fleece, vengeable ſorry that they can diſpatch no more Pardons, Diſpenſations, Totquots, with the reſt of their baggage and trumpery. *England* is no more a Babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they do foolithly that give Gold for Lead, more weight of that than they receive of this. They paſs not though *Peter* and *Pauls* faces be graven in the Lead, to make fools fain. No, we be ſorry that they ſhould abuſe holy Saints viſages, to the beguiling of the world.

{KING Hen.8.} Gold given for Lead.

Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority ſhall be driven out for ever, but his name alſo ſhortly ſhall be forgotten in *England*. We will from henceforth ask counſel from him and his, when we liſt to be deceived, when we covet to be in error, when we deſire to offend God, truth and honeſty. If a man may gueſs the whole work by the foundation, where deceit beginneth the work, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? VVhat can you look for in this *Mantuan* Council, other than the oppreſſion of truth and true Religion? If there be any thing well done, think, as every man doth, Biſhops of *Rome* to be acuſtomed to do a few things well, that many evil may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they liſt, can yield ſome part of their right. They are content that ſome of their Decrees, ſome of their Errors and abuſes be reprehended; but they are never more to be feared, than when they ſhew themſelves moſt gentle. For if they grant a few, they aſk many, if they leave a little, they will be ſure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himſelf, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they bleſs him: which ſelfſame Council, when they ſhall ſeem to do evil. Certainly, come who ſo will to theſe ſhops of deceits, to theſe Fairs of frauds, we will loſe no part of our right, in coming at his call, that ought to be called, and not to call. VVe will neither come at *Mantua*, nor ſend thither for this matter, *&c.*

God grant.

The Popes foundation to all deceit.

The Pope doth a few things well that many evils may the better proceed.

And ſo the King, proceeding in the ſaid his Proteſtation, declareth moreover, how the Pope after he had ſummoned his Council firſt to be kept at *Mantua*, the three and twentieth day of *May*, *Anno* 1537, ſhortly after directed out another Bull, to propagate the ſame Council to the Duke of *Mantua* would not ſuffer him to keep any Council there, unleſs he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the Town. And therefore in his later Bull he prorogueth this Aſſembly, commanding Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other of the Spiritualty, by the vertue of obedience, and under pain of curſing, to be preſent, but ſheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they ſhould come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named. For as good a Council no where to be called, as where it could not be. And as well no place ſerved him that intended no Council, as all places. And to ſay truth, much better no place to be named, than to name ſuch as he purpoſed not to come to; for ſo ſhould he break no promiſe which maketh none. And ſo going forward in his Oration, toward the later end he thus inferreth by his words of Proteſtation, ſaying:

The Pope ought to be called, and not to call.

The Pope again prorogueth the ſame his Council.

No, we will the Pope and his adherents to underſtand that which we have oft ſaid, and now ſay, and ever will ſay, He nor his hath no authority, nor juriſdiction in *England*. We give him no more than he hath, that is, never a deal. That which he hath uſurped againſt Gods Law, and extorted by violence, we by good right take from him again. But he and his will ſay, we gave them a Primacy. We hear them well: we gave it you indeed. If you have authority upon us as long as our conſent giveth it you, and you evermore will make your plea upon our conſent, then let it have even an end where it began; we conſent no longer, your authority muſt needs be gone. If we being deceived by falſe pretence of evil-alledged Scriptures, gave to you that ye ought to have refuſed, why may we not, our errror now perceived, and your deceit eſpied, take it again? VVe Princes wrote our ſelves to be inferiors to Popes. As long as we thought ſo, we obeyed them as our ſuperiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cauſe to marvel, if we hereafter do not as we did; both the Laws civil, and alſo the Laws of God, be on our ſide. For a free man born doth not loſe his liberty, no nor hurt the plea of his liberty, though he write himſelf a bondman.

Princes ſo they give the Pope, Primacy, they take it from him again.

Again,

{KING Hen.8.} Cuſtom.

Again, If they lean to cuſtom, we ſend them to Saint *Cyprian*, which ſaith, That cuſtom, if truth be not joyned with it, is nothing, but *Erroris vetuſtas*, that is, An old error. Chriſt ſaid, *Ego ſum via, veritas, & vita*: I am the way, the truth, and life. He never ſaid, *Ego ſum conſuetudo*, I am the cuſtom. Wherefore, ſeeing cuſtom ſerveth you on the one ſide, and Scripture us on the other, are ye able to match us? In how many places doth Chriſt admoniſh you to ſeek no Primacy, to prefer your ſelves before no body? No, to be obedient unto all Creatures? Your old Title, *Servus ſervorum*, evil agreeth with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters ſo plain: We only deſire God, that *Cæſar*, and other Chriſtian Princes, would agree upon ſome holy Council, where Truth may be tried, and Religion ſet up, which hath been hurt by nothing ſo ſore, as by general not general Councils; errors and abuſes grow too faſt. *Erudimini qui judicatis terram*: Get you learning you that judge the Earth and, excogitate ſome remedy for theſe ſo many diſeaſes of the ſick Church. They that be wiſeſt, do deſpair of a general Council. Wherefore we think it now beſt, that every Prince call a Council Provincial, and every Prince to redreſs his own Realm. We make all men privy what we think beſt to be done, for the redreſs of Religion. If they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or ſome other better. Our truſt is, that all Princes will ſo handle themſelves in this behalf, that Princes may enjoy their own, and Prieſts of *Rome* content themſelves with that they ought to have. Princes as we truſt will no longer nouriſh Wolves whelps, they will ſubſcribe no more to popiſh pride, to the Papacy, *&c.*

The Popes title and his dignity agree not together.

Beſt that every Prince reform his Realm and tarry not for general Councils.

Favour our doings, O Chriſtian Princes. Your honour and ancient Majeſty is reſtored. Remember there is nothing pertaining ſo much to a Princes honour, as to ſet forth truth, and to help Religion. Take you heed that their deceits work not more miſchief than your vertue can do good, and everlaſting War we would all Princes had with this Papacy. As for their Decrees, ſo harken to them, that if in this *Mantuan* Aſſembly things be well done, ye take them, but not as authoriſed by them, but that truth, and things that maintain Religion, are to be taken at all mens hands. And even as we will admit things well made, ſo if there be any thing determined in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance of their evil grounded Primacy, or that may hurt the authority of Kings, we proteſt unto the whole world that we neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

Ye have Chriſtian Readers our mind concerning the General Council. We think you all ſee, that *Paul* and his Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbots, Monks, Friers, with the reſt of the Rabblement, do nothing leſs intend, than the knowledge and ſearch of truth. Ye ſee this is no time meet, *Mantua* no place meet for a General Council. And though they were both meet, yet except ſome other call this Council, you ſee, that we neither need to come, nor to ſend. You have heard how every Prince in his own Realm may quiet things amiſs. If there be any of you that can ſhew us a better way, we promiſe with all hearty deſire, to do that that ſhall be thought beſt for the ſetling of Religion, and that we will leave our own advices, if any man ſhew us better. Which mind of ours, we moſt heartily pray God that gave it us, not only to increaſe in us, but alſo to ſend it unto all Chriſtian Princes, all Chriſtian Prelates, and all Chriſtian people.

A little before the death of Queen *Ann*, there was a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, wherein was given to the King by conſent of the Abbots, all ſuch Houſes of Religion, as were under three hundred Marks. Which was a ſhrewd Prognoſticate of the ruine of greater Houſes, which indeed followed ſhortly after, as was and might eaſily be perceived before of many, who then ſaid, that the low Buſhes and Brambles were cut down before, but great Oaks would follow after.

The Popiſh purpoſe diſappointed.

Although the proceeding of theſe things did not well like the minds of the Popes friends in *England*, yet notwithſtanding they began again to take ſome breath of comfort, when they ſaw the foreſaid Queen *Ann* diſpatched. Nevertheleſs they were fruſtrate of their purpoſe (as is afore ſhewed) and that double wiſe. For firſt, after they had their wills of Queen *Ann*, the Lord raiſed up another Queen, not greatly for their purpoſe, with her ſon King *Edward*. And alſo for that the Lord *Cromwel* the ſame time began to grow in authority. Who like a mighty Pillar ſet up in the Church of Chriſt, was enough alone to confound and overthrow all the malignant deviſes of the Adverſaries, ſo long as God gave him vi. in life here to continue; whoſe Story hereafter followeth more at large.

Queen Jane Married to the King. Lord Cromwel groweth in authority.

Shortly after this foreſaid Marriage of the King with this Queen *Jane Seimer* above mentioned, in the month of *June*, during the continuation of the Parliament, by the conſent of the Clergy holding then a ſolemn Convocation in the Church of Saint *Paul*, a Book was ſet forth containing certain Articles of Religion neceſſary to be taught to the people; wherein they intreated ſpecially but of three Sacraments, Baptiſm, Penance, and the Lords Supper. Where alſo divers other things were publiſhed concerning the alteration of certain points of Religion, as that certain Holidays were forbidden, and many Abbeys began to be ſuppreſſed. For the which cauſe the rude multitude of *Lincolnſhire*, fearing the utter ſubverſion of their old Religion, wherein they had been ſo long nuſled, did riſe up in a great Commotion, to the number well near of twenty Thouſand, having for their Captain a Monk called Doctor *Makerel*, calling himſelf then Captain *Cobler*; but thoſe Rebels being repreſſed by the Kings power, and deſiring pardon, ſoon brake up their Aſſembly. For they hearing of the Royal Army of the King coming againſt them with his own perſon there preſent, and fearing what this would follow of this, firſt the Noblemen and Gentlemen which before favoured them, began to withdraw themſelves, ſo that they were deſtitute of Captains; and at the laſt they in writing made certain Petitions to the King, proteſting that they never intended hurt toward his Royal Perſon. Theſe Petitions the King received, and made this anſwer again to them as followeth.

Alteration of Religion a little be-gineth.

Commotion in Lincolnſhire.

A Monk Captain of the Commotion.

The Kings anſwer to the Rebels.

The Kings anſwer to the Rebels.

FIrſt, we begin to make anſwer to the fourth and ſixth Articles, becauſe upon them dependeth much of the reſt. Concerning chooſing of Counſellors, I never have read, heard, or known, that Princes, Counſellors, and Prelats, ſhould be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were perſons meet, or of ability to diſcern and chooſe meet and ſufficient Counſellors for a Prince. How preſumptuous then are ye the rude Commons of one Shire, and that one the moſt baſe of the whole Realm, and of the leaſt experience, to find fault with your Prince, for the electing of his Counſellors and Prelats, and to take upon you, contrary to Gods Law and Mans Laws to rule your Princes, whom you are bound by all Law to obey and ſerve with both your Lives, Lands and Goods, and for no worldly cauſe to withſtand.

For ſuppreſſion of the Houſes of Religion.

As for the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes and Monaſteries, We will that ye and all Our Subjects ſhould well know, that this is granted Us by all the Nobles Spiritual and Temporal of this Realm, and by all the Commons in the ſame, by Act of Parliament; and not ſet forth by any Counſellor or Counſellors upon their meer will and fantaſie, as you full falſly would perſwade Our Realm to believe.

And where ye alledge, that the ſervice of God is much diminiſhed, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no Houſes ſuppreſſed where God was well ſerved, but where moſt vice, miſchief, and abomination of living was uſed, and that doth well appear by their own confeſſions ſubſcribed with their own hands in the time of their Viſitations, and yet We ſuffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the Act) to ſtand; wherein if they amend not their living, We fear We have more to anſwer for, than for the ſuppreſſion of all the reſt. And as for the Hoſpitality for the relief of the poor, We wonder ye be not aſhamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many or the moſt part hath not paſt four or five Religious perſons in them, and divers but one which ſpent the ſubſtance of the goods of their Houſes in nouriſhing of vice and abominable living. Now what unkindneſs and unnaturality may we impute to you and all Our Subjects that be of that mind, which had lever ſuch as unthrift ſort of vicious perſons ſhould

In theſe 9. Articles of Religious Houſes.

and abomination were found and reprehended by the viſitors.

enjoy such possessions, profits, and emoluments, as grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we your natural Prince, Sovereign Lord and King, which doth and hath spent more of our own in your defences, than six times they be worth?

The Act of Uses. As touching the Act of Uses, we marvel what madness is in your Brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you to cause us to break those Laws and Statutes which by all the noble Knights and Gentlemen of this Realm (whom the same chiefly touched) have been granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you the base Commons of our Realm.

Also, the grounds of all those Uses were false, and never admitted by Law, but usurped upon the Prince, contrary to all Equity and Justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the Realm of *England*, in *Westminster*-Hall: Whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that and in the rest, and how unmeet it is for us, and dithonourable, to grant or assent unto, and less meet and decent for you in such a rebellious fort to demand the same of your Prince.

The Act of fifteen. As touching the Fifteen which you demand of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint hearted, that perforce ye of one Shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us with your insurrections and such rebellious demeanor to remit the same? Or think you that any man will or may take you to be true Subjects, that first make and shew a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your Sovereign Lord and King to release the same? The time of payment thereof is not yet come; yea, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth peny of the charges which we have and daily do sustain for your tuition and safegard, make you sure by your occasions of these ingratitudes, unnaturalness, and unkindness to us now administred, ye give us cause (which have always been as much dedicate to your wealth, as ever was King) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: And doubt ye not, though ye have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of Allegiance to your King and Sovereign Lord, the rest of our Realm (we doubt not) hath, and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if according to your former Letters you submit not your selves.

The Act of first fruits. As touching the First Fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by Act of Parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our Subjects: And we have known also that ye our Commons have much complained also in times passed, that the most part of our Goods, Lands, and possessions of this our Realm, were in the spiritual mens hands; and yet bearing us in hand that ye be as loving Subjects to us as may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your Prince and Sovereign Lord should have any part thereof (and yet it is nothing preiudicial unto you our Commons) but do Rebel and unlawfully Rise against your Prince, contrary to the duty of Allegiance and Gods Commandment. Sirs, remember your follies and Traiterous demeanors, and shame not your native Country of *England*, nor offend no more so grievously your doubted King and natural Prince, which always hath shewed himself most loving unto you, and remember your duty of Allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your King, both by Gods Commandment and Law of Nature.

Wherefore we charge you estsoons, upon the forefaid Bonds and Pains, that you withdraw your selves to your own houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our Laws and your Allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our Lieutenants hands or ours, and you your selves to submit you to such condign punishment, as we and our Nobles shall think you worthy: For doubt you not else, that We and Our Nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenged, if ye give not to us place of Sovereignty, and shew your selves as bounden and obedient Subjects, and no more intermeddle your selves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the Realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to Us your King, and such Noble Men and Counsellors as we list to Elect and Choose to have the ordering of the same. {KING Hen.8.}

And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use your selves towards Us like true and faithful Subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter: and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our Lieutenant, a hundred persons to be ordered according to their demerits, at Our Will and Pleasure, than by your obstinacy, and wilfulness to put your selves, your Wives, Children, Lands, Goods and Chattels, beside the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruine, by force and violence of the Sword.

After the *Lincolnshire* men had received this the Kings answer aforesaid, made to their Petitions, each misttrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his own house in Peace: But the Captains of these Rebels escaped not all clear, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserved. *Ex Ed. Hal.* The commotion of *Lincolnshire* allwaged.

After this, immediately within six days upon the same, followed a new Insurrection in *Yorkshire* for the same causes, through the Instigation and lying tails of seditious persons, especially Monks and Priests, making them believe, that their Silver Chalices, Crosses, Jewels, and other Ornaments, should be taken out of their Churches, and that no man should be married, or eat any good meat in his house, but should give tribute therefore to the K. But there especial malice was against *Cromwel* and certain other Counsellors. A Popish Insurrection in *Yorkshire*.

The number of these Rebels were near 40000 having for their Badges the five wounds, with the sign of the Sacrament, and Jesus written in the midst. The Badges of the Rebels.

This their divelish Rebellion they termed by the name of a *Holy Pilgrimage*, but they served a wrong and a naughty Saint. They had also in the field their Streamers and Banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the Cross on the one side, and a Chalice with a painted Cake in it on the other side, with other such Enfigns of like hypocrisie and fained sanctity, pretending thereby to fight for the Faith, and right of holy Church. A holy Pilgrimage.

As soon as the King was certified of this new seditious Insurrection, he sent with all speed the Duke of *Norfolk*, Duke of *Suffolk*, Marquess of *Exceter*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and other with a great Army, forthwith to encounter with the Rebels. The Kings power against the Rebels in *Yorkshire*.

These Noble Captains and Counsellors thus well furnished with habiliments of War, approaching toward the Rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to Battel, first with policy went about to assay and practise how to appease all without bloodshedding; but the Northern men, stoutly and sturdily standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts. Which when the Nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacifie their furious minds utterly set on mischief, determined upon a Battel. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the hour set; but for the wonderous work of Gods gracious providence. The night before the day of Battel came (as testifieth *Edward Hall*) fell a small Rain, nothing to speak of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small Foord, and that men, in manner the day before, might have gone dry-shod over, suddenly rose of such a height, deepness, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabit could tell they ever saw afore; so that that day, even when the hour of Battel should come, it was impossible for the one Army to come at the other. The blind stubbornness of superstitious people, rebelling where they have no cause. A great miracle of God in defending the cause of his Gospel.

After this, that the appointment made between both of the Armies being thus disappointed (as it is to be thought only by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons, that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murthered) could take no place; then by the great wisdom and policy of the said Captains, a Communication was had, and a Pardon of the Kings Majesty obtained for all the Captains, and chief doers of this Insurrection, and they promised that such things as they found themselves agrieved withal, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable Petitions granted, and that their Articles should be presented to the King, that by his Highness authority, and wisdom of his Council, all things should be brought to good

{KING Hen.8.} good order and conclusion; and with this order every man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now peacebly to their houses, and were as cold as water.

A domino factum est istud.

In the time of this ruffle in *Yorkshire*, and the King lying the same time at *Windsor*, there was a Butcher dwelling within five miles of the said Town of *Windsor*, which caused a Priest to preach that all they that took part with the *Yorkshiremen*, whom he called Gods people, did fight in Gods quarrel; for the which both he and the Priest were apprehended and executed. Popish Priests rebelling against the King.

Divers other Priests also, with other about the same time committing in like sort Treason against the King, suffered the like execution. Such a business had the King then to rid the Realm from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

Tantæ molis erat Romanam evertere sedem.

But Gods hand did still work withal, in upholding his Gospel and trodden Truth, against all seditious stirs, Commotions, Rebellions, and whatsoever was to the contrary, as both by the Stories afore passed, and by such also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appear.

The next year after this, which was of the Lord 1537, after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious Priests, and a few other Lay men, with certain Noble persons also and Gentlemen, amongst whom was the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Hussy*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Francis Bygot*, Sir *Stephen Hamelton*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and his Wife, *William Lomeley*, *Nicholas Tempest*, with the Abbots of *Gerney*, and of *Rivers*, &c. In the month of *October*, the same year following, was born Prince *Edward*. Shortly after whose birth, Queen *Jane* his mother, the second day after, died in Childbed, and left the King again a Widdower, which so continued the space of two years together. Upon the death of which Queen *Jane*, and upon the birth of Prince *Edward* her Son, these two Verses were made which follow. Prince Edward born. Queen Jane died in childbed.

Phœnix Jana jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Secula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.

Tush verses were thought to be made by *Mr. Haleigh's Wife.*

Here by the way is to be underflood, that during all this season, since the time that the King of *England* had rejected the Pope out of the Realm, both the Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, with other foreign Potentates (which were yet in subjection under the Pope) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy fetters on, nor secret working among themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefs, if God by contrary occasions had not stopped their intended devises. For first the Pope had sent Cardinal *Pool* to the French King, to stir him to War against the Realm of *England*. The Pope stirreth war against England by Cardinal Pool.

Secondly, Whereas the French King, by Treaty of perpetual Peace, was bound yearly to pay to the King of *England* at the first days of *May*, and *November*, about 25000 Crowns of the Sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand Crowns at the said two terms, for recompence of salt due, as the Treaties thereof did purport, that pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

Furthermore, the Emperor, and the French King both, retained *Grancetor* a Traiterous Rebel against the King, and condemned by Act of Parliament, with certain other Traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the King at his earnest sute and request. The Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, set against the King of *England*.

The French King also, digressing from his promise and Treaty, made Alliance with the Bishop of *Rome*, *Clement*, in marrying the *Dauphin* to his Neece, called *Katherine de Medices*.

The said French King moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his Daughter to the King of *Scots*. All which were prejudicial; and put the King no doubt in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant Prince) to see the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Scots* so bent against him.

And yet all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French King was so set on by the Pope, and so linked in marriage with the *Scots*, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the Realm of *England*, yet notwithstanding he hearing now of the birth of Prince *Edward* the Kings Son by Queen *Jane*, and understanding also by the death of the said Queen *Jane* that the King was a Widdower, and perceiving moreover talk to be that the King would joyn in marriage with the *Germans*, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the Queen of *Navarr* his Sister to the King.

The Embassadors resident then in *France* for the King, were *Stephen Gardiner*, with Doctor *Thirleby*, &c. Which *Stephen Gardiner* what he wrought secretly for the Popes devotion, I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all. But this is certain, that when Doctor *Bonner*, Archdeacon then of *Leicester*, was sent into *France* by the King (through the means of the Lord *Cromwel*) to succeed *Stephen Gardiner* in Embassy, which was about the year of our Lord 1538, he found such dealing in the said Bishop of *Winchester*, as was not greatly to be trusted, beside the unkind parts of the said Bishop against the foresaid *Bonner*, coming then from the King and Lord *Cromwel*, as was to be liked. {Ann. 1538} Doctor Bonner, the Kings Embassador in France.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter dissensions between these two, and especially what despiteful contumelies Doctor *Bonner* received at the hands of *Winchester*. For understand good Reader, that this Doctor *Bonner* all this while remained yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the Kings proceedings, and a favourer of *Luthers* Doctrine, and was advanced only by the Lord *Cromwel*. Whose promotions here to rehearse; first he was Archdeacon of *Leicester*, Parson of *Bledon*, of *Derham*, *Chesswick*, and *Cheriburton*. Then he was made Bishop of *Hereford*, and at last preferred to be Bishop of *London*. The chief of which preferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the means and favour of the Lord *Cromwel*, who was then his chief and only Patron, and setter up: as the said *Bonner* himself in all his Letters doth manifestly protest and declare. The Copies of which his Letters I could here produce and exhibit, but for prolonging my Story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see, how the coming up of Doctor *Bonner* was only by the Gospel (howsoever he was after unkind unto the Gospel) this one Letter of his, which I will here infer, written to the Lord *Cromwel* out of *France*, may stand for a perpetual testimony, the tenour whereof here ensueth. Doctor Bonner in the beginning a favourer of the truth, and a Lutheran. Lord Cromwel the only setter up of D. Bonner. Doctor Bonners coming up was by the Gospels

A Letter of Doctor Bonner *the Kings Embassador resident in* France, *sent to the Lord* Cromwel, *declaring the order of his promotions and coming up.*

MY very singular especial good Lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commend me unto your honourable good Lordship. And whereas in times past it hath liked the same, without any my deserts or merits, even only of your singular exceeding goodness, to bestow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me so poor a man, and of so small qualities, expreising indeed sundry ways the good effect thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your Honourable good Lordship, and thought it always my duty (as indeed it was) both to bear my true heart again unto your Lordship, and also remembring such kindness, to do unto the same all such service and pleasure as might then lie in my small power to do. Out of Latin hand writing.

But where of your infinite and ineffimable goodness it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of Legation from such a Prince as my Sovereign Lord is, unto the Emperor and French King; and next after to procure and obtain mine advancement to so honourable a promotion as the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, I must here acknowledge the exceeding greatness of your Lordships benefit, with mine own imbecility to recompense it, and say, as *Virgil* writeth: Doctor Bonner confesseth himself much bound to the Lord Cromwell. Bishoprick of Hereford by the Lord Cromwell

Grates persolvere dignas non opis est nostræ.

Surely my good Lord, I neither am, neither ſhall be able to requite this your Lordſhips moſt ſpecial kindneſs and bounteful goodneſs at any time, unleſs I ſhould uſe that civil remedy called in Law Acceptilation, which great Doctors eſpecially are acuſtomed to procure to the hands of their Creditors: Whereby yet nevertheleſs your goodneſs, the only doer thereof, ſhould rather be increaſed than my duty towards the ſame thereby diminiſhed. And *ceſſio Bonorum* (the only extream refuge and help of poor Debtors deviſed alſo in civil) might ſomewhat help herein, ſaying that it is not poſſible that I ſhould come *Ad tam pinguem fortunam* (whereupon that remedy is grounded) whereby I may recompence and requite this Debt worthily.

Acceptilation.

Here ſeemeth to lack ſome word, but that I would not alter any thing in his own Copy.

So that in concluſion there reſteth this, that unleſs your Lordſhips ſelf do looſe me, as you have bound me, I ſhall (and that full gladly) remain continually your moſt bounded Beadſman. And Sir I moſt humbly beſeech your good Lordſhip, in the honour of God, ſeeing this thing is begun, and advanced only by your goodneſs and means, you will to the intent the Act may be wholly your own, ſtretch out your goodneſs, not ſuffering the reſt to be perfected otherwiſe than by your own hands; wherein as I muſt and ſhall acknowledge my ſelf to be exceedingly beholden unto your good Lordſhip, ſo ſhall I the ſame more eſteem and ſet by, during my life, having ſo attained it by your only goodneſs: And verily, if your good Lordſhip be not better to me herein than I can (unleſs it be of your own goodneſs) deſire you, I know not how I ſhall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right honeſt and good, yea, and ſuch as one of far better qualities than I was, or am of, ought therewith to have been contented; yet conſidering that of divers of them, that is to wit, *Leiceſter*, *Bledon*, *Derham*, *Cheſwick*, and *Cheriburton*, the firſt fruits, tenths, and charges born, I have not received clearly one peny, I am now never a whit the moreable to bear the great charges of this.

The promotion of Bonner.

I ſhall therefore herein and in all things elſe pertaining hereunto, ſeeing your Lordſhip is ſo great a Patron, and will needs bind me forever to be your own (as indeed I will) refer all together unto your goodneſs, beſeeching you to take the order and diſpoſition of all into your hands. I cannot tell wether the late Biſhop ſtandeth bounden for the firſt fruits, tenths, or other duties which by Statute may be demanded of his Succeſſor, but Hear it greatly, and beſeech your Lordſhip that I may be holpen therein. My charges now here enforceth me the more to ſpeak and trouble your good Lordſhip, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good Lordſhip, I have of five hundred Crowns remaining forty, beſtowed upon Horſes, Mules, Mulet, Rayment, and other neceſſaries, ſtanding Debtor to Maſter *Thirleby* nevertheleſs, and alſo to Maſter Dr. *Heyns*, for an hundred Marks, or ſaft upon, to them both. And beſides this, ſuch is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my Servants have fallen ſick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

Over and beſides theſe diſpleaſures coming unto me by not having their ſervice, and other to keep them, and alſo wanting mine other Servants in *England*, which though I have ſent for them, yet neither they, neither my Horſes or ſtuff are come, I muſt and do take patience, truſting it will mend.

Upon the cloſing up of this Letter, and depeach of this Bearer, God willing I will pack up my gear, and to morrow betime follow the French King, who yeſterday departed from *Shamlour*, and maketh haſt toward *Paris*. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well preſerve your good Lordſhip in health.

At *Bloys*, the ſecond of *September* in the evening.

Scribled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your Lordſhips Beadſman at commandment.

Edmund Bonner.

Divers other Letters beſide this of Doctor *Bonner* remain in writing unto the like effect and purport; which here alſo I might add for a further demonſtration hereof: but this one in ſtead of many may ſuffice. Now to our purpoſe again; which is to declare how this Doctor *Bonner*, in the time of his firſt ſpringing up, ſhewed himſelf a good man, and a faſt friend to the Goſpel of Chriſt and to the Kings proceedings: And contrariwiſe, how *Stephen Gardiner* did hait then both with God and with the King: Alſo what unkindneſs and contumelies the ſaid *Bonner* received at his hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved againſt the other, remaineth conſequently by their Writings and Records to be opened. For the more evident demonſtration whereof, they that have the Letters of the ſaid Doctor *Bonner*, written from *France* to the King and the Lord *Cromwel*, may right well perceive. And firſt to note what a Goſpeller he was: in his Letter from *Roan* he ſpeaking of his truſty companion, and bearer of his Letters (who was belike Doctor *Heyns*) he giveth this report both of him and of himſelf; ſaying,

{KING Hen. 8.} Dr. Bonner all this while ſhewed himſelf to be a good man and a good Goſpeller.

Rancour and heartburning between the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Bonner.

If this bearer had been ſo much deſirous to pleaſe the Emperor, and follow his religion, as he was ſtudious to ſerve truly your Grace, and to advance the Truth, he had not wanted, &c.

The words of Bonner declaring himſelf to be a Goſpeller.

And Again:

And beſides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran wherein for company I was joyned, ſuch was their goodneſs, &c.

Bonner reckoned a Lutheran.

Again, in another Letter written to the Lord *Cromwel*, theſe words he hath, ſpeaking of his companion Doctor *Heyns*.

D. Bonner & D. Heyns noted for Lutherans.

Eſpecially for that the ſaid Doctor Heyns *by his upright dealing herein, and profeſſing the Truth, neither gave thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honeſt folks to be a Lutheran. The leſs he pleaſeth in* Spain, *the better argument it is, that his intent was to ſerve none but the Kings Highneſs and the Truth*, &c.

For furthermore, in another minute writing to the Lord *Cromwel* of *Stephen Wincheſter*, and of his Churliſhneſs toward him, thus he ſaith:

Wincheſter againſt Bonner.

And there I found in Maſter Doctor Thirleby *much kindneſs, and in the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *as little*, &c.

And in the ſame Letter it followeth:

And if I had received any entertainment of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, *I would likewiſe have ſent you Word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him*, &c.

Alſo in another Letter the ſaid *Bonner* writing to the Lord *Cromwel* concerning one *Barnabe*, and himſelf, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of *Wincheſter*, uſed theſe words following:

Stephen Wincheſter againſt Barnabe brought the Lord Cromwel favoured him.

And my good Lord, I beſeech you to continue your good favour to this honeſt poor man Barnabe, *who is body and ſoul aſſuredly your own, and as well beloved of the Biſhop of* Wincheſter *a I am: And of my troth I ſuppoſe and believe verily, one of the chief grudges the Biſhop hath againſt him, is becauſe your Lordſhip of your charitable goodneſs doth love and favour him.*

Another Letter of Doctor Bonner *to the Lord* Cromwel, *complaining of* Wincheſter, *and alſo declaring how he was promoted by the ſaid Lord* Cromwel, *to the Biſhoprick of* Hereford.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter inquired not how the King did.

MY very ſingular eſpecial good Lord, according to my moſt bounden duty, I commend me right humbly unto your good Lordſhip, advertiſing the ſame, that the nine and twentieth of the laſt month, about four of the Clock at afternoon, there arrived here *Barnabe* with your Lordſhips Letters, dated at *Evreux* the four and twentieth of the ſame: And thinking that at the ſaid arrival, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, M. *Thirleby* and I had been all lodged together, where in very deed we had ſeveral lodgings, he went ſtraight to the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* lodging (Maſter *Thirleby* and I being then walking in the fields) and the Biſhop incontinently inquired of him, not how the Kings Grace did, as was his duty; but (as

{KING Hen. 8.} (as *Barnabe* told me) inquired of him where he left the Kings Grace at his coming away, whether he had brought any Letters for him: whether Maſter *Brian* and Maſter *Wallop* were in the Court at his departing, and finally what newes were in *England*? To the which queſtions, when *Barnabe* had made anſwer, ſaying that he left the Kings Grace at *Byrlings*, and that Maſter *Brian* and Maſter *Wallop* were in the Court at his departing, and withal, that he had no Letters from them, nor any other to him, and finally, for the news that the Kings Highneſs had given me the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*: the Biſhop (as *Barnabe* reporteth, and I doubt not but he ſaith truly) caſt down his head, making a plaice mouth with his lip, and afterward lifting up his eyes and hands (as curſing the day and hour it chanced) ſeemed ſo evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid *Barnabe* drink, or tarry ſupper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Maſter *Medow*, and ſhewed him of the ſame tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily, ſemblably as he doth every thing, that is or may be for my preferment. And when *Barnabe* perceived that I was not there, and then alſo this comfortable countenance and good cheer made unto him, he went thence and ſearched for me, who then was walking with Maſter *Thirleby*, as is before, and by chance communing with him of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, giving him advertiſement that he ſhould not be abuſed by the ſaid Biſhop, who I ſaid made him, not for any hearty love I thought he bear unto him, but either in deſpite of me, to whom he thought it ſhould be greatly diſpleaſant; Or elſe under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him and to ſerve his own crafty purpoſes by him. And ſoon after the departure of Maſter *Thirleby* from me, who then went to the Biſhop to Supper, I returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with *Barnabe*, whoſe ſalutation was after that ſort, that it cauſed me to wonder at it, eſpecially I having no expectation or hope of ſuch things as he rehearſed unto me. And ſurely my good Lord I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the ſame by the ſuperſcription of your Lordſhips Letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withal (to my great comfort) the proſperous eſtate of the Kings Highneſs, and of your good Lordſhip: Which known, I beſought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and alſo as was my duty, did give moſt humble thanks to the Kings Highneſs, and to your ſaid good Lordſhip. And hereupon keeping your Lordſhips Letters ſtill in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Maſter *Thirleby* which was in my way, to communicate theſe my newes and great good fortune with him, and not finding him there, I read over your Lordſhips Letters, ſending the ſame afterward to Maſter *Thirleby*, and perceiving by *Barnabe*, that he had other Letters for me, which he told me he muſt deliver unto me ſecretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that your Lordſhips ſecond Letter ſent to me, and alſo the other ſent to Mr. *Wyat*, &c.

{KING Hen. 8.}

The place mouth of Wincheſter againſt Bonner.

Such. Wincheſter againſt Bonner preferment.

D. Bonner made Biſhop of Hereford.

See how Bonner repayeth at his great good fortune, as though he had not enough before, having four livings and being mainly well ſped for one man.

Your Lordſhips moſt bounden

Beadeſman, and always

at Commandment.

Edmund Bonner.

When the King, by the advice of the Lord *Cromwell*, and other of his Council had appointed Doctor *Edmund Bonner* to return from the Emperor, and to be reſident in *France*, in the place of *Wincheſter* and of Doctor *Thirleby*, he ſent his Letters to the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to maſter *Thirleby*, ſhewing his pleaſure unto them in that behalf, with this Clauſe in the ſame Letters contained in expreſs words as followeth.

And where the ſaid M. Bonner *wanteth furniture of ſtuff and plate meet for that Office, Our pleaſure is that you M.* Thirleby *ſhall deliver unto him by Indenture, all the Plate you have of Ours in your cuſtody, and that you my Lord of* Wincheſter *ſhall furniſh him with all ſuch other ſtuff, as ſhall be neceſſary for him, Wherein as you ſhall do unto us Pleaſure, ſo we ſhall be content at your return, to ſatisfie you for the ſame*, &c.

The Kings pleaſure was not regarded of the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* receiving theſe Letters from the King, and being loath to come into *England* (whatſoever the matter was) alſo hearing that Doctor *Bonner* ſhould ſucceed him, his diſdainful nature did ſtomach him exceedingly. But becauſe there was no other remedy but that the Kings commandment muſt be done, firſt he ſendeth the Kings Letter, with his alſo to the Emperors Court, unto Maſter *Bonner*, and to Doctor *Heyns*, willing them in all haſt to repair to *Lyons* within two days. Beſide theſe Letters of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Thirleby* adjoyned his Letters alſo with the like quickneſs to the ſaid Doctor *Heyns* and to *Bonner*, the Contents whereof here followeth.

The Letter of Doctor Thirleby *to Doctor* Heyns *and* Bonner.

D. Thirleby's quick Letter to D. Heyns and D. Bonner, He meaneth here the French King.

WIth my hearty commendations, and the deſire of your company, and now ſo much rather that I ſhall thereby have a great benefit, *viz.* the deliverance from trouble to eaſe, from a ſtrange Country to mine own, from the waiting upon him that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the ſervice of him whoſe proſperity and love I account as my life; theſe ſhall be to pray you to make no leſs ſpeed hither, than you would make to a good feaſt when that you are hungry. M. *Bonner* ſhall know many things, but when you come I ſhall tell you more, ſo that you haſt you. Come I pray you, I would fain be at home. I ſaw not my Maſter theſe four months. When as you Maſter *Bonner* ſhall come to *Lyons*, it ſhall be good to go to *Bonuiſe*, he is a good money maker; in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, haſtily I would have written, and the ſooner the better welcome to *Lyons*, where this was given the laſt of *July*.

The King of England is meaneth.

By him that hath loved you well,

and now will love you better,

if you haſt you hither.

Thomas Thirleby.

At the receit of theſe Letters, Doctor *Bonner*, and Doctor *Heyns* did put themſelves in a readineſs to repair incontinent unto *Lyons*, thinking there to have found *Wincheſter* and *Thirleby*, according to the purport of their Letters. But *Wincheſter* and *Thirleby* not abiding their coming, made haſt away from *Lyons* to *la Barella*; where *Bonner*, in riding in Poſt after him overtook him. With whom what entertainment and talk he had, and what accuſations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words paſſed between them, and what miſliking *Bonner* had of him for ſpecial cauſes here in this brabling matter or brawling Dialogue under following may appear, which for thy recreation, and for the further underſtanding of *Wincheſters* qualities, I wiſh thee loving Reader to peruſe and conſider.

But firſt here is to be noted, that the King and the Lord *Cromwell*, at what time they had appointed Doctor *Edmund Bonner* to be Reſident Ambaſſador in *France*, required in their Letters, that he ſhould advertiſe them by writing, what he did miſlike in the doings and behaviour of certain perſons whom they did then note unto him: Whereupon the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* ſendeth this declaration of *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; as followeth.

Out of the Copy of Bonners own Letters by his own hand writing which I have to shew.

A Declaration sent by Doctor Bonner *to the Lord* Cromwell, *describing to him the evil behaviour of* Stephen Winchester, *with special causes therein contained, wherefore, and why misliked of him.*

Complaints of Doctor Bonner against Steph. Gardiner.

FIrst, I misliked in the Bishop of *Winchester*, that when any man is sent in the Kings affairs, and by his Highnes commandment, the Bishop, unles he be the only and chief inventer of the matter and setter forth of the person, he will not only use many cavillations, but also use great strangeneſs in countenance and cheer to the person that is sent; over and besides, as small comfort and Counsel as may be in the matter, rather disswading and discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his Message, than boldning and comforting him, as is his duty, with help and Counsel to adventure and do his best therein. The experience whereof I have had my self with him, as well at *Roan*, the first time I was sent to *Rome*, commanded by the Kings Highnes to come by him, and at *Marcels*, the time of the intimation of the Kings protestation, provocation and appeal, as also lately going to *Nice*, touching the general Council, and the authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, and finally, now lait of all, at my return from *Spain*, where neither my diligence in coming to him and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the Kings Letter written unto him in favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart, and cankred malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and unkindly do, as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth.

The vainglorious pride and ambition of the Bishop of Winchester.

What experience Doctor Bonn. hath of Winchesters pride.

The cankred malicious stomach of Winchester.

When riding in Post I came to *la Barella*, a Post on this side *Lyons*, the seventh day of *August*, he being in bed there, I tarried till he rising up and making himself ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarrying for him in a second Chamber, and at his coming thither, he said; What! Master *Bonner*, good morrow. Ah Sir, ye be welcome, and therewithal he put out his hand, and I kissing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he said; come on, let us go and walk a while into the Fields, and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I said, I would waite upon him. His going to the Fields (as appeared afterwards) was not so much to walk, as to have a place where he might speak loud, and triumph alone against me calling in his words again, if he spake any amiss, and utterly deny them if that made for his purpose. And by chance, or rather than by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Master *Thirleby*, and desired I might see him and speak with him. The Bishop that perceiving, and with all that I stuck upon it, he commanded one of his Servants to call Master *Thirleby*, but yet afore his coming the Bishop would not be idle, but said thus to me.

The Dialogue between Bonner and Gardiner begins.

Master *Bonner*, your servant was yesterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you; In good faith you can have nothing of me. Nothing, my Lord, quoth I, merily speaking, Marry God forbid, that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much upon your goodneſs that hath a great deal. In faith, quoth he, ye shall have nothing of me: Marry, ye shall have of Master *Thirleby* his Carriage, Mules, his Bed, and divers other things, that he may spare, and which he hath kept for you. Well My Lord, quoth I, if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for my self otherwise, and provide it where I may get it. And here the Bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not shew my self greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, he began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the Kings Highneſs.

Winchester will do nothing for Dr. Bonner. Doctor Bonner will give no thanks to Winchester for nothing. Winchester hea meeth to kindle.

Tell me one thing, quoth he; that you want. One thing, quoth I? Marry amongst many things that I want, I want *Napery*. That shall ye not need, quoth he, here in this Country: And here he began to tell a long tail, that none used that but Master *Wallop* and he in the beginning. Which is not true generally. And from this he began to go, defending by his Negatives; my Mules, said he, ye cannot have, for if ye should, I must needs provide other for them again: my Mulet clothes ye cannot have, because mine Arms are on them, not meet for you to bear: my Raiment (I being Bishop) that is not meet for you: And so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing should I have.

Winchesters Negatives.

And here came Master *Thirleby*, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honeſt sort: To whom the Bishop rehearseth again his Negatives, and maketh a long discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that he could do, that nothing I should have of him, and this rehearsed he still on end, I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a Pilates voice, so that all his Company, standing more than than three or four pair of Butts length off, heard him.

Doctor Thirleby present at this parly.

The Pilates voice of Winc.

When I saw that he would make no end, but ever rehearsed one thing still, I said to him, My Lord, I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of Master Doctor here, let me give him thanks that deserved it, and trouble you therein no more: But leaving communication therein, let me desire and pray you, that we may commune of the Kings matters. And that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of your Counsel in that behalf. The Bishop was so hot and warm in his own matters, that he would not hear but needs would return again, and shew why that I could have nothing of him. My Lord, quoth I, here is still on End one Tail, which me thinketh, seeing that I understand it, ye need not so oft to repeat it, especially seeing that it cometh always to this conclusion, that I shall have nothing of you. Ye lie, quoth he, I said not so. I report me, quoth I, to Master *Thirleby* here present, whom I shall desire to bear record of your said and discreet honeſt behaviour with me. I say you lie, quoth he: My Lord, quoth I, I thank you.

Steph. Gardiner more reflexive to his own matters than to the Kings affairs.

Ye lie quoth Winchester.

I do not say, quoth he, that ye shall have nothing of me; but I say you can have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diversity between these two manners of speaking: I can spare nothing unto you, and therefore ye shall have nothing; and though I can spare you, yet you shall have nothing; for in the one is an honeſty in the Speaker, which would, if he could do, pleasure; and in the other there lacketh that honeſty.

Winchesters old sophistication.

My Lord, quoth I, to examine whether I shall have nothing, because ye can spare nothing; or shall have nothing, though ye have plenty, because ye will: I shall have nothings, it shall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore seeing you bide upon this, I shall have nothing, I thank you for nothing, and provide otherwise for my self. Turd in your teeth, quoth he, and provide as ye will. Bishop-like spoken, by my Faith, quoth I, and well it becometh you to speak thus to me. Yea marry doth it become me, quoth he, and repeating the words again, said with a sharp accent, Have nothing of me? Turd in your teeth. Well my Lord, quoth I, this needeth not, saving that ye have a full stomach, and your wit abroad, willing thereby to ease your stomach against me. Yes marry, quoth he, it needeth for me, though it needeth not for you, for I intend, quoth he, I would ye should know it, to justifie my self to the King in all things. If ye do so, quoth I, ye shall do the better. Nay, quoth he, I do it, and will do it. Well, quoth I, ye are the more to be commended, if ye so can do. Yes, quoth he, I can do it.

Bishop-like spoken.

The mellifluous and honey mouthed words of Winchester to Bonner.

Now, by my Troth, quoth I, seeing the Kings Highneſs hath written so tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his Highnes Letters that his Grace hath done; me thinketh, ye having so great plenty of all things, and I so great need thereof, coming Post, as I do, ye go about as evil to justifie your self to the King, as any one that I have seen. And I wiſs my Lord (quoth I) I would have reckoned, that coming as I do come, I should have been both better welcome, and better intreated of you, than now I am, if it had been for no other respect, than because I am an *Englis* man.

Winchesters pattern Bonner to be like to for practise.

The stomach of Steph. Gardiner against Bonner.

I shall tell you, quoth he, for the Kings sake ye may look to have; but for your own sake ye get nothing. Well, quoth I, then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all, and having any thing, I shall give thanks to the

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King, and none to you. I tell you, quoth he, ye get nothing. And I tell you again, quoth I, that I will thank you for nothing: and here the Fleth of his Cheek began to swell and tremble, and he looked upon me as he would have run through me, and I came and stood even by him, and said, Trow you, my Lord, quoth he, that I fear your great looks? Nay faith do I not. Ye had need to get another stomach to whet upon, than mine, and a better Whetstone than any ye have. For, I assure you, you shall not whet me to your purpose: and if ye knew how little I do set by this unloving and indiscreet behaviour of yours, you would not use it upon me. And I shall tell you, quoth I, if I were not bridled, and had other respects both to the Kings Highneſs my Sovereign Lord, and also unto other that may command me, I would have told you ere this time my mind after another fort. Tell me, quoth he, Turd in your Teeth. Well my Lord, quoth I, ye would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke me to speak as undiscreetly and bedlemly, as ye do. But surely ye shall not, howsoever ye shall speak. But this will I tell you, I shall shew how I am handled of you. Marry spare not, quoth he. Well my Lord, quoth I, you have here full well plaid the part of a Bishop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my part, if ye your self be not ashamed, or coming to your self (for now your anger is such that you hear not your self) be not displeased, I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing without wisdom, and the oftener ye use this manner, the more shall it be to your dishonesty.

The like trembling and leaping of the Veins and Fleth for anger did M. Bonner also note in this Gardiner discoursing with him in Germany. Vide Bucer.

Dr Caliburn, Steph. Gardiner Bedlem like.

All the company ashamed of Gardiners talk.

Lo, quoth he, how fondly he speaketh, as who saith, I were all in the blame. Will ye not hear, quoth he, this wise Man? My Lord, quoth I, I would you could hear with indifferent Ears, and see with indifferent Eyes your self. Ye have made a brabling here for nothing, and would that I should give you thanks for that thing which Master *Thirelby* hath done for me. I look for no thanks of you, quoth he, and said withal, looking spightfully, that he knew me well enough; and that he was not deceived in me. Well quoth I, and me think I know you well enough too, wherefore as ye say you are not deceived in me, so I truſt I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, Sir, quoth I, because ye say ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you know me? for honeſt and true, or otherwiſe? If you do, say it, and I shall make answer.

Brabling for nothing.

The slights full looks of Winchester.

I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so that I suppose, either of his own naughty Nature he hath made me an image after his own fantasie, or else believed the report of such in conditions, as he is himself, who in malice, I suppose, and disdain may be compared to the Devil in Hell, not giving place to him in Pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the provision of the M. Crowns. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while afore they would come out: and further I said, That seeing they had been *simpliciter* given to me, I would never thank him for them, but the Kings Highneſs: And I said, That if they were twenty thousand, he should break so many sleeps afore he should have any part thereof, intreating me as he did. Well, quoth he, you have them. That is truth, quoth I, and nothing thankful to you.

Steph. Gardiner for Malice, and Disdain, and Pride, compared by Bonner to the Devil of Hell.

Why then, quoth he, seeing you have here divers things of M. *Thirlebies*, and all other things are *parabilia pecunia*, which you have, you may make thereby good provision for your self. That is truth, quoth I, and that can I and will do, though you tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at *Lyons* for all things necessary, if ye without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, inforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet, quoth I, one thing may I tell you; ye are very desirous I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at *Lyons* one Horse that *Francis* had provided for me, and also your servant *Mace* having an Horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your confent hath sold his Horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how heartily you desire I should be provided for. In faith (quoth he) chuse you, ye may provide if you will; and seeing your journey hither from *Lyons* is vain, you may thither return again, and make there provition for your self. I thought, quoth he, departing from *Lyons*, to have made calie journies, and to have followed the Count till you had come, and now come you squirting in Post, and trouble all. I came forth in Post, quoth I, by the commandment of the King my Master, and had liberty to return at pleasure by his Graces Letters, and seeing that I had no Horses for the journey, me thought better to ride in Post than go on foot. Well, quoth he, I will not depart hence this twelve month, except ye be otherwise provided. Provided (quoth I) I muſt tarry till I may be provided of Horses, if ye speak of that provition: and seeing that this riding in Post grieveth you, it cauſeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I should succeed you. I have here already two Gowns and a Velvet Jacket, so that you shall not be fetted an hour by me.

The chuse dealing of Winchester.

Winchester angry that Bonner should succeed him.

I tell you, quoth he, ye shall otherwiſe provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you, quoth he, though you care not for the Kings Honour, but wretchedly do live with ten Shillings a day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I muſt and will consider the Kings Honour. And I tell you again, quoth I, I will and do consider the Kings Honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as sorry will be that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you (quoth I) though ye may spend far above me, I shall not stick if any thing be to be spent for the Kings Honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchedneſs and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a falſe lye, and ye shew your wisdom full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.

I cannot tell, quoth he, but this was openly rehearsed by Master *Brians* servants at my Table. Yea, was I (quoth I) Yea marry was it, quoth he. Now, by my Troth, quoth I, then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for of my Fidelity, that Week that Master *Brian* and his servants were with us at *Villa Franca*, it cost my companion and me five and twenty Pounds in the Charges of the Houſe. This they say, quoth he. Yea, quoth I, and therein they lye. And here I shewed him, that being well settled at *Nice*, and having made there good and honeſt provision, to our no little charges, Master *Wyat* would not reſt till he had gotten us to *Villa Franca*, where even upon the first words of Master *Hayns*, he was right well content to take of us twenty Shillings by the day. Which was not during ten days; where at his coming to us to *Nice*, himself and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Master *Wyat* from *Villa Franca*, in Post into *England*, we found our selves, our Servants, all Master *Wyat's* Servants, to the number of sixteen, all his acquaintance, which Dinner and Supper continually came to us, sometime twelve, sometimes ten, and when they were leaſt, six or eight, and for this had not one peny of Master *Wyat*, and yet at our coming from *Barcelone*, where we tarried about eight days, we gave to Master *Wyat* twenty eight Pounds, and to his Servants five Pounds, besides forty Shillings that privately I gave to some being of gentle fashion, out of mine own Purſe: so that I told him, it was neither Master *Wyat*, nor *Maſon*, that found us and our Servants, but we prayed for the finding of them, and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other Men to have all the thanks.

Winchester reproved to his face of falſe slanders.

The Bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying, By my Troth, quoth he, I tell you as it was told me, and Master Doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more, quoth he, They said that Master *Haynt*, would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been. Now by my Troth, quoth I, I shall therein make Master *Heyns*, himself Judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.

The Bishops of Winchester voyd head.

Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the Bishops wild Head, I held my peace; and by and by was he in hand again with them as hot as ever he was. My Lord (quoth I) I desired ere while your Lordship to make an end of this Communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would (where ye have spoken undiscreetly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the Kings Letters) with multitude of words, and great countenance I should think ye had not done amiss. But surely you lose your labour, for ye shall never make me think that ye are delirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the Kings. For if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the Kings sake, that is nothing at all.

Winchester regarded not the Kings Letters.

Here both of us were talking together; but I held on ſtill, and ever inforced him to this: My Lord, quoth I, this is the thing that I ſhall only deſire of you: That where the Kings Grace hath here in the *French*-Court divers affairs (as I take it) ye would therein inſtruct me in the ſtate thereof, and give me your beſt counſel and advice: and this I proteſt unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you: and if ye will not, I ſhall with pain hear you in your other things, but I will make no anſwer at all.

Bonner outfaced by *Winchester*, and driven to ſilence.

For all this the Biſhop ended not: but in concluſion, when he ſaw by no means that he could induce me to anſwer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his Lodging and Chamber.

Doctor Bonner taketh his leave of *Winchester*.

It being Dinner-time, and all things provided, and ſtanding afore him, and he turning his back from me inſtanding afore him, and he turning his back from me into a Window: I at his turning towards me again, put off my Bonnet, and ſaid, God be with you my Lord. He gave no anſwer to me at all, nor countenance, but ſuffered me to go. Whereupon returning to my Lodging, which was in Maſter *Thirlebies* Chamber, I cauſed my Dinner to be provided, and when it was almoſt ready, the Biſhops Steward, called *Myrrel*, came for me (whether ſent from the Biſhop or not, I cannot tell) and I told him my Dinner was provided for, and withal, that my Lord his Maſter had given me ſuch a Breakfaſt, that I need no Dinner nor Supper, and ſo the Steward, drinking with me, returned again, and I went to Dinner at Maſter *Thirlebies* Lodging, and after Dinner I went to the Biſhops Lodging, who at my coming, very gently put off his Bonnet, and ſo we walked together quietly a while, and ſhortly after, the Biſhop began after this manner: Maſter *Bonner*, to day we communed of proviſion for you, and becauſe ye ſhall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you, I will provide and make ready for you, Mules, Mulets, Horſes, Servants, Money, yea, and all things that ſhall be neceſſary.

Winneſtre will come upon him at laſt.

My Lord, quoth I, here is a large offer, and a great kindneſs come upon you; I marvel, quoth I, that I could hear nothing of this to day in the Morning. I tell you, quoth he, this will I do, for know you, that I will conſider the Kings honour and pleaſure, and doubt not but the King will pay me again. My Lord, quoth I, I have ſent my Servant already to *Lions*, to make proviſion for me, and I have ſent other abroad here in the Town and Country, to do the ſame: ye ſhall never need to trouble your ſelf herewith. I will, quoth he, you ſhall not ſay another day, that ye could not be provided for. My Lord, quoth I, let me have inſtructions in the Kings matters, and as for other things I ſhall not aſk of you, becauſe this day ye made me ſo plain anſwer. After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at *Terrara* that night where he intended to be lodged. And ſo the Biſhop bidding me farewel, took foon after his Horſe, riding to *Terrara* to Bed.

Winchester refuſed to remember refuted.

Winchester and Bonner depart.

Another meeting of *Winchester* and *Bonner*.

And by the way I overtook him, and paſſing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to *Terrara*, lodging at the Poſt-Houſe, and even as the Biſhop came into the Town, ſtood at the Poſt-Houſedoor: To whom the Biſhop ſaid, We ſhall ſee you ſoon, Maſter *Bonner*. Yea, my Lord, quoth I, thinking that thereby he had deſired me to Supper, and at Supper-time I went to his Lodging, having other to eat my Supper at home, and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all Supper-while, but nothing at all yet ſpeaking to me, or giving any thing to me, ſaving at the coming of the Fruit, he gave me a Pear, I trow, becauſe I ſhould remember mine own Country. After Supper, he walked, taking Maſter *Thirleby* with him, and I walked with an *Italian*, being Embaſſador for the Count *Mirandula*, and after a good ſpace he returned, and bade the Biſhop good night.

{KING Hen. 8. Bonner ſeemeth by this Peate to be a *Worceſterſhire* Man.

I did not after that night Dine or Sup with the Biſhop, till he came to *Burges* in *Berry*, whereupon the deputh of *Frances*, and cloſing up of our Letters ſent to the Kings Highneſs, the Supper was ſo provided, and ſet upon the Board, and the Biſhop in waſhing, ſtanding ſo between me and the Door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I ſhould waſh with him and Sup, and I ſuppoſe all the way from *Barella* to *Bloys*, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time ſaving at *Molyns* (where he by mouth told me ſomewhat of the Kings affairs here in *France*) and at *Veronne* (when he anſwering to my requeſts in writing, delivered me his Book of his own hand for mine inſtructions, the Copy whereof is now ſent herewithal) there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Maſter *Thirleby*, who I think knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the Man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordſhip. I my ſelf was out of credence with the Biſhop, not being appliable to his manners and deſires.

The ſtrangeneſs between *Winchester* and *Bonner*, *Winchesters* Book of inſtructions delivered to *Bonner*. *Thirleby* and *Winchester* great together. Why *Bonner* was out of credit with *Winchester*. Fleſh trembled at the firſt coming of Doctor *Thirleby* to ſucceed him

And ſurely, as Maſter *Thirleby* told me, at his firſt coming to *Lyons*, and then ſpeaking with the Biſhop, the Biſhop ſeemed to be ſo well content to return, and ſo glad of his coming to ſucceed him, that his fleſh in his Face began all to tremble, and yet would the Biſhop make Men believe that he would gladly come home. Which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for ever he was looking for Letters out of *England*, from M. *Wallop* and Maſter *Brian*, whom he took for his great Friends: and Maſter *Wyat* himſelf reckoned, that the Biſhop ſhould have come into *Spain*, or elſe my Lord of *Durefme*; ſo that the Biſhop of *Winchester* ever coveted to protract the time, deſiring yet withal to have ſome ſhadow to excuſe and hide himſelf; as tarrying at *Barella*, he made excuſe by my not coming to *Lyons*; and coming to *Varennes*, and there hearing by the Embaſſadors of the *Venetians* a flying tale of the going of the *French*-King towards *Bayon* to meet the Emperor, by and by he ſaid, Lo, where is Maſter Diligence now? If he were now here (as then I was that night) we would to the Court and Preſent him, and take our leave. But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to Horſe, he was nothing haſty. No, coming to *Molyns* after him, and there tarrying for him, the *French*-King lying at *Schavenna*, three ſmall Leagues off, he made not half the ſpeed and haſte that he pretended.

Winchester loth to return into *England*.

Bonner cals Mr. Dr. Ignoto.

I miſſike in the Biſhop of *Winchester*, that he cannot be content that any joyned in Commiſſion with him ſhould keep Houſe, but to be at his Table. Wherein either he ſcorcheth thereby a vain-glory and pride to himſelf, with ſome diſhonour to the King, as who ſaith, there were among all the Kings Embaſſadors but one able to maintain a Table, and that were he, or elſe he doth the ſame for an evil intent and purpoſe, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they ſhall ſay and do as liketh him alone, which I ſuppoſe verily hath been his intent.

The ſecond complaint.

Winchester would be alone.

I miſſike in the ſaid Biſhop, that where he for his own pomp and glory hath a great number of Servants in their Velvets and Silks, with their Chains about their Necks, and keepeth a coſtly Table with exceſſive Fare, and exceeding Expences many other ways: he doth ſay, and is not aſhamed to report, that he is ſo commanded to do by the Kings Grace, and that is his anſwer commonly, when his Friends tell him of his great Charges; and ſo, under colour of the Kings Commandment and Honour, he hideth his Pride, which is here diſdained.

The third complaint, the pomp and glory of *Winchester*.

The fourth complaint, *Winchester* given more to his own affection than to the Kings Affaire.

I miſſike in the ſaid Biſhop, That he having private hatred againſt a Man, will rather ſatisfie his own ſtomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the Kings Affairs, than relenting in any part of his ſturdy and ſtubborn will, give familiar and hearty counſel (where by the Kings Highneſs matters and buſineſs may be advanced and ſet forth) to him that he taketh for his Adverſary.

I miſ-

{KING Hen. 8. The fifth complaint *Winchester* ſuſpected to be Imperial.

I miſſike in the ſaid Biſhop, That there is ſo great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and ſuch mutual confidence between the ſaid Biſhop and *M.* as naughty a fellow, and as very a Papiſt as any that I know, where he dare expreſs it. The Biſhop in his Letters to Maſter *Wyat*, ever ſendeth ſpecial Commendations to *Maſon*, and yet refuſeth to ſend any to Maſter *Heyns* and me, being with Maſter *Wyat*, as we perceived by the ſaid Letters. And *Maſon* maketh ſuch foundation of the Biſhop, that he thinketh there is none ſuch. And he told me at *Villa Franca*, That the Biſhop upon a time, when he had fallen out with *Germain*, ſo trufted him, that weeping and ſobbing he came unto him, deſiring and praying him that he would ſpeak with *Germain*, and reconcile him, ſo that no words were ſpoken of it, and what the matter was he would not tell me. That young fellow *Germain* knoweth all: and *Preſton*, which is Servant to the Biſhop of *Winchester*, ſhewed me one Night in my Chamber at *Bloys* after Supper, that *Germain* is ever buſie in ſhewing the Kings Letters to ſtrangers, and that he himſelf hath given him warning thereof. This thing *Preſton* told me the Night before that the Biſhop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he conſidering how the Biſhop and I ſtood, kept him more cloſe, and would ſay no further.

The ſixth complaint Bonner like a true Goſpeller complaineth of Papiſts.

Winchester ſuſpected of untrue dealing.

Printing the New Teſtament in Engliſh and the Bible at Paris.

The diſtance and Bonner in Legation.

In this Declaration of Doctor *Edmund Bonner*, above-prefixed, ſent to the Lord *Cromwel*, diver things we have to note: Firſt, as touching *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, here we have plain demonſtration of his vile Nature and peſtilent Pride, joyned with malice and diſdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Doctor *Bonner* aforeſaid, ſhewing ſix ſpecial cauſes, why and wherefore he miſliketh that perſon, according as he was willed before by the Kings Commandment ſo to do.

Things in the foreſaid Declaration to be noted. The rancor and pride of Stephen Gardiner.

The words of D. Bonner uſed to the *French*-King.

Secondly, In the ſaid *Stephen Winchester*, this we have alſo to note and underſtand, That as he here declareth a ſecret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his Book *De Obedientia*) to Papiſtry, joyning part and ſide with ſuch as were known Papiſts; ſo he ſeemeth likewiſe to bear a like ſecret grudge againſt the Lord *Cromwel*, and all ſuch whomſoever he favoured.

2. Stephen Gardiner revolteth to Papiſtry.

The *French*-King diſpleaſed with Biſhop Bonner

Thirdly, As concerning the fore-named Doctor *Edmund Bonner* the Author of this Declaration, here is to be ſeen and noted, That he all this while appeared a good Man and diligent friend to the Truth; and that he was favoured of the Lord *Cromwel* for the ſame.

3.

Fourthly, That the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* was not only favoured of the Lord *Cromwel*, but alſo by him was advanced firſt to the Office of Legation, then to the Biſhoprick of *Hereford*, and laſtly, to the Biſhoprick of *London*, whom the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* in his Letters agniſeth and confeſſeth to be his only Patron, and ſingular *Mecaenas*.

4. Dr. Bonner coming up only by the Goſpel.

Biſhops commonly ſoldier in Princes matters then in the cauſe of Chriſtes

5. Which being ſo, we have in this ſaid Doctor *Bonner* greatly to marvel, what ſhould be the cauſe, that he, ſeeing all his ſetting up, making and preferring came only by the Goſpel, and by them of the Goſpels-lide, he being then ſo hated of *Stephen Gardiner*, and ſuch as he was, being alſo at that time ſuch a furtherer and defender of the Goſpel (as appeared both by his Preface before *Gardiner*'s Book *De Obedientia*, and by his Writings to the Lord *Cromwel*, alſo by helping forward the Printed Bibles at *Paris*) could ever be a Man ſo ungrateful and unkind afterward, to joyn part with the ſaid *Stephen Gardiner* againſt the Goſpel (without the which Goſpel he had never come to be Biſhop neither of *Hereford*, nor yet of *London*) and now to abuſe the ſame Biſhoprick of *London*, to perfecute that ſo vehemently which before ſo openly he defended? Wherein the ſame may well be ſaid to him in this caſe, that he himſelf was reported once to ſay to the *French*-King in the cauſe of *Grancetor*: to wit, That he had done therein againſt his Honour, againſt Juſtice, againſt Reaſon, againſt Honeſty, againſt Friendſhip, againſt his own Promiſe and his Oath ſo often made, againſt his own Doctrine and Judgment, which then he profeſſed, againſt all Truth, againſt the Treaties and Leagues between him and his ſetters up, and againſt all together, and to conclude, againſt the Salvation of his own Soul.

Bonner's oath words fetched againſt him.

But to refer this to the Book of his Accompts, who ſhall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Doctor *Bonner*'s Legation. Who being now Embaſſador in the Court of *France* (as ye have heard) had given him in Commiſſion from the King to entreat with the *French*-King for ſundry points, as for the Printing of the *New Teſtament* in *Engliſh*, and the *Bible* at *Paris*; alſo for ſlanderous preachers, and malicious ſpeakers againſt the Kings for Goods of Merchants taken and ſpoiled, for the Kings Penſion to be paid; for the matters of the Duke of *Suffolk*; for certain Priſoners in *France*; *Item*, For *Grancetor* the Traitor, and certain other Rebels to be ſent into *England*, &c. Touching all which Affairs, the ſaid Doctor *Bonner* did employ his diligence and travel to the good ſatisfaction and contentment of the Kings mind, and diſcharge of his duty, in ſuch ſort as no default could be found in him, ſave only that the *French*-King one time took diſpleaſure with him, for that the ſaid *Bonner*, being now made Biſhop of *Hereford*, and bearing himſelf ſomewhat more ſeriouſly and boldly before the King, in the Cauſe of *Grancetor* the Traitor (wherein he was willed, by the advertiſement of the Kings pleaſure, to wade more deeply and inſtantly) uſed theſe words to the *French*-King (as the *French*-King himſelf did afterward report them) ſaying, That he had done in deliverance of that foreſaid *Grancetor* being an *Engliſh*-Man, againſt God, againſt his Honour, againſt Juſtice, againſt Reaſon, againſt Honeſty, againſt Friendſhip, againſt all Law, againſt the Treaties and Leagues between him and his Brother, the King of *England*, yea, and againſt all together, &c. Theſe words of Biſhop *Bonner*, although he denieth to have ſpoken them in that form and quality, yet howſoever they were ſpoken, did ſtir up the ſtomach of the *French*-King to conceive high diſpleaſure againſt him, inſomuch that he, anſwering the Lord Embaſſador again, bade him write theſe three things unto his Maſter.

Biſhop Bonner bidden to write to the King his Maſter three things.

Firſt, *Among other things, That his Embaſſador was a great fool.*

Secondarily, *That he cauſed to be done better Juſtice there in his Realm in one hour, than they did in* England *in a whole year.*

Thirdly, *That if it were not for the love of his Maſter, he ſhould have an hundred ſtrokes with a Halbard*, &c.

And furthermore, The ſaid *French*-King beſide this, ſending a ſpecial Meſſenger with his Letters to the King of *England*, willed him to revoke and call this Embaſſador home, and to ſend him another. The cauſe why the *French*-king took theſe words of Biſhop *Bonner* ſo to ſtomach (as the Lord Chancellor ſaid) was this: For that the Kings of *France*, ſtanding chiefly, and in manner only upon their honour, can ſuffer that in no caſe to be touched. Otherwiſe, in thoſe words (if they had been well taken) was not ſo much blame, perchance, as boldneſs, being ſpoken ſomewhat vehemently in his Maſters behalf. But this one thing ſeemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this Biſhop, and many other, that they in Earthly matters, and to pleaſe terrene *Kings*, will put forth themſelves to ſuch a boldneſs and forwardneſs, and in Chriſts cauſe, the King of all kings, whoſe cauſe they ſhould only attend upon and tender, they are ſo remiſs, cold, and cowardly.

To theſe Letters of the *French*-King, the King of *England* ſent anſwer again by other Letters, in which he revoked and called home again Biſhop *Bonner*, giving unto him about the ſame time the Biſhoprick of *London*, and ſent in ſupply of his place Sir *John Wallop*, a great Friend to *Stephen Gardiner*. Which was in *February*, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here now followeth the Oath of *Bonner* to the King, when he was made Biſhop of *London*.

The

The Oath of Doctor *Edmund Bonner*, when he was made Bishop of *London*, against the Pope of *Rome*.

Dr. Bonner's Oath against the Pope.

YE *shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of* Rome *shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power within this Realm, or any other the Kings Dominion, but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the Kings Majesty to be the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of* England, *and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this Realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of* Rome, *and his Authority, and other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in Reformation and Corroboration of the Kings Power of Supreme Head in the Earth of the Church of* England: *and this ye shall do against all manner of Persons, of what Estate, Dignity, Degree, or Condition they be, and in no wise do nor attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly: any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, dammage, or derogation thereof or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence: and in case any Oath be made, or hath been made by you to any person or persons in maintainance or favour of the Bishop of* Rome, *or his Authority, Jurisdiction, or Power, ye repute the same as vain and annihilate: So help you God,* &c.

In fidem præmissorum ego *Edmundus Bonner*, electus & confirmatus *Londoniensis* Episcopus, huic præsenti Chartæ subscripsi.

Ecclesiastical matters, Anno 1538.

{Anno 1538} It will be judged, that I have lingred peradventure too much in these outward Affairs of Princes and Embassadors. Wherefore leaving these by-matters pertaining to the Civil State a while, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my Story in order again, of such occurrents as belong into the Church, first shewing such Injunctions and Articles as were devised and set forth by the King, for the behoof of his Subjects. Wherein first is to be understood, that the King, when he had taken the Title of Supremacy from the Bishop of *Rome*, and had translated the same to himself, and was now a full Prince in his own Realm, although he well perceived by the wisdom and advice of the Lord *Cromwel* and other of his Council, that the corrupt state of the Church had need of Reformation in many things; yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many Papists were to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, and what business he had with them, only about the matter of the Popes Title, he durst not by and by reform all at once (which notwithstanding had been to be wished) but leading them fare and softly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the Lord *Cromwel* had lived) and therefore first he began with a little Book of Articles (partly above-touched) bearing this Title: *Articles devised by the Kings Highness to stablish Christian quietness and unity among the People*, &c.

The King and his Council bearing with the weakness of the People.

The Book of Articles devised by the King for quietness of the People, &c.

Articles devised by the King.

IN the Contents of which Book, first he set forth the Articles of our Christian-Creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed of all Men. Then with the Kings Preface going before, followeth the Declaration of three Sacraments, to wit, of Baptism, of Penance, and of the Sacrament of the Altar. In the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the Church of *Rome*.

Of three Sacraments.

{KING 1 Hen. 8.}

Of Justification.

Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our Justification, he declareth, That the only Mercy and Grace of the Father promised freely unto us for his Sons sake Jesus Christ, and the Merits of his Passion and Blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our Justification: yet good Works with inward Contrition, Hope, and Charity, and all other Spiritual Graces and Motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in Remission of our Sins; that is, our Justification; and afterward we being Justified, must also have good Works of Charity, and Obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments, &c.

Of Images.

As touching Images, he willeth all Bishops and Preachers to teach the People in such sort as they may know how they may use them safely in Churches, and not abuse them to Idolatry, as thus: That they be representers of Vertue and good Example, and also by occasion may be stirrers of Mens minds and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins, and so far he permitteth them to stand in Churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of Idolatry, he chargeth all Bishops and Preachers diligently to instruct the People, that they commit no Idolatry unto them, in censing of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

Of honouring of Saints.

And likewise for honouring of Saints, the Bishops and Preachers be commanded to inform the People how Saints hence departed ought to be reverenced and honoured, and how not. That is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the Elect Servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in them for their excellent Vertues planted in them, and for their good Example left us, teaching us to live in Vertue and in Goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advancers of our Prayers in that they may, but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God: And so forth charging the said Spiritual Persons to teach their flock that all Grace and Remission of Sins and Salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the Mediation of our Saviour Christ, who is only a sufficient Mediator for our sins; that all Grace and Remission of sin, must proceed only by the Mediation of Christ and no other.

No Mediation but by Christ.

Of Rites and ceremonies.

From that he cometh further to speak of Rites and Ceremonies in Christs Church, as in having Vestiments used in Gods Service, sprinkling of Holy Water, giving of Holy Bread, bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, taking of Ashes, bearing of Palms, creeping to the Cross, setting up the Sepulchre, hallowing of the Font, with other like Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies; all which old Rites and Customs the foresaid Book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put Men in remembrance of Spiritual things: but so, that the People withal must be instructed, how the said Ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but only that to be referred unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven us.

Of Purgatory.

And so concluding with Purgatory, he maketh an end of those Articles, thus saying thereof: That because the Book of *Maccabees* alloweth praying for Souls departed, he therefore disproveth not that so laudable a Custom, so long continued in the Church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of Purgatory have been advanced: as to make Men believe, that by the Bishop of *Romes* Pardons, or by Masses said at *Scala Cœli*, or otherwise, in any place, or before any Image, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to Heaven, and such other like abuses, &c.

Milk for new weaning things.

And these were the Contents of that Book of Articles devised, and passed by the Kings Authority, a little before the stir of *Lincolnshire* and *Yorkshire*. Wherein although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed Church: yet notwithstanding, the King and his Council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their Mothers Milk of *Rome*, thought it might serve somewhat

{KING 1 Hen. 8.} what for the time, in stead of a little beginning till better come.

Injunctions for abrogating certain Holy-days.

And so consequently, not long after these Articles thus set forward, certain other Injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of Holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the Harvest-time: The keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their Corn, Hay, Fruit, and other such like necessary commodities. The Copy and Tenor of which Injunctions I have also hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

The Kings Injunctions.

Injunctions by the King.

FOrasmuch as the number of Holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more by Mens Devotion, yea, rather Superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was and should be not only prejudicial to the Commonweal, by reason that it is occasion as well of much sloth, and idleness, the very nurse of Thieves, Vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconveniences, as of decay of good Mysteries and Arts, profitable and necessary for the Commonweal, and lofs of Mans food, many times being clean destroyed through the Superstitious observance of the said Holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same in time of Harvest, but also pernitious to the Souls of many Men, which (being inticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those Holy-days) do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And fith the Sabbath-day was used and ordained but for Mans use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the same, whensoever that shall occur, much rather than any other Holy-day Instituted by Man: It is therefore by the Kings Highness Authority, as Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, with the common assent and consent of the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm, in Convocation lawfully Assembled and Congregated, amongst other things, Decreed, Ordained, and Established:

Feast of Dedication to be kept all upon one day.

First, That the Feast of Dedication of Churches shall in all places throughout this Realm, be Celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the Month of *October* for ever, and upon none other day.

Church Holy-days forbidden.

Item, That the Feast of the Patron of every Church within this Realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a Holy-day, as heretofore have been used; but that it shall be Lawful to all and singular Persons resident or dwelling within this Realm, to go to their work, occupation or mystery, and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said Feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said Feast of Church-holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a Holy-day by this Ordinance following.

Holy-days by the Harvest-time not down.

Also that all those Feasts or Holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur either in the Harvest-time, which is to be accounted from the first day of *July*, unto the twenty ninth day of *September*, or else in the Term-time at *Westminster*, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as Holy-days, but that it may be lawful for every Man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the Feasts of the Apostles, or of the blessed Virgin, and of St. *George*, and also such Feasts as wherein the Kings Highness Judges at *Westminster* do not use to sit in Judgment. All which shall be kept Holy and Solemn of every Man, as in time past have been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be Lawful unto all Priests and Clerks, as well Secular as Regular, in the foresaid Holy-days now abrogate to sing or say their accustomed Service for those Holy-days, in their Churches; so as they do not the same Solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in high Holy-days, ne do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as Holy-days.

Four Offering-days.

Finally, That the Feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of *Easter*-day, of the Nativity of St. *John the Baptist*, and of St. *Michael* the *Archangel*, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general Offering-days.

Easter Term.

And for further Declaration of the Premisses, be it known that *Easter* beginneth always the eighteenth day after *Easter*, reckoning *Easter*-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the *Ascension*-day.

Trinity Term.

Trinity Term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the *Octaves* of *Trinity* Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of *July*.

Michaelmas Term.

Michaelmas Term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of *October*, and endeth the 28th or 29th day of *November*.

Hillary Term.

Hillary Term beginneth the twenty third or twenty fourth day of *January*, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of *February*.

In *Easter* Term, upon the *Ascension*-day; in *Trinity* Term, upon the Nativity of St. *John Baptist*; in *Michaelmas* Term, upon *Allhallow*-day; in *Hillary* Term, upon *Candlemas*-day, the Kings Judges at *Westminster* do not use to sit in Judgment, nor upon any Sunday.

After these Articles and Injunctions thus given out by the King and his Council, then followed moreover as time served, other Injunctions moe, concerning Images, Reliefs, and blind Miracles, and for abrogating of Pilgrimages, devised by Superstition, and maintained for lucres sake, also for the *Pater-Noster*, *Creed*, and Gods Commandments, and the *Bible* to be had in *English*, with divers other points moe, necessary for Religion: The words of which Injunctions here also ensue:

Other Injunctions given by the Authority of the Kings Highness, to the Clergy of this his Realm.

Other Injunctions.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. In the year of our Lord God 1536, and of the most Noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England* and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in the Earth Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, the twenty eighth, &c. I *Thomas Cromwel*, Knight, Lord *Cromwel*, Keeper of the Privy Seal of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical within this Realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the Kings Highness Honour, the publick Weal of this Realm, and increase of Vertue in the same, have appointed and assigned these Injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed of the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendaries, resident or having cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Administration within this Deanry, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

Confirmation of the Kings Supremacy.

THE first is, That the Dean, Parsons, Vicars, and other having cure of Soul any where within this Deanry, shall faithfully keep and observe, and as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of all other, all and singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of *Romes* pretensed and usurped Power and Jurisdiction within this Realm, and for the Establishment and Confirmation of the Kings Authority and Jurisdiction within the same, as of the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and shall to the uttermost of their Wit, Knowledge, and Learning, purely, sincerely and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, by the space of one quarter of a year now next ensuing, once every Sunday, and after at the least twice every quarter of a year, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Bishop of *Romes*, usurped Power and Jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the Law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection, and that the Kings power is within his Dominion the Highest Potentate and Power under God, to whom all Men within the same Dominion, by Gods Commandment owe most Loyalty and Obedience afore and above all other Potentates in Earth.

Against the Popes Primacy.

Item, Whereas certain Articles were lately devised and put forth by the Kings Highness Authority, and condescended unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm

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in Convocation (whereof part were neceſſary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and touch certain laudable Ceremonies, Rights, and Uſages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and uſed for a decent and politick order in the ſame) the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates ſhall ſo open and declare, in their Sermons and other Collations, the ſaid Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and diſcern which of them be neceſſary to be believed and obſerved for their Salvation, and which be not neceſſary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the ſaid Church, according to ſuch Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore by the Authority of the Kings Highneſs in that behalf.

The Kings Articles to be read to the People.

Moreover, That they ſhall declare unto all ſuch as be under their Cure the Articles likewiſe deviſed, put forth, and authoriſed of late, for and concerning the abrogating of certain ſuperſtitious Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the ſame Articles, and perſuade their Pariſhioners to keep and obſerve the ſame inviolably, as things wholſom, provided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed by the common conſent and publick authority for the Commonweals commodity, and profit of all this Realm.

Images abolished.

Beſides this, to the intent that all Superſtition and Hypocriſie, crept into divers Mens hearts, may vaniſh away, they ſhall not ſet forth or extol any Images, Relicts, or Miracles, for any Superſtition or lucre, nor allure the People by any intreatments to Pilgrimages of any Saints, or otherwiſe than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the Kings Majeſty, and conſederated unto by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, as though it were proper and peculiar to that Saint to give this commodity or that, feeing all goodneſs, health, and grace ought to be both looked and asked for only of God, as of the very Author of the ſame, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given; but they ſhall exhort as well their Pariſhioners, as other Pilgrimes, that they do rather apply themſelves to the keeping of Gods Commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of Charity; perſwading them that they ſhall pleaſe God more by the true exerciſe of their bodily labour, travel, or occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the ſaid Pilgrimages; and it ſhall profit more their Souls health, if they do beſtow that on the poor and needy, which they would have beſtowed upon the ſaid Images or Relicts.

Pilgrimages forbidden.

Prayers in the Mother-Tongue.

Alſo in the ſame their Sermons and other Collations, the Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates aforeſaid ſhall diligently admoniſh the Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach or cauſe to be taught their Children and Servants, even from their infancy, the *Pater-Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in their Mother-Tongue, and the ſame ſo taught ſhall cauſe the ſaid Youth oft to repeat and underſtand. And to the intent this may be the more eaſily done, the ſaid Curates ſhall in their Sermons deliberately and plainly recite of the ſaid *Pater-Noſter*, Articles, or Commandments, one Clauſe or Article one day, and another another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little, and ſhall deliver the ſame in Writing, or ſhew where Printed Books containing the ſame be to be ſold to them that can read, or will deſire the ſame; and thereto that the ſaid Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors do beſtow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to learning, or to ſome honeſt exerciſe, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counſelling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their ſaid Sermons and Collations, as otherwiſe, the ſaid Fathers, Mothers, Maſters, and other Governors being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foreſee, that the ſaid Youth be in no manner-wiſe kept or brought up in idleneſs, left at any time afterward they be driven, for lack of ſome myſtery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, ſtealing, or ſome other unthriftineſs, foraſmuch as we may daily ſee, through floath and idleneſs divers valiant Men fall, ſome to begging, ſome to theft and murther, which after brought to calamity and miſery, impute a great part thereof to their Friends and Governors, which ſuffered them to be brought up ſo idly in their youth; where if they had been brought up and educated in ſome good literature, occupation, or myſtery, they ſhould (being rulers of their own Families) have profited as well themſelves, as divers others Perſons, to the great Commodity and Ornament of the Commonweal.

For bringing up of youth in ſome Art or occupation.

Alſo that the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates ſhall diligently provide, that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently Miniſtred in their Pariſhes. And if at any time it happen them either in any of the Caſes expreſſed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of ſpecial licenſe given by the Kings Majeſty, to be abſent from their Benefices, they ſhall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned Perſon, but to an honeſt well-learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure, wholſome Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not err; and always let them ſee, that neither they nor their Vicars do ſeek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the glory of God.

Placing of good Vicars and Curates

Item, That every Parſon or Proprietary of any Pariſh-Church within this Realm ſhall on this ſide the Feaſt of St. *Peter, ad vincula*, next coming, provide a Book of the whole *Bible* both in *Latin* and alſo in *Engliſh*, and lay the ſame in the Quire, for every Man that will, to look and read thereon, and ſhall diſcourage no Man from the reading of any part of the *Bible*, either in *Latin* or *Engliſh*, but rather comfort, exhort, and admoniſh every Man to read the ſame, as the very Word of God, and the Spiritual Food of Mans Soul, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their Sovereign Lord the King, and their Neighbour; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that uſing a ſober and a modeſt behaviour in the reading and inquiſition of the true ſenſe of the ſame, they do in no wiſe ſtiffly or eagerly contend or ſtrive one with another about the ſame, but refer the declaration of thoſe places that be in controverſie to the judgment of them that be better learned.

Every Parſon to provide a Bible in Engliſh.

Alſo the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and other Prieſts ſhall in no wiſe at any unlawful time, nor for any other cauſe than for their honeſt neceſſity, haunt or reſort to any Taverns or Ale-houſes, and after their Dinner and ſupper they ſhall not give themſelves to drinking or riot, ſpending their time idly by day or by night, at Tables or Cards playing, or any other unlawful Game, but at ſuch times as they ſhall have ſuch leiſure, they ſhall read or hear ſomewhat of Holy Scripture, or ſhall occupy themſelves with ſome honeſt exerciſe, and that they always do thoſe things that appertain to good congruence and honeſty, with profit of the Commonweal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all other in purity of life, and ſhould be example to all other to live well and Chriſtianly.

Prieſts not to haunt Ale-houſes.

Furthermore, becauſe the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor, and in theſe days nothing is leſs ſeen than the poor to be ſuſtained with the ſame, all Parſons, Vicars, Prebendaries, and other beneficed Men within this Deanry, not being reſident upon their Benefices, which may diſpend yearly twenty pounds or above, either within this Deanry or elſewhere, ſhall diſtribute hereafter yearly amongſt their poor Pariſhioners or other inhabitants there, in the preſence of the Churchwardens or ſome other honeſt Men of the Pariſh, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of their ſaid Benefices, left they be worthily noted of ingratitude, which reſerving ſo many parts to themſelves, cannot vouchſafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongſt the poor people of that Pariſh that is ſo fruitful and profitable unto them.

Parſons not reſident, to pay the fortieth part of their Profits to the Poor.

And to the intent that learned Men may hereafter ſpring the more, for the executing of the ſaid Premiſes, every Parſon, Vicar, Clerk, or Beneficed Man within this Deanry, having yearly to ſpend in Benefices or other promotions of the Church, an hundred pounds, ſhall give competent exhibition to one Sholar, and for as many hundred pounds more as he may diſpend, to ſo many Scholars more ſhall give like exhibition in the Univerſity of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or ſome *Grammar*-School, which after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their Patrons Cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwiſe

Every ſuch Scholar ſo found, to be kept at the Univerſity.

{KING} 1 Mar. c. 2. wiſe in the execution of their Offices, or may when need ſhall be, otherwiſe profit the Commonwealth with their counſel and wiſdom.

Beneficed Men to maintain their manſions.

Alſo that all Parſons, Vicars and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Manſions within this Deanery, ſhall beſtow yearly hereafter upon the ſame Manſions or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of thoſe their Benefices, till they ſhall be fully repaired, and the ſame ſo repaired they ſhall always keep and maintain in good eſtate.

All which and ſingular Injunctions ſhall be inviolably obſerved of the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Stipendaries, and other Clerks and beneficed men, under pain of ſuſpenſion, and ſequeſtration of the fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duties according to theſe Injunctions.

After theſe Injunctions and Articles afore expreſſed (which were given about the year of our Lord, 1536 and 1537.) it was not above the ſpace of a year, but other Injunctions alſo were publiſhed, to the further inſtruction of the people in the proceedings of Religion, whereby both the Parſons of Churches, and the Pariſhes together, were enjoyned to provide in every Church to be a Bible in Engliſh: Alſo for ever Pariſhioner to be taught by the Miniſter, to underſtand and to ſay the Lords Prayer and Creed in their own Vulgar tongue, with other neceſſary and moſt fruitful Injunctions, the Tenor wherof followeth.

Injunctions exhibited, Anno 1538.

Injunctions by the King.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. By the authority and commiſſion of the moſt excellent Prince *Henry* by the grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in the Earth ſupreme head under Chriſt of the Church of *England*; I *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel*, Lord privy Seal, Vicegerent to the Kings ſaid Highneſs for all his juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, do for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, increaſe of Vertue, and diſcharge of the Kings Majeſty, give and exhibite unto you *N.* theſe Injunctions following to be kept, obſerved and fulfilled upon the pain hereafter declared.

First, That ye ſhall truly obſerve and keep all and ſingular the Kings Highneſs Injunctions given unto you hereafore in my name by his Graces authority, not only upon the pains therein expreſſed, but alſo in your default now after this ſecond monition continued, upon further puniſhment to be ſtraightly extended towards you by the Kings Highneſs arbitrement or his Vicegerent aforeſaid.

Item, That ye ſhall provide on this ſide the Feaſt of *N.* next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largeſt Volume in Engliſh, and the ſame ſet up in ſome convenient place within the ſaid Church, that ye have Cure of, whereas your Pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to the ſame and read it. The charges of which Book ſhall be ratably born between you, the Parſon and Pariſhioners aforeſaid, that is to ſay, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

For the Bible to be ſet up in Churches.

Item, That ye ſhall diſcourage no Man privily nor apertly from the reading or hearing of the ſaid Bible, but ſhall expreſſly provoke, ſtir, and exhort every perſon to read the ſame, as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Chriſtian perſon is bounden to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be ſaved, admoniſhing them nevertheleſs to void all contention and altercation therein, and to uſe an honeſt Sobriety in the Inquiſition of the true ſenſe of the ſame, and to refer the explication of the obſcure places, to Men of higher judgment in Scripture.

The Lords Prayer to be learned in Engliſh.

Item, That ye ſhall every *Sunday* and Holy-day through the year openly and plainly recite to your Pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, or oftner if need require, one Article or Sentence of the *Pater Noſter*, or Creed in Engliſh, to the intent they may learn the ſame by heart, and ſo from day to day, to give them one like Leſſon or Sentence of the ſame, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noſter*, and Creed in Engliſh by rote: and as they be taught every ſentence of the ſame by rote, ye ſhall expound and declare the underſtanding of the ſame unto them, exhorting all Parents and Houſholders, to teach their Children and Servants the ſame, as they are bound in conſcience to do: and that done, ye ſhall declare unto them, the Ten Commandments, one by one, every *Sunday* and Holy-day, till they be likewiſe perfect in the ſame.

Item, That ye ſhall in Confeſſions every *Lent*, examine every perſon that cometh to Confeſſion to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater Noſter* in Engliſh, and hear them ſay the ſame particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye ſhall declare to them, that every Chriſtian perſon ought to know the ſame before they ſhould receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar; and monith them to learn the ſame more perfectly by the next year following: or elſe, like as they ought not to preſume to come to Gods board without perfect knowledge of the ſame (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their ſouls) ſo ye ſhall declare unto them that ye look for other Injunctions from the Kings Highneſs by that time, to ſtay and repel all ſuch from Gods board, as ſhall be found ignorant in the premiſſes: wherefore do ye thus admoniſh them, to the intent they ſhould both eſchew the peril of their ſouls, and alſo the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the ſame.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, That ye ſhall make or cauſe to be made in the ſaid Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of a year at the leaſt, wherein ye ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and in the ſame exhort your hearers to the works of Charity, Mercy and Faith, ſpecially preſcribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repoſe their truſt or affiance in other works deviſed by Mens fantaſies beſides Scripture: as in wandring to Pilgrimages, offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers to ſained Reliques, or Images, or Kiſſing or Licking the ſame, ſaying over a number of Beads not underſtood, ne minded on, or ſuch like ſuperſtition: for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promiſe of reward in Scripture, but contrariwiſe great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superſtition, which of all other offences, God Almighty doth moſt deteſt and abhor, for that the ſame diminiſheth moſt his honour and glory.

Images pulled down.

Item, That ſuch fained Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be ſo abuſed with Pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye ſhall for avoiding of that moſt deteſtable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down without delay, and ſhall ſuffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax, to be ſet afore any Images or Picture, but only the light that commonly goeth about the Croſs of the Church by the Rood-loft, the light afore the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the Sepulcher: which, for the adorning of the Church and divine Service, ye ſhall ſuffer to remain ſtill, admoniſhing your Pariſhioners, that Images ſerve for none other purpoſe, but as the Books of unlearned Men, that can no Letters, whereby they might be admoniſhed of the lives and converſation of them, that the ſaid Images do repreſent. Which Images if they abuſe for any other intent than for ſuch remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the ſame to the great danger of their ſouls: and therefore the Kings Highneſs, graciouſly tendering the weal of his Subjects ſouls, hath in part already, and more will hereafter travel for the aboliſhing of ſuch Images, as might be occaſion of ſo great offence to God, and ſo great danger to the ſouls of his loving Subjects.

Good miniſters to be placed.

Item, That in all ſuch Benefices or Cures, as ye have, whereupon you be not your ſelf reſident, ye ſhall appoint ſuch Curates in your ſtead, as both can by ability, and will alſo promptly execute theſe Injunctions, and do their duty otherwiſe, that ye are bound to do in every behalf accordingly, and profit their Cure no leſs with good example of living than with declaration of the Word of God, or elſe their lack and defaults ſhall be imputed unto you, who ſhall ſtraightly anſwer for the ſame, if they do otherwiſe.

Item, That you ſhall admit no Man to preach within any of your Benefices or Cures, but ſuch as ſhall appear unto you to be ſufficiently licenſed thereunto by the Kings Highneſs, or his Graces authority, or the Biſhop of the Diocеſs, and ſuch as ſhall be ſo licenſed, ye ſhall gladly re-

ceive, to declare the Word of God without any reſiſtance or contradiction.

Pilgrimages and Images abandoned.

Item, If ye have heretofore declared to your Pariſhioners any thing to the extolling and ſetting forth of Pilgrimages to feigned Reliques or Images, or any ſuch ſuperſtition, you ſhall now openly afore the ſame recant and reprove the ſame, ſhewing them, as the truth is, that ye did the ſame upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and ſeduced by a common error and abuſe crept into the Church through the ſufferance and avarice of ſuch as felt profit by the ſame.

The word of God to be preached without ſtop or interruption.

Item, If ye do or ſhall know any within your Pariſh, or elſewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in Engliſh, or ſincerely Preached, or of the execution of theſe Injunctions, or a fautor of the Biſhop of *Romes* pretenced power, now by the Laws of this Realm juſtly rejected and extirped: ye ſhall detect the ſame to the Kings Highneſs, or his Honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent aforeſaid, or to the Juſtice of Peace next adjoyning.

Regiſter Book for every Pariſh.

Item, That you and every Parſon, Vicar, or Curate, within this Dioceſs, ſhall for every Church keep one Book of Regiſter, wherein ye ſhall write the day and year of every Wedding, Chriſtening, and Burying, made within your Pariſh for your time, and ſo for every Man ſucceeding you likewiſe, and alſo therein ſet every perſons name that ſhall be ſo Wedded, Chriſtened or Buried, and for the ſafe keeping of the ſame Book, the Pariſh ſhall be bound to provide of their common charges one ſure Coffer with two Locks and Keys; whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every ſuch Pariſh wherein the ſaid Book ſhall be layed up: which Book ye ſhall every *Sunday* take forth, and in the preſence of the ſaid Wardens or one of them, write and record in the ſame, all the Weddings, Chriſtenings and Buryings, made the whole week before: and that done, to lay up the ſaid Book in the ſaid Coffer as afore, and for every time the ſame ſhall be omitted, the party that ſhall be in the fault thereof, ſhall forfeit to the ſaid Church three Shillings four Pence, to be imployed on the reparation of the ſame Church.

Item, That ye ſhall once every quarter of a year, read theſe and the other former Injunctions given unto you by authority of the Kings Highneſs, openly and deliberately before all your Pariſhioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admoniſhed of your duty, and your ſaid Pariſhioners the more incited to enſue the ſame for their part.

Tithes to be payed.

Item, Forſomuch as by a Law eſtabliſhed, every Man is bound to pay his Tithes, no Man ſhall by colour of duty omitted by their Curates, detain their Tithes, and ſo redouble one wrong with another, and be his own judge, but ſhall truly pay the ſame as hath been accuſtomed to their Parſons and Curates without any reſtraint or diminution: and ſuch lack and default as they can juſtly find in their Parſons and Curates, to call for reformation thereof, at their Ordinaries and other Superiors hands, who upon complaint and due proof thereof, ſhall reform the ſame accordingly.

Item, That no Parſon ſhall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Faſting day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of divine Prayer, nor of Service, otherwiſe than is ſpecified in the ſaid Injunctions, until ſuch time as the ſame ſhall be ſo ordered and tranſported by the Kings Highneſs authority: the Evens of ſuch Saints, whoſe Holy-days be abrogated, only excepted, which ſhall be declared henceforth to be no faſting days, except alſo the Commemoration of *Thomas Becket* ſometimes Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which ſhall be clean omitted, and inſtead thereof, the ferial Service uſed.

Becket day abrogate.

Knoling of Aves forbidden.

Item, That the knoling of the Aves after Service and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Biſhop of *Romes* Pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, leſt the people do hereafter truſt to have Pardon for the ſaying of their Aves between the ſaid knoling, as they have done in times paſt.

Suffrages of Saints to be ſpecified.

Item, Where in times paſt, Men have uſed in divers places in their proceſſions, to ſing, *Ora pro nobis*, to ſo many Saints, that they had no time to ſing the good ſuffrages following: as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it muſt be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to ſing the other ſuffrages being moſt neceſſary and effectual. All which ſingular Injunctions, I miniſter unto you and to your Pariſhioners by the Kings Highneſs authority to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the ſame authority to obſerve and keep, upon pain of deprivation, ſequeſtration of your fruits, or ſuch other coercion as to the King or his Vicegerent for the time being ſhall be ſeen convenient.

{KING Hen. 8.}

The King better deſerving the name of ſupreme governor than the Pope.

By theſe Articles and Injunctions thus coming forth one after another, for the neceſſary inſtruction of the people, it may appear, how well the King then deſerved the title of his ſupreme Government, given to him over the Church of *England*: By the which title and authority he did more good for the redreſſing and advancing of Chriſts Church and Religion here in *England*, in theſe three years, than the Pope, the great Vicar of Chriſt, with all his Biſhops and Prelates had done the ſpace of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the King and in his Council, how by all ways and means to redreſs Religion, to reform Errors, to correct corrupt cuſtoms, to help ignorance, and to reduce the miſleading of Chriſts Flock drowned in blind Popery, Superſtition, Cuſtoms, and Idolatry, to ſome better form of more perfect reformation. Whereunto he provided not only theſe Articles, Precepts, and Injunctions above ſpecified, to inform the rude people; but alſo procured the Biſhops to help forward in the ſame cauſe of decayed Doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people, according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534 during the whole time of Parliament, there was appointed every *Sunday* a Biſhop to Preach at *Pauls* Croſs, againſt the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Read before.

Read before.

Amongſt which Biſhops, *John Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Kings Confeſſor, and a great perſecutor of the poor Flock of Chriſt (as is before ſufficiently recorded) made a Sermon before the King, upon *Good-Friday*, this preſent year 1538 at *Greenwich*, ſeriouſly and effectuouſly preaching on the Kings behalf, againſt the uſurped Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Contents of whoſe Sermon wholly to expreſs were here too long and tedious. So much as may ſuffice for our purpoſe I thought ſhould remain to the poſterity, beginning at his Theme, which when he took in hand to intreat upon, written in the thirteenth Chapter to the *Hebrews*, as followeth.

The Sermon of John Longland, *Biſhop of* Lincoln, *on* Good-Friday, *before the King at* Greenwich.

THe words of the Apoſtle are theſe, *Habemus altare de quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui tabernaculo deſerviunt. Quorum enim animalium inferatur ſanguis pro peccato in ſancta per pontificem, horum corpora cremantur extra caſtra, Propter quod & Jeſus extra portam paſſus eſt. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra caſtra impoperium ejus portantes.*

{Ann. 1538. A Sermon of Biſhop Longland before the King. Mat. 1538. The Theme. Heb. 13.}

Theſe are the words of the Apoſtle: Many things contained in few words, and the Engliſh thereof is this; We have an Altar, we have an Altar (ſaith the Apoſtle) an Altar, and a Sacrifice upon this Altar. And they that ſerve at the Tabernacle may not eat of this Altar, may not eat of this Sacrifice, that is offered upon this Altar For the Apoſtle here (*Per metonymiam*) doth put the Altar for that that is Sacrifice upon the Altar. The blood of theſe Beaſts that were ſlain for the Sacrifice was brought into the holy ſecret high place of the Temple where the Ark was, between the high Altar, (as we will ſay) and the veil by the Biſhop, and there offered up for the ſin of the people. The bodies of the Beaſts that were burned without the Pavilions or Tents, for the which, *Propter quod*, for which, what? for the fulfilling of which myſtery. Alſo to verifie and fulfil the figure, and that the thing figured might be correſpondent to the figure, Jeſus ſuffered without the Gate, to ſanctifie the people by his blood. Let us go out therefore and ſuffer with Chriſt, bearing his opprobries and rebukes. Theſe be the words of the Apoſtle now taken.

I will

{KING Hen. 8.} I will by the help of our Lord God declare theſe words in order, even as they do ſtand. Here is an Altar, here is a Sacrifice, here is a Biſhop which did offer this Sacrifice, here is a Tabernacle, a ſerving of the Tabernacle, the Blood of the Sacrifice which was offered by the Biſhop for the ſins of the people, in the moſt holy place of the Temple, and the bodies of the Beaſts (whoſe blood was offered) were burned without the Tents. And this was done the Tenth day of the ſeventh Month. Ye hear now the words of the Apoſtle, wherein appeareth the manifeſt figure of the paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which we this day do honour.

In theſe words the Apoſtle toucheth the figure of the Law, and bringeth it to a ſpiritual underſtanding; For it was commanded in the Law, in the Book of *Numbers*, the Tenth day of the ſeventh Month, in the Feaſt that was called the Feaſt of the propitiation of mercy of remiſſion, or the Feaſt of Purgation, when the people were purged. At which time they ſhould take a Colt and a Kid and ſlay them; whoſe blood the only Biſhop ſhould bring *In ſancta ſanctorum*, into the moſt holy, ſolemn, and ſecret place of the Temple, wherein the Biſhop never came unleſs he brought with him Blood to offer in Sacrifice. *Quia omnia fere in ſanguine ſecundum legem mundabantur, & ſine ſanguinis effuſione non fit remiſſio*, ſaith the Apoſtle. Almoſt all things after the Law, or in the Law, were cleanſed in Blood, and by Blood, and without the effuſion of Blood was no remiſſion: and in that place of the Temple called *Sancta ſanctorum*, the Biſhop prayed and offered for the People. The Fleſh and Corps of the Sacrifice was burned without the Tents, without their pavillions. And it was not lawful to any that did ſerve the Tabernacle to eat of the Fleſh of that Sacrifice.

Numb. 19.

Heb. 11.

Here is a manifeſt figure (as I ſaid) of the paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt. The Altar that was conſecrated and hallowed in this ſolemnity of the Blood of the eternal Teſtament, was that holy Croſs that Chriſt ſuffered on. Which as on this day he did conſecrate, hallow, dignifie, and dedicate, and did adorn and deck the ſame with the Members of his moſt precious Body, more gloriouſly than if it had been imbroidered and inſerted with precious ſtones. For as Gold which is the moſt precious Metal is made more precious when it is ſet with precious Stones, and is dignified therewith, whether it be Altar, Image, Crown, Ring or Owch; ſo was the Altar the holy Croſs, beautified, dignified, adorned, and made precious with the Members of that moſt precious Stone Chriſt, which is as *Peter* ſaith, *Lapis vivus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a Deo electus, probatus angularis, & preciosus*. This Chriſt

The title and prayer attributed to Christ in the Scripture.

cum clamore valido & lachrymis, & exauditus est pro reverentia sua: Pontifex appellatus a Deo: Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cælis: Non habens necessitatem (quemadmodum alii) prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre, deinde pro populo: Pontifex sedens in dextris Dei interpellans pro nobis, emundans conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, intrans Sancta sanctorum, per proprium sanguinem. Hic est Pontifex confessionis nostræ.

Let earthly Bishops learn of this heavenly Bishop Christ: some of these properties are appropriate and belong only to God, and not to Man. In some we ought to follow him, in some we cannot, ne ought to do. This our high and great Bishop is *Misericors* (saith the Apostle) merciful. A merciful Bishop, ready to forgive, ready to remit those that have offended him. He is not cruel, nor revengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to follow him.

Misericors.

He is *Pontifex potens*, a mighty Bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weak and feeble Bishops, not able to do any thing but by his permission and help. He is able to make sick, to make whole, to make rich, to make poor, to set up, to put down. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, mighty and able to remit sin, to forgive, to save both body and soul from damnation. *Potens*, a mighty Bishop, and full of power. No power in this world but of him: *Omnis potestas a Domino Deo est*: All power is of him. And as he witnesseth, *Data est mihi omnis potestas in Cælo & in Terra*: All power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. *Potens salvare a morte*: He can save the body and save the soul. He can deliver the one and deliver the other from the everlasting death. Who can forgive sin but he? *Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus Deus? Est potens*: He is a mighty Bishop: Of him and by him Emperors, Kings, Magistrates, and Potestates, Bishops, Priests, with all other that have power, have their power and authority. Who is able to turn the Wind, to make the Wind blow or cease, but he? Who is able to say and prove, I will now have it Rain, now clear? The Sun to shine, the Water to flow, to ebb, with such other, but only he? This is our mighty Bishop. *Pontifex potens*, mighty, yea, *Omnipotens*, Almighty. He can do all: nothing is to him impossible. *Ipse dixit, & facta sunt omnia. Mandavit, & creata sunt universa. Potens ergo est*, He is a mighty Bishop. We are not so.

Potens. Rom. 14. Matth. 28. Mark 2. *Omnipotens.* Psal. 32.

Fidelis.

Fidelis Pontifex. He is a faithful Bishop: faithful. He is a faithful Bishop to God, referring all lauds, all honour and glory to his Father. In all things that he did, miracles or other, he took never the more upon himself. He was also a faithful Bishop to the world: for he did all that belonged to the Office of a good Bishop. The very Office of a Bishop is, *Prædicare, orare & sacrificare, seve offerre*. To preach, to pray, to do sacrifice, or to offer. He preached to his people: he taught the world most wholesome Doctrine, whereby he called the people to God, he converted sinners, he called them to Penance. He made them weep and lament their sins, they followed his person, they followed his word, they followed his ensample. They came out of all the Coasts to see him, to hear him, to learn of him. They forsook Meat and Drink, House and Home, and followed him wheresoever he went, as well in Wilderness as elsewhere. Insomuch that after they had followed him three days, he being moved with pity, left they should perish for lack of Food, being in Wilderness far from succour, he fed them twice miraculously. Once in the Desart with five loaves and two fishes he fed five thousand men, besides women and children, and there were left twelve Baskets, twelve Mannds full of broklets and offalls at that meal. At another time he fed in the Wilderness to the number of four thousand men, besides women and children, with seven loaves, and a few little fishes, and there was left of fragments, seven Mannds full.

The office of a Bishop. If he had placed here, *administrare sacramenta*, for *sacrificare*, his partition should might have stood.

Matth. 14. Matth. 15.

The second office of a Bishop is to pray.

The second Office of a Bishop he fulfilled also, for he prayed. He was most devout in Prayer, so to teach all Bishops and Preachers not to presume in their wit or learning, neither in their capacity, memory, fair tongue or utterance; but that the Preacher do studiously apply his Book with all diligence to study how to speak, what to speak, afore whom he shall speak, and to shape his Sermon after the audience. The Preacher ought also besides his study and preaching to pray. For by devout Prayer he shall attain percase as much or more, as by study or learning. For without Prayer the words will little prevail. Look in Christ his Life, and thou shalt find, that in every thing he went about, he prayed, to shew the valiancy, the vertue and strength of Prayer: to shew our necessities, our weakness and feebleness of nature. He prayed for his people (as *Luke* witnesseth) the space of one whole night. And what a marvelous devout Prayer made he for his people in the Mount the night afore his Passion, when the Chalice of death was represented unto him? When he sweat water and blood? When he cried thrice, *Transeat a me Calix iste*, Let this Chalice, let this passion and blood, let the vertue thereof pass from me unto all mankind. Let every Man have the vertue and merit thereof: Let it work in all folks, let every faithful Man and Woman be partaker thereof: let it not be lost, but work to the worlds end. This was a marvelous devout merciful Prayer. And again, he suffering and hanging on the Cross, offered up for his people, *Preces & supplicationes cum clamore valido & lachrymis*. He offered up his prayers and supplications with a huge cry, with a pitious voice, with a lamentable and deadly shriek, and with weeping tears to God his Father: he hanging on the Cross, even when the Spirit should depart the Body, not then forgetting his people at the hour when all the people forgetteth both the world and themselves. Which cry was so huge and great, so marvelous, and of that effect that the Heavens trembled thereat, the Angels mourned for pity, the Sun lost his light, the Veil in the Temple rived in two, the Earth quaked, the Stones rent asunder and brake in Gobbets, the Graves opened, the Dead bodies rose to life, and appeared in the City. *Centurio*, and those that kept Christ to see the execution done, cried, *Vere, Filius Dei erat iste*: This was the undoubted Son of God. His prayer and weeping tears were so pleasant to the Father that he was heard: *Exauditus est pro reverentia sua*. He was heard, and why? For it was so entire, so devout, so reverently done, in such a manner and fashion, with such a zeal grounded upon such a charity, suffering for our guilt, and not for his own. And for that he did the very Office of a Bishop, to intreat to pray, and so reverently to offer up himself in Sacrifice for his people, he was heard, he was heard, his Prayer was heard of God. And that is the third property of a good Bishop to offer Sacrifice for his people. Every Bishop, every Bishop, for his Diocesans and for the whole Universal Church. In these three we ought as much as we may to follow Christ.

Luke 6. Matth. 26. Heb. 5. The cry of Christ on the Cross. The heavens trembled. The Angels mourned. The Sun lost his light. The Veil rived. The Earth quaked. The Stones rent. The Graves opened. The Dead rose.

The third office of a Bishop is to mediate, and not to sacrifice.

Thus this Christ was and is *Pontifex fidelis*, a faithful Bishop. Faithful: faithful in his Word, true in his Promise, deceiving no Man, but profiting all. In all that he did or spake, or fought nothing his own glory, but the glory of God; teaching thereby all Bishops of the World in all that they go about, to do it unto the praise and glory of God. And herein we ought also to follow him.

Magnus Pontifex, he is the great Bishop, the high Bishop, the supreme Bishop, the universal Bishop over all the World. No great Bishop but he. None high, none Supreme nor Universal Bishop but he.

Magnus. No great Bishop but only Christ.

And herein the Bishop of *Rome* outragiously usurpeth upon God, as he doth upon the World, to take the honour and name (only to God appropriate) to himself, and doth grievously blaspheme and offend God therein. Greater blasphemy cannot be, than to ascribe to God that that no ways belongeth unto him, or to take from God, that that is to him appropriate. It is meet therefore he do betimes, and in season leave his unjust incroachments both against his Lord God, and also against the World, left he do provoke God to pour out all his vials of wrath upon him: the *Vaes*, I mean the maledictions and vengeance that *John* speaketh of in the *Apocalyps*. I would advise him to cease the injuries which he hath, and daily doth against thee Christ our great high Universal Bishop, left thou excommunicate and strike him, left thou shew thy wrath and judgment against him, and utterly extinct his pride, and ambitious pretended authority. For thou wilt be known, thou wilt be known to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great Universal

The Pope usurpeth all things unto himself. The Pope blaspheneth God. What is blasphemy.

Apoc. 9.

{KING Hen.8.} The stroke of God is slow but sure.

The Popes power stretcheth no further than his Diocese.

Questions to be asked of the Pope in the last Judgment.

Nay, rather Ghostly do-thing you should say.

The Pope maketh all things a mockery matter.

Pontif. Max. here.

The Popes pride will have a fall.

Humilis.

John 13.

Matth. 20.

The humility of Christ.

Comparison.

Christ full of compassion.

{KING Hen.8.} fal and Supreme Bishop, whatsoever the Bishop of *Rome* shall attempt to the contrary; and thou wilt punish his worldly arrogancy, and strike when thou seest thy time. And though it be long ere thou strike, yet let him beware, for strike thou wilt if thou be utterly provoked, and when thou dost strike, thy stroke is great, thy stroke is dreadful and sore. It vanquisheth the Body, it slayeth the Soul, it damneth both. Beware therefore, thou Bishop of *Rome*, and be content with thine own Diocese, with thine own charge, as other Bishops are with theirs: for further than thine own Diocese thy jurisdiction doth not stretch.

A marvelous blindness in thee therefore, to take upon thee to answer for all the World, and art not able to answer our great Bishop Christ for thy self at the dreadful day of Judgment, when he shall ask but these few questions of thee; *Quomodo intrasti? Quomodo vexisti? Quomodo vixisti? Quomodo pavisti? Quæ & qualia exempla dedisti? Quid ad mean gloriam fecisti? & baptizasti?* How didst thou enter into the Bishoprick? By me, or by the world? unlawfully, or lawfully? By Symony or freely? By labour, by paction, or called of God? How didst thou rule thy Cure, thy Diocese? Didst thou pray for thy people? Didst thou preach me to thy Diocesans? Didst thou give them ghostly and bodily food? Didst thou minister spiritual and ghostly salves (the Sacraments I mean) to heal the Sores of their souls? How didst thou live? Didst thou cast away the care, the glory and pomp of the World? Didst thou follow me in humility, in charity, in compassion, in poverty, in cleanness, and in chast living?

How didst thou govern thy Diocesans? Didst thou not make of all things that thou didst meddle with, a Money matter, in selling that which was not in thee to sell nor give, which thou calledst thy Pardons, thy Commissions, thy Brieves, thy Delegacies, Reservations, Exemptions, Appellations, Bulls, and Dispensations? Didst not thou under these pretenses, and like other doings, deceive the world? What answer shalt thou make to this at that day, to our and thy great Bishop Christ, when he shall visit them and all thy Diocese, me and all my Diocese: yea, when he shall visit all the World? What answer shall you then make? I think verily thou shalt then have enough to do, yea, and more than thou canst wind thy self out of to make answer for thy self, for thine own Diocese, and for thine own Diocesans, though thou usurp not upon other Mens as thou dost. The Apostle writeth of Christ humbly, and calleth him *Magnum Pontificem*, the Great Bishop. And he of *Rome* is not with this word contented, but will have a higher word for himself in the superlative Degree, *Maximum Pontificem*. The greatest Bishop. Oh, where is the humbleness and meekness that should be in him? Alas, he that taketh on him to teach all the World, how can he for shame suffer so blasphemous words to pass in his name, to his great shame and rebuke; to the great danger of his soul, and to the perilous ensample unto other? Oh, fie upon pride! It is a common Proverb, *Pride will have a fall*.

Our Bishop Christ was *humilis*, meek, lowly, and humble in heart. He rode not upon any Palfrey or courageous Horse, but upon an Ass, and that but once. He never was born pompously abroad in a Chair upon Mens shoulders. He never profered his Foot to any body to Kiss. We read that he washed the feet of his Disciples and wiped them. We read that *Mary Magdalen* profered to have kissed his feet, but he did prohibit her, saying, *Noli me tangere*; Touch me not. He would not suffer the Woman then to touch him. He never had Gard to defend him. He never followed the pomp of the World. He disdained not, to go upon the ground with his bare Feet. What shall I say? He gave ensamples enough to the Bishop of *Rome*, to me, and all other Bishops, to be meek and humble: he to know himself, and we our selves, as if he had diligently look in Scripture, we shall find. And herein in meekness we are bound to follow him.

Comparisons infirmitatibus. This Bishop Christ, had comparison of our infirmities, of our frailties. It is impossible for a Man to know the afflictions of a miserable person, that never suffered himself affliction, that never had experience of pains, that never felt what pain meant. But this Bishop Christ, had experience of our nature, how weak, how feeble the nature of Man is, how weak, of himself to do any good work without the help of God, how feeble to resist temptations. He suffered and felt the infirmities and pains of this natural body. He hath therefore compassion upon Man, when he doth see him fall. He sorroweth his ruine, teaching Bishops in especial afore all other, to have compassion and pity upon the sinner, to help him spiritually, to comfort him ghostly, to help him to arise from sin, to allure him to Penance, to draw him to Vertue, to make him know God, to fear his Justice, to love his Laws, and this to seek all the ways that he and we can, to save the sinners soul, for whom he shall make answer to God for his own Diocesans; Soul for Soul, Blood for Blood, Pain for Pain, Hell for Hell, Damnation for Damnation. For which Heb. 5. which foul, our great Bishop Christ (as the Apostle doth witness) did offer Gifts and Sacrifice himself, having compassion of them that by ignorance and by error did in and offend God. Even when he was in his greatest agony upon the Cross, he cried to his Father; Forgive them Father, Luke 23. forgive them, they know not what they do, they are ignorant people, they know not what is what, or what danger they run into by thus intreating me. They know not their offences, forgive them Father, forgive them. In this compassion we ought also to follow our great Bishop Christ.

Christ full of compassion.

Pontifex appellatus a Deo.

In followeth in the former Letter, *Est Pontifex appellatus a Deo*. He is a Bishop, and so named of God: he is the very Bishop. He offered up the very Sacrifice, the Sacrifice of his own most blessed Body and Blood, whereby the sin of the World was put away. Every Bishop of the World is not named a Bishop by God. For some come into that Office not by the Holy Ghost, nor elect of God (as *Salm* saith) not entring *in ovile ovium per ostium*, *John* 10. *sed ascendens alimde*. Some there are that enter into the fold of the Sheep of God not by the door. Some there be that enter in, having charge and cure of soul, not by God, but by worldly means, by worldly labour, by importune suites and intercessions of friends, or by their own unlawful labour, by symony, and such other ways. Such are named Bishops by God. Such enter not by the door, not by him that saith, *Ego sum ostium, Ego sum via, veritas & vita*, I am the door, I am the way, I am the life, I am the Truth, I am *Pastor Bonus*, the very true and good Bishop that entred by God. And all that enter otherwise than by God, Christ calleth them *Fures & Latrones*, Thieves, Spoylers, Reverers, Devourers, and Deceivers of the Sheep. Their living shall *John* 10. declare the same. For such so wilfully do enter, do study their own profits and commodities. Such receive the fruits, and do nothing for them, such suffer their sheep to perish for lack of bodily and ghostly food and sustenance, for lack of preaching, for lack of giving good counsel, for lack of good living, for lack of good ensample. And such for the most part, live naughtily, carnally, fleshly, viciously, pompously, worldly, and not Bishoply nor Priestly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Christ saith, *Qui intrat per me salvabitur*, & *John* 14. *ingredietur, & egredietur, & pascua inveniet*. He that entereth in by me shall be saved. *Et ingredietur, & egredietur*. He shall go in, and he shall go out. What is that to say, He shall go in, and he shall go out? I think and suppose he meaneth thereby going in, that he shall have grace to enter studiously into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to study, and to profit in the Laws of God. *Et egredietur*. And he shall explain and truly interpret and publish it unto the people. *Et pascua inveniet*. And he shall find there plenty of spiritual food for himself and for his people, to edifie their souls, to instruct and call them to the knowledge of God, to feed them plentifully, that they shall not lack necessaries to their souls. Let us therefore so live, that we may be called *Pontifices appellati a Deo*.

All Bishops be not called of God.

Sanctus.

This our great Bishop Christ is also *Pontifex sanctus, Holy.* *innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cælis, sedens a dextris Dei, emundans conscientias nostras a peccatis, intrans Sancta sanctorum per proprium sanguinem*. He is *sanctus*, a holy Bishop, and willeth us to be holy in our conversation, applying our selves unto godliness, to the service of God, to live like Bishops, like Priests, pure, clean, chaste, devout, studious, faithfully labouring

ing in his Word, praying, doing Sacrifice, and ever to be godly and vertuously occupied.

Innocens. He is *Innocens*, an Innocent. He never sinned, he never offended in word, thought, nor deed. *Innocens*, annoying no creature, profiting all folks, meekly suffering adversities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproaches, without grudge or contradiction. *Innocens & simplex*; *simplex sine plica.* An innocent, without pleit or wrinkle, without error or doubleness, without hypocrilie or dissimulation, without flattering or gloſing, without fraud or deceit; not serving the Body nor the World, but God. In this we ought alſo to follow our heavenly Bishop.

Simplex.

Impollutus. *Impollutus*, He was undefiled. He lived clean without ſpot or blot, without worm or ſtain. No *immunditia* in him, no uncleanneſs nor filthineſs; but all pure and clean, chaſte and immaculate, all bright and ſhining in grace and godlineſs; inſomuch that he was *ſegregatus a peccatoribus*, clean ſegregate from all kind of uncleanneſs, from all manner of ſins, and from all ſinners. Segregate from them, not from their company; for as *Matthew* writeth, Publicans and Sinners came and eat and drank with him and his Diſciples in the Houſe of *Levi*. And he alſo came as a Phyſician to heal the ſinner. And yet he was ſegregate from them, *Quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato*; as touching their ill livings, not being participant with them in ſin, but came only to heal them, and to rid them from ſin and ſore of the ſoul. He entred the Heavens, not with the blood of Kid nor Goat, but with his own proper blood. For which, and for holineſs and perfectneſs, *Excelſior cælis factus eſt.* He is extolled and exalted above all Angels and beatitudes; above all the Heavens, ſitting on the right hand of the Father. Whom all the heavenly Creatures do worſhip, honour, and do reverence unto. Where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediator in his manhood to his Father for us.

Segregatus a peccatoribus.

Heb. 9.

Exceſſior

This our Biſhop purgeth our conſcience (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) he cleanſeth our Souls, he maketh us inwardly beauteous and fair. The Biſhop of *Rome* lacketh many of theſe notable vertues. He hath few or none of *theſe properties, few or none of theſe dignities.* He is as we all are ſinners) a ſinner. To whom this word *Magnus*, great, is not convenient, nor can be in him any ways verified. For he cannot forgive ſin as our Biſhop doth, nor juſtifie as he doth, neither enter *in ſancta ſanctorum*, with his own blood, as he did. How can he then be called a great Biſhop, that is, (as we be all ſinners) a ſinner, a breaker of the Laws of God, and daily doth, or may fail and ſin? And for that cauſe the Law commanded that every Biſhop and Prieſt ſhould firſt offer Hoſts and Sacrifice for his own ſins, and afterward for the ſins of the people. How can he therefore be called a great Biſhop or Prieſt?

Magnus.

Our Biſhop we ſpeak of is the very great Biſhop. No dole, no fraud, no guile was ever found in his mouth. And when the Prince of the World, the Divel, came to him, he could find no point of ſin in him. Wherefore *Gabriel* the Archangel ſhewing his Nativity unto *Mary* his Mother, ſaid, *Hic erit magnus, & Filius Altiſſimi vocabitur.* He ſhall be great, and ſhall be called the Son of God. And again it is written of him, *Propheta magnus ſurrexit inter nos.* A great Prophet is riſen among us. Sin maketh a Man ſmall and little; little in reputation before God and Man. Vertue maketh Man great and of high reputation. Shew me one place in Scripture where you have read, that a ſinner was called great; I trow it ſhall not be found. Will you hear who were called great in Vertue; It is written of *Iſaac*, *Quod proficiebat, & factus eſt magnus valde.* He proſited greatly in Vertue, and was made great, great in reputation of the world. *Moſes* was called *Magnus*, Great for his Vertue. *Abraham* and *John Baptiſt* likewiſe. Now Jeſus our Biſhop, is called *Magnus Epiſcopus, magnus Sacerdos*, And after him never Biſhop called *Magnus* in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of Man, unleſs it be in compariſon one of another (and ſo Saints and holy livers are called great in reſpect of ſinners, or other mean livers) But where Chriſt our Biſhop cometh, there he, not in compariſon of other, but *ſimpliciter*, by his own magnitude and greatneſs, and of himſelf, ever was and is great, of whom it is written, *A ſummo cælo egreſſio ejus; & accurſus ejus uſque ad ſummum ejus.* And as the Apoſtle alſo proveth in many places by expreſs word. But now there is no Biſhop or Prieſt in this world that may worthily of himſelf be called great, nor ought to take this name *Magnus* upon him.

Luke 1.

Luke 7.

No ſinner called great in the Scripture. *Gen. 26.*

Exod. 32. Luke 1.

Pſal. 18.

{KING Hen. 8.}

Levit. 21.

This is he therefore of whom it is written, *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis.* The great Biſhop above all other. And as he is called, and in very deed is, *Paſtor paſtorum, Pontifex pontificum, Propheta prophetarum, Sanctus ſanctorum, Dominus dominantium, Rex regum; ita & Magnus magnorum eſt.* And as he is called the Herdſman of Herdſmen, the Biſhop of Biſhops, the Prophet of Prophets, the Holy of Holieſt, the Lord of Lords, the King of Kings; even ſo he is called, and verily is *Epiſcopus magnus.* Therefore the Prophet did add; *Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus ſuis*, The great Biſhop or Prieſt. Great of himſelf, great in vertue and power: great of himſelf, and great in compariſon afore all other. And therefore the Apoſtle ſaid, *Habemus Pontificem magnum, qui penetravit cælos, Jeſum Filium Dei*; We have a great Biſhop which did penetrate the Heavens, Jeſus the Son of God.

Here may ye now ſee, how the Biſhop of *Rome* doth wrongfully incroach upon our great Biſhop, Jeſus Chriſt, to take from him not only this name *Magnus*; and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, *viz. Maximus, Summus, Sanctiſſimus, Beatiſſimus, Univerſalis*, and ſuch other; The Greateſt, the Higheſt, the Holieſt, the Bleſſeſt and Univerſal, in the ſuperlative Degree, and yet there is no great Biſhop but Chriſt only, no ſupreme Biſhop but he only, none Holy, none Bleſſed, none Univerſal Biſhop but only he. The Biſhop of *Rome* and all other Biſhops are but Underlings and unworthy Suffragans unto this Biſhop Chriſt.

This our Chriſt (as witneſſeth the Apoſtle) is *Pontifex noſtræ confeſſionis*, The Biſhop whom we do confeſs to be our Great Biſhop, our High Biſhop, our Supreme Biſhop, our Holy Biſhop, Bleſſed and Univerſal Biſhop. Which names are referred only unto Chriſt, and to no Earthly Biſhop; Not to the Biſhop of *Rome*, not to the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, not to the Biſhop of *Antioch*, nor of *Conſtantinople*, nor to any other Biſhop. No Earthly Biſhop may preſume to take upon him theſe high and holy Names, only to God appropriate.

The Pope incroacheth upon Chriſt.

God of thy goodneſs thou mayeſt, and I truſt wilt once make this Vain-glorious Biſhop of *Rome* firſt to know and acknowledge thy Son Chriſt to be the only Supreme and Univerſal Biſhop of the World. Secondarily to know himſelf, his weakneſs, his frailty, and his preſumption; To know his Office and bounden duty unto thee: To know his own Dioceſs, and to uſurp no further: Thirdly, to have a low, humble, meek heart and ſtomach, to fear thee God, and thy judgments, to knowledge his own faults and uſurpations, and to redreſs the ſame.

Now to return unto our matter, it followeth in the Letter firſt taken; *De quo edere non habent poteſtatem qui Tabernaculo deſerviunt, &c.* And thus much out of *John Longlands* Sermon againſt the Pope.

You heard before by the Kings Injunctions above expreſſed, and directed out *Anno* 1538, how all ſuch Images and Pictures which were abuſed with Pilgrimage or offerings of any Idolatry were aboliſhed: By vertue of which Injunctions, divers Idols, and ſpecially the moſt notable Stocks of Idolatry, were taken down the ſame year, 1538 as the Images of *Walſingham, Ipſwich, Worceſter*, the Lady of *Willſdon, Thomas Becket*, with many more, having Engines to make their eies to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to ſtir, and many other falſe jugglings, as the blood of *Hayles*, and ſuch like, wherewith the ſimple People a long time had been deceived. All which were eſpied out, and deſtroyed.

{Ann. 1538 Images and Pilgrimage deſtroyed in England.}

Among divers other of theſe foul Idols, there went alſo in the ſame reckoning a certain old Idolatrous Image in *Wales*, named *Darvel Gatheren*: which in the Month of *May*, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to *London*, and burned in *Smithfield*. With the which Idol alſo was burnt the ſame time and hanged for Treaſon, Frier *Forreſt*, of whom ſome mention was partly touched before in the Story of Cardinal *Wolſey*.

The Idol of Darvel Gatheren in Wales.

Frier

{KING Hen. 8.}

Frier *Forreſt.*

Frier Forreſt executed for rebellion againſt the King's ſupremacy.

THis *Forreſt* was an obſervant Frier, and had ſecretly in Confeſſions declared to many of the Kings Subjects that the King was not ſupream Head; and being thereof accuſed and apprehended, he was examined how he could ſay that the King was not ſupream Head of the Church, when he himſelf had ſworn to the contrary? He anſwered, *That he took his Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never conſented thereunto.* And being further accuſed of divers damnable Articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly ſubmitted himſelf to abide the puniſhment of the Church. Upon this ſubmiſſion, having more liberty than before he had to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his ſubmiſſion as ever he was. And when his Abjuration was ſent him to read, he utterly refuſed it, and obſtinately perſevered in his Errors: wherefore he was juſtly condemned, after hanged in *Smithfield* in Chains upon a Gallows quick, by the middle and armholes, and fire was made under him, and ſo was he conſumed and burnt to death.

Frier Forreſt burnt in Smithfield.

In the place of Execution, there was a Scaffold prepared for the Kings moſt honourable Council, and the Nobles of the Realm to ſit upon, to grant him Pardon, if he had any ſpark of Repentance in him. There was alſo a Pulpit prepared, where the right reverend Father, *Hugh Latimer*, Biſhop of *Worceſter* declared his Errors, and manifeſtly confuted them by the Scripture, with many godly Exhortations to move him to Repentance. But he was ſo forward, that he neither would hear, neither ſpeak. A little before, the foreſaid Image, called *Darvell Gatheren*, coming out of *Wales*, was brought to the Gallows, and there alſo with the foreſaid Frier, as is ſaid, was ſet on fire; whom the *Welchmen* much worſhipped, and had a Prophecie amongſt them, That this Image ſhould ſet a whole *Forreſt* on fire. Which Prophecie took effect; for he ſet this Frier *Forreſt* on fire, and conſumed him to nothing. The Frier, when he ſaw the fire come, and that preſent death was at hand, he caught hold upon the Ladder, and would not let it go, but ſo unpatiently took his death, as never any man that put his truſt in God, at any time ſo ungodly or unquietly ended his life.

A Welch Prophecie of Darvell Gatheren.

In the month of *October* and *November* the ſame year, ſhortly after the overthrow of theſe Images and Pilgrimages, followed alſo the ruine of the Abbeys and religious Houſes, which by the ſpecial motion of the Lord *Cromwel* (or rather and principally, by the ſingular bleſſing of Almighty God) were ſuppreſſed, being given a little before by Act of Parliament into the Kings hand; whereupon not only the Houſes were raiſed, but their Poſſeſſions alſo diſparkled among the Nobility in ſuch ſort, as all Friers, Monks, Chanons, Nuns, and other Sects of Religion were then ſo rooted out of this Realm from the very foundation, that there ſeemeth, by Gods Grace, no poſſibility hereafter left for the Generation of thoſe ſtrange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true Verdict of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt in his Goſpel, ſaying, *Every Plantation being not planted of my Father, ſhall be pluckt up by the roots, &c.*

The ruine and diſſolution of Abbeys and Monaſteries in England.

Mat. 15.

The Hiſtory of the worthy Martyr of God John Lambert, *otherwiſe named* Nicolſon, *with his Troubles, Examinations and Anſwers, as well before the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, Warham, *and other Biſhops: as alſo before King* Henry *the Eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in* Smithfield, *in* Anno 1538.

{Anno 1538.}

IMmediately upon the ruine and deſtruction of the Monaſteries, the ſame year, and in the month of *November*, followed the trouble and condemnation of *John Lambert*, the faithful Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, and Martyr of bleſſed Memory. This *Lambert* being born and brought up in *Norfolk*, was firſt converted by *Bilney*, and ſtudied in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. Where after that he had ſufficiently profited both in *Latin* and *Greek*, and had tranſlated out of both Tongues ſundry things into the *Engliſh-Tongue*, being inforced at laſt by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the Seas, to *Tindall* and *Frith*, and there remained the ſpace of a year and more, being Preacher and Chaplain to the *Engliſh-Houſe* at *Antwerp*, till he was diſturbed by Sir *Thomas More*, and by the Accuſation of one *Barlowe*, was carried from *Antwerp* to *London*: where he was brought to Examination firſt at *Lambeth*, then at the Biſhops Houſe at *Oxford*, before *Warham* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Adverſaries, having five and forty Articles miniſted againſt him, whereunto he rendred Anſwer again by writing. The which Anſwers foraſmuch as they contain great learning, and may give ſome light to the better underſtanding of the common cauſes of Religion now in controverſie, I thought here to exemplifie the ſame, as they came right happily to our hands. The Copy both of the Articles, and alſo of his Anſwers, here in order followeth.

Lambert Preacher to the Engliſh Houſe at Antwerp.

Lambert accuſed by our Biſhops.

Lambert brought from Ant. werp to London.

Articles to the number of five and forty laid to Lambert.

Articles miniſtred to John Lambert.

I Nprimis, Whether thou waſt ſuſpect or infamed of Hereſie?

2. Whether ever thou hadſt any of *Luthers* Books, and namely, ſince they were condemned, and how long thou keptſt them, and whether thou haſt ſpent any ſtudy on them?

3. Whether thou waſt conſtitute Prieſt, and in what Dioceſs, and of what Biſhop?

4. Whether it be lawful for a Prieſt to marry a wife, and whether a Prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the Law of God to marry a wife?

5. Whether thou believeſt that whatſoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of neceſſity?

6. Whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament neceſſary unto Salvation, and whether after the conſecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Prieſt, as by the Miniſter of God, there be the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, in likeneſs of Bread and Wine?

7. *Item*, What opinion thou holdeſt touching the Sacrament of Baptiſm, whether thou doſt believe that it is a Sacrament of the Church, and a neceſſary Sacrament unto Salvation, and that a Prieſt may Baptize, and that the Order of Baptizing ordained by the Church, is neceſſary and wholſome?

8. *Item*, Whether thou believe that Matrimony be a Sacrament of the Church neceſſary to be obſerved in the Church, and that the Order appointed by the Church for the ſolemnizing thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

Sacrament of Orders.

9. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe Orders to be a Sacrament of the Church, and that ſaying of Maſs ordained by the Church is to be obſerved of Prieſts; whether it be deadly ſin or not, if it be omitted or contemned, and whether the order of Prieſthood were invented by mans imagination, or ordained by God?

Sacrament of Penance

10. *Item*, Whether Penance be a Sacrament of the Church, and neceſſary unto Salvation, and whether auricular Confeſſion is to be made unto the Prieſt, or is neceſſary unto Salvation; and whether thou believeſt that a Chriſtian is bound, beſides contrition of heart, having the free uſe of an apt or free Prieſt, under neceſſity of Salvation, to be confeſſed unto a Prieſt, and not unto any Layman, be he never ſo good and devout; and whether thou believeſt that a Prieſt in caſes permitted to him may abſolve a Sinner (being contrite and confeſſed) from his ſins, and enjoyn him wholſome Penance?

Sacrament of Confeſſion.

11. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe and hold, that the Sacrament of Confirmation and extream Unction be Sacraments of the Church, and whether that they do profit the Souls of them which receive them, and whether thou believeſt the foreſaid ſeven Sacraments to give Grace unto them that do duly receive them?

Unwritten Verities.

12. Whether all things neceſſary unto Salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be ſufficient, and whether ſome things upon neceſſity of Salvation are to be believed and obſerved, which are not expreſſed in Scripture?

13. Whether

Purgatory. 13. Whether thou believeſt that Purgatory is, and whether that Souls departed be therein tormented and purged?

Praying to Saints. 14. Whether holy Martyrs, Apoſtles, and Confeſſors departed from this World, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

15. Whether the Saints in Heaven as Mediators pray for us?

Pilgrimage. 16. Whether thou believeſt that Oblations and Pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriouſly done to the Sepulchres and Reliques of Saints?

Lent-Faſt. 17. Whether the Faſt in *Lent*, and other appointed by the Canon Law, and received in common uſage of Chriſtian people (unleſs neceſſity otherwiſe requireth) are to be obſerved?

Worſhipping to Images. 18. Whether it be laudable and profitable that worſhipful Images be ſet in Churches for the remembrance of Chriſt and his Saints?

Praying for Souls departed. 19. Whether thou believeſt that Prayers of men living, do profit Souls departed, and being in Purgatory?

20. Whether men may merit and deſerve both by their Faſtings, and alſo by their other deeds of devotion?

Preaching without licence. 21. Whether thou doſt believe that men prohibited of Biſhops to preach, as ſuſpect of Hereſie, ought to ceaſe from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themſelves of ſuſpicion before an higher Judge?

22. Whether thou believeſt that it is lawful for all Prieſts freely to preach the Word of God or no?

Lay-men to preach. 23. Whether thou believeſt that it is lawful for Lay-men of both kinds; that is to wit, both men and women, to ſacrifice and preach the Word of God, or no?

The Popes Excommunication. 24. Whether Excommunication denounced by the Pope againſt all Hereticks, do oblige and bind them before God?

Saying of Matters. 25. Whether every Prieſt is bound to ſay daily his Matens and Evenſong, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether he may leave them unſaid without offence or deadly ſin?

Scripture in the Mother-tongue. 26. Whether thou believeſt that the Heads or Rulers by neceſſity of Salvation, are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their Mother-Language?

27. Whether is it lawful for the Rulers for ſome cauſe, upon their reaſonable adviſement, to ordain that the Scripture ſhould not be delivered unto the people in the Vulgar Language?

28. Whether thou believeſt that Conſecrations, Hallowings, and Bleſſings uſed in the Church are to be praiſed?

Making of Laws in the Church. 29. Whether thou believeſt that the Pope may make Laws and Statutes, to bind all Chriſtian men to the obſervance of the ſame, under pain of deadly ſin, ſo that ſuch Laws and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God?

30. Whether thou believeſt that the Pope and other Prelates, and their Deputies in ſpiritual things, have power to excommunicate Prieſts and Lay-people, that are inobedient and ſturdy, from entring into the Church, and ſo ſuſpend or let them from adminiſtration of the Sacraments of the ſame?

Juſtification 31. Whether Faith only without good Works may ſufficе unto a man fallen into ſin after his Baptiſm, for his ſalvation and juſtifying?

32. Whether a Prieſt marrying a Wife, and that without the diſpenſation of the Pope, and begetting alſo Children of her without ſlander giving, do ſin deadly?

Difference between a Latin-Prieſt and a Greek, or Prieſt. 33. *Item*, Whether a *Latin*-Prieſt after he hath taken the Order of Prieſthood, being fore troubled and ſtirred with pricking of Luſt and Lechery, and therefore marrying a Wife for remedy of the ſame, do ſin deadly?

Praying for Wickliff, Huſs, and Hieronie of Prague. 34. *Item*, Whether thou doſt ever pray for *John Wickliff*, *John Huſs*, or *Hieronie of Prague*, condemned of Hereſie in the Council of *Conſtance*, or for any of them ſince they died; or whether thou haſt done openly or ſecretly any deeds of Charity for them, affirming them to be in bliſs, and ſaved?

35. *Item*, Whether thou haſt recounted them or any of them to be Saints, and worſhipped them as Saints?

General Council. 36. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe, hold and affirm, that every general Council, and the Council of *Conſtance* alſo, do repreſent the univerſal Congregation or Church? {KING Hen. 8.}

37. *Item*, Whether thou doſt believe the ſame things which the Council of *Conſtance*, repreſenting the univerſal Church, hath approved and doth approve for the maintenance of Faith, and Souls health, and that the ſame is to be approved and holden of all Chriſtians?

38. Whether the condemnations of *John Wickliff*, *John Huſs*, and *Hieronie of Prague*, done upon their Perſons, Books and Documents, by the whole general Counſil of *Conſtance*, were duly and rightly done, and ſo for ſuch of every Catholick Perſon they are to be holden?

The Council of Conſtance. 39. Whether thou believeſt that *John Wickliff* of *England*, *John Huſs* of *Bohome*, and *Hieronie of Prague*, were Hereticks, and for Hereticks to be named, and their Books and Doctrines to have been and now be perverſe, for the which Books and pertinacy of their perſons, they are condemned by the holy Council of *Conſtance* for Hereticks?

Whether John Wickliff, John Huſs, and Hieronie of Prague, were Hereticks.

40. *Item*, Whether thou believe or affirm, that it is not lawful in any caſe to ſwear? To ſwear.

41. Whether thou believe that it is lawful at the Commandment of a Judge to make an Oath to ſay the truth, or any other Oath in caſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of Infamy?

The number of Sacraments. 42. *Item*, Whether a Chriſtian perſon deſpiſing the ſeceit of the Sacraments of Confirmation, extream Unction, or ſolemnizating of Matrimony, do ſin deadly?

The power of Peter. 43. *Item*, Whether thou believe that Saint *Peter*, as Chriſts Vicar, have Power upon Earth to bind and looſe?

The power of the Pope 44. *Item*, Whether the Pope ordinarily choſen for a time, his proper name being expreſt, be the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*?

45. *Item*, Whether thou haſt ever promiſed at any time by an Oath, or made any confederacy or league with any perſon or perſons, that you would always hold and defend certain Concluſions or Articles, ſeeming to you and your Accomplices right and conſonant unto the Faith, and that you cerſifie us touching the order and tenor of the ſaid Opinions and Concluſions, and of the names and ſurnames of them that were your Adherents, and promiſed to be adherent unto you in this behalf?

¶ *The Anſwer of* John Lambert *to the firſt Article.*

Anſwer to the firſt Article. UNto your firſt demand, wherein you do aſk whether I was ſuſpect of infamed of Hereſie? I anſwer, That I am not certain what all perſons at all ſeaſons have deemed or ſuſpected of me, peradventure ſome better, ſome worſe, like as that opinion of the people was never one, but thought diverſly of all the famous Prophets, and of the Apoſtles, yea, and of Chriſt himſelf: as appeareth in Saint *John*, how when he came into *Jeruſalem* in the Feaſt called *Scenopegia*, anon there aroſe upon him a great noiſe, ſome ſaying, *that he was a very good man*, other ſaid *nay*, and called him a *Seducer*, becauſe he led the people from the right ways of *Moſes* Law into Error. Seeing therefore that all men could not ſay well by Chriſt, which is the Author of Verity and Truth, yea the very Truth it ſelf, and likewiſe of his beſt Servants: what ſhould I need to regard, if at ſome time, ſome perſon for a like cauſe ſhould ſuſpect of me amiſs, and evil report of me. Saying, moreover it is ſaid in the Goſpel, *Væ vobis cum laudaverint vos omnes homines, &c. Woe be to you when all men ſpeak well of you: for ſo did their Fathers to the falſe Prophets.* If therefore at any ſeaſon ſuch infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have ſo little regarded the ſame, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any ſuch, yet were I more than twice a fool to ſhew you thereof: for it is written in your own Law, *Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum*, no man is bound to bewray himſelf. But this I cenſure you, I was never ſo charged with ſuſpicion or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reproved afore any Judge afore that I was troubled for theſe cauſes, for which I was at the firſt put into your hands: and of them, ſeeing

The ſecret of people divers and inconſtant. *Joh.* 7.

Luke 6. Praiſe of the World not to be regarded.

No man bound to bewray himſelf.

{KING Hen. 8.} ſeeing you could not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly deſired of you, and required full inſtantly the ſame. But letting thoſe things paſs, you have imagined new matters to charge me with. wherein I think certainly, that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the firſt; that is to wit, no whit culpable in neither, had it not been, that by long impriſonment you inforced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do; and that indifferently conſidered, I ſuppoſe ſhall not deſerve any ſore puniſhment, unleſs you will beard the truth, whereunto I hope it ſhall not diſagree.

Anſwer to the ſecond Article. ¶ To your ſecond demand, where you do inquire whether ever I had any of *Luthers* Books, and namely, ſince they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have ſpent any ſtudy in them? I ſay that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and alſo ſince, but I never will, ne can tell you, how long I kept them; but truth it is, that I have ſtudied upon them, and I thank God that ever I ſo did: for by them hath God ſhewed unto me, and alſo to a huge multitude of other, ſuch light, as the deceivable darkneſs of them (I beſeech God amend it) that ſame themſelves, but amiſs, to be the holy Church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not ſtaud to any trial. He coveteth above all things, as all his Adverſaries do well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his Adverſaries, might be tranſlated into all Languages, to the intent that all people might ſee and know, what is ſaid of every part, whereby men ſhould the better judge what the truth is. And in this me thinketh he requireth nothing but equity; for the Law would have no man condemned, ne juſtified, until his cauſe were heard and known.

The profit of Luthers books. Over-rich Prelates. Popiſh doctrine will abide no trial. The facing Doctrine of the Popiſh. Trial and reading of Books free in Germany. Why Luthers Books be forbidden of Popiſh Prelates. The time of Popiſh Prelates and of the Paraclete refuſed and contemned together. Authority of Fathers will not diſcharge our ignorances. Chryſoſt. in opere imperfect. hom. But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich Prelacy, which is ſo drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to ſtudy Gods Scripture, ne preach the ſame, which ſhould be the principal part of their Office, abhor this faſhion (albeit it is right indifferent and full equity) no leſs than they do abhor death. And no marvel, for doubtleſs, if it ſo could be obtained, that the Writings of all Parties might openly be ſeen and conferred, we ſhould ſoon ſee their ſleight dealing and facing Doctrine, with all other cloked abuſion, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in *Almaine*: for there be the Books of every Party ſeen openly, and tranſlated in the Vulgar Language, that all people may ſee and read upon them: and ſo upon the light of the Books, they lightly follow the true light of Gods Word, refuſing the horrour of darkneſs and falſe Doctrine, whereby before they have been ſeduced from the right teaching and way ſhewed in the Bible. And this is done, not of an hundred, ne of a thouſand, but generally of whole Cities and Countries, both high and low, few or none except.

But our Prelates ſeeing this, and that their dealing ſhould, if this light were ſet up, ſoon be deteCt and diſcovered, have ſent out Commandments, that if any perſon ſhould adventure to keep any ſuch Books, they ſhall be in ſo doing Excommunicate from God, and all his Saints, and curſed as black a *Pitch*, whether the Books be in *Latin*, *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Tongue; as indeed men feeing the fruit contained in them have ſet them forth in all Languages. But this ought not Chriſtian men to think any newelty; for ſo did their Forefathers the Prelates in Chriſts time, and after to the Apoſtles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it ſhould be ſoon found out, that they have ſo dealt ever ſince unto this day. For when Chriſt went about preaching, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, which were Biſhops then and Prelates, gave a general Commandment, *That whoſoever confeſſed him to be Chriſt, ſhould be accuſed, and put out of the Synagogues*, that we call the Church, and ſo they were.

Look in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and you ſhall find how they were in like manner ſerved; yea, look in the *Old Teſtament*, and you ſhall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a Temporal Ruler at that ſeaſon, to have the Prophetie of *Jeremy* (for he of all other is moſt vehement againſt the diſſimulation of Priests) to be burned: why then ſhould we eſchew them, or their

The Popiſh render no reaſon of theſe doings

The proud proceedings of the Papiſts, only upon will and commandment, without all reaſon.

The Spirit of Chriſt, and the ſpirit of the Papiſts far unlikes.

works (unleſs we knew a better cauſe why) whom our Prelates reject and caſt away, ſeeing they render no reaſonable cauſe of their enterprize; but preſuming of their power, without any due authority that I can find, granted unto them ſo to do, will; becauſe they ſo command, ſo have all done, according to the tyrannical ſaying, as I ſuppoſe, of *Sardanapalus*, *Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas*; That is to ſay, So will I, ſo do I command, and that my will for reaſon ſtand.

But I would to God that ſuch knew what ſpirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the Spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Chriſt, I dare ſay it ſhould ſoon alter thee from ſuch haughty Language and doting, and cauſe them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of ſoftneſs and lenity, lowlineſs and humility, patience and temperancy, void of wilfulneſs and tyranny, yea, it ſhould cauſe them not to prevent, but eaſily to follow the Counſel and Doctrine of Chriſts Apoſtles and holy Saints that be their Interpreters. As Saint *Paul*, which writing unto the *Theſſalonians* would have them all *to prove all things, and to retain or hold that only which is good, refraining from all that hath ſemblance of evil.* And Saint *John* would have Chriſtian people *to try the Spirits of them that ſhould ſpeak, whether they were of God or no.* Alſo he writing in another *Epiſtle* unto a Noble woman, and unto her Children, faith, *If any perſon ſhall come unto you, bringing with them the Doctrine that is not of Chriſt, receive him not into your houſe, ne make him any cheer.* So that in this he would have Women to know the Doctrine of Chriſt, and to love that, refuſing to give Credence unto foreign Teaching, not favouring the ſame.

1 *Theſſ.* 5. Chriſtians bidden to try Spirits. 1 *Joh.* 4. 2 *Joh.* 1.

In the firſt Epiſtle alſo to the *Corinthians*, Saint *Paul* writing in general to all the Inhabitants of that City, ſaith, *Brethren, be ye not Children in wit and underſtanding, but as concerning maliciouſneſs, be you Children. In wit I would have you perfect*; and why? Verily for none other cauſe, but that we ſhould (as he writeth unto the *Hebrews*) have diſcretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and ſo to be like men differing from beaſts, according unto the ſaying of the Prophet, *See that ye be not like unto an Horſe or a Mule which lack underſtanding.* And we ſhould pray with him in another *Pſalm*, *O Lord teach me the way that I ſhould walk in, for I lift up my Soul unto thee.*

1 *Cor.* 14 *Pſal.* 32. *Pſal.* 143

Saint *Chryſoſtome* according unto this, in a certain Book of his *Commentaries* upon *Matthew*, the Book is called *Opus imperfectum*, writeth after this manner, for near as my remembrance doth ſerve, and certain I am that I ſhall not miſreport him, and in that I will be tried whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe you to bring the Book. *The Prieſts that were* Phariſees *in the time* (ſaith he) *of Chriſt, made an Ordinance, That whoſoever ſhould acknowledge Jeſus to be Chriſt, ſhould be accurſed and Excommunicate. If then the* Phariſees *or Prieſts that now do occupy their rooms ſhould make a like Ordinance, becauſe they would not have Chriſts Doctrine to be proſeſſed for hindering of their lucre, ſhould we therefore grve in all points credence unto them, and leave off to ſeek after the knowledge of Chriſts Doctrine? Nay truly, Why* (quoth he) *ſhall we not be excuſed herein by ignorance, ſeeing we be forefended by the Rulers to have knowledge? He anſwereth, No verily; for if* (ſaith he) *when thou deſireſt to buy Cloth, thou will not be content to ſee one Merchants Ware, but go from the firſt to the ſecond, from the ſecond to the third, and ſo further, to know where is the beſt Cloth and beſt cheap; thou uſing ſuch careful diligence for a Temporal profit, are well worthy great reproach, that will be more remiſs and negligent for thy Souls health. Seek therefore about from one Doctor or Teacher unto another, that thou myght know who doth moſt duly and truly teach Chriſt, and ſtem follow, according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle*, Prove all, and hold the good; *and as it is ſaid in the Goſpel, that thou myght know* Qui ſunt probati nummularii, & qui non; *that is to wit, know who be true or lawful Changers or Coiners, and who be not.*

Chryſoſt. ibid. 1 *Theſſ.* 1. *Mat.* 25.

He alſo addeth another ſimilitude or parable. When thou goeſt (quoth he) *a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, leſt thou ſhouldeſt fail of the right way, enquire of one man and after of another, and if thou ſhouldeſt chance to go ſomewhat wide, yet thou wilt*

wilt not so leave off thy Journey undone, but make inquisition again to come where thou wouldst rest. So likewise (saith he) *ought we to seek out intentively for the wealth of our Soul,* Qui sunt probi clavigeri, & qui non; *that is to say, who are the right Key-bearers, and who not; meaning thereby the Key-bearers, Christs Apostles, and Bearers of his Testimony or Message.* Which saying although it were written of no authentical Author (howbeit it is written even of him whom I shewed you in the said work) but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent perſon having wit and reaſon would aſſent, I doubt not, that it is full true.

Hieronymus Contra Jovin.

The same Author alſo, in an Epiſtle which you ſhall find in a work called *Pſegmata Chryſoſtomi*, ſheweth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, becauſe he did ſtudy *Origens* Work, which afore was condemned for an Heretick: But he maketh an Apology to the ſame, ſhewing, that Chriſtian men ought not to be reprehended for ſo doing. In which Apology he bringeth for his defence the ſaying of *Paul* above rehearſed, *Prove all things, &c.* Likewiſe did St. *Hierome*, I wote not well in what place of his Works, but you ſhall find it in a *Treatiſe* called *Unio diſſidentium*, where he entreateth *De mandatis hominum.* When it was objected againſt him that he retained by him the Works of *Euſebius* and of *Origen*, ſtudying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was ſo lawful, the ſaid place of the Apoſtle, making therewith an anſwer worthy to be greatly noted.

Lawful to read and ery all Books.

Hieronym.

The ſame is alſo reported in the Book called *Eccleſiaſtica Hiſtoria*, or elſe *Hiſtoria Tripartita*, I wote not now preciſely whether. So that theſe and other more Authorities of the Scripture, and ſemblable enſamples of holy Interpreters ſhall prove, that I and other may ſafely (no good Law inhibiting, unleſs Conſtitutions Phariſaical) read and ſearch the Works not only of *Luther*, but alſo of all other, be they never ſo ill or good; namely, ſeeing I am a Prieſt; whom the Biſhop of *Norwich* ought not to have admitted into Orders, unleſs he had ſeen me to have had judgment to diſcern good from ill, neither ought any of you to give Orders to any ſuch, in whom ye do not find like ability to judge the light from darkneſs, and the truth from falſehood: and therefore if for this you would puniſh me, I cannot ſee but you ſhall condemn your ſelves, judging rather of ſenſual pleaſure than of equity, which in men of your Order were a great ſhame, and much uncomely.

Anſwer to the third Article. Lambert made Prieſt in Norwich.

¶ Unto your third Demand, wherein you do aſk whether I was Conſtitute a Prieſt, and in what Diocеſs, and of what Biſhop; I ſay that I was made a Prieſt in *Norwich*, and of the Biſhops Suffragan of the ſame Diocеſs.

Anſwer to the fourth Article. Marriage of Prieſts, whether it be lawful and expedient.

¶ Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawful for a Prieſt to marry a Wife, and whether a Prieſt in ſome caſe be bound by the Law of God to marry a Wife; I ſay that it is lawful, yea, and neceſſary for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of Chaſtity, to marry a Wife, and that ſheweth both Chriſt and Saint *Paul*. In the nineteenth of *Matthew* Chriſt ſpeaking unto the *Phariſees* that came to tempt him, in the concluſion, faith in this wiſe, *Whoſoever ſhall forſake his Wife except it be for Fornication, and marrieth another,*

Mat.19. *committeth Adultery, and whoſoever marrieth her ſo forſaken, doth alſo commit Adultery.*

With that ſpeak his Diſciples, if thus the caſe ſtand betwixt a Man and his Wife, it ſhall be hurtful and not expedient to contract Matrimony. He made anſwer,

Mat.19. *Every man cannot away with that ſaying, but they unto whom it is given of God*; meaning, that every man could not abide ſingle or unmarried, but ſuch unto whom was given of God a ſpecial Grace ſo to continue. And if with your better adviſe I might be ſomewhat herein bold, I would ſuppoſe that whereas he doth ſay, *Non omnes ſunt capaces hujus dicti* (*Every man cannot away with that ſaying*) this word *Non omnes* ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture, as where in the *Pſalms* it is ſaid, *Non juſtificabitur in conſpectu tuo omnis vivens*; It is meant that no perſon living ſhall be juſtified afore God. And in the Epiſtle to the *Galathians*, and to the *Romans*, where it is ſaid, *Ex operibus Legis*

Non omnes taken univerſally in Scripture.

Gal. 2.
Rom. 9.

non juſtificabitur omnis caro; (By the Works of the Law no Fleſh ſhall be juſtified in his ſight) it is meant thereby *Nulla caro*: ſo that, *Non omnis*, after the rule of equipollence, ſhould be taken for as much as *nullus*, and then the ſenſe ſhould be thus, *Nulli ſunt capaces hujus dicti niſi hi quibus datum ſit.* No man can be capable of this ſaying, or can ſo paſs their life without marriage, except thoſe which have it given them by a ſingular Grace of God to live chaſt.

Then he proceeded further, ſaying, *There be gelded men which ſo were born from their Mothers Womb, and there be ſome gelded men, which have been ſo made by men, and there be gelded men that have ſo made themſelves for love of the Kingdom of Heaven.* In concluſion he ſaith, Who that receiveth this ſaying, thinketh that it ſhould be unexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaſt through the gift given him of God, let him take it, and ſo live. So he leaveth ſingle life to all mens election, without any compelling them thereto.

Mat.19. Gelded men three ways to be taken in Scripture.

Hereunto aſſenteth Saint *Paul*, when that by many reaſons he had perſwaded the *Corinthians* to ſingle life; finally, he concludeth thus, *This* (quoth he) *ſay I unto you, willing that which ſhould be for your profit, but not to bring you into bondage.* And a little afore, *I would* (quoth he) *that all men were even as my ſelf am. But every one hath a ſeveral Gift from God, one one wiſe, another another wiſe*: ſhewing thereby, that unto ſome it is given of God to live continent, and to other to engender and procreate Children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may eaſily perceive in this, that after he had ſhewed forth his good will and mind, ſaying, *Velim omnes homines, &c.* I would that all men were even as I am, he putteth a Conjunction adverſative, that declareth an obſtacle or ſtop, ſaying, *Sed unuſquiſque proprium donum habet, &c.* But every man hath his proper Gift of God. Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly ſee, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. This (quoth he) *I ſay to the unmarried and Widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do; but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage, for better is it to marry than to burn.* This proveth well, that all Prieſts, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry to avoid burning luſt, unleſs they be inobedient to the mind of Chriſt that ſpake in *Paul*, in obſerving the Traditions of men. In the beginning of the ſame Chapter alſo he ſaith, *It is good that a man ſhould not deal with a woman; notwithſtanding for avoiding Fornication* (quoth he) *let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband.* He ſaith here, *Quiſque* and *& quæque*, every man and every woman. And not *quidam nec quædam*, ſome man nor ſome woman; he excepteth neither Prieſt nor Nun, but every one both man and woman is bound, for avoiding of burning and Fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of Chaſtity.

1 Cor. 7.

Marriage neceſſary for all men, inobedient to the ſtark concupiſcency of heart.

Queſtion, whether Prieſts be bound to marry.

The ſame alſo confirmeth your own Law, *Diſtinct. 29. Diſt.29.* where it is written thus, *Si quis diſcernit Presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occaſione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, anathema ſit.* If any man do hold that a Prieſt being married, in that reſpect that he is married, ought not to miniſter in his Function, be he accurſed. And in the 31. *Diſt. Si quis vituperat nuptias, & dormientem cum viro ſuo fidelem, ac religioſam deteſtatur, aut culpabilem æſtimat, velut quæ Regnum Dei introire non poſſit, anathema ſit.* If any man ſhall find fault with Matrimony, and deteſt a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the Kingdom of God, be he accurſed. And every where elſe ſuch like are to be ſeen.

Diſt. 31. Marriage left free by the Pope Law.

Moreover, in *Hiſtoria tripartita* is written, that a noble Martyr of Chriſt called *Paphnutius*, in the *Nicene* Councel, when all other Biſhops were purpoſed to have enacted there, that Prieſts ſhould live unmarried, this holy man reſiſted them ſo mightily both with Reaſons, and alſo with Authority of Scripture, that then their purpoſe altered, and their firſt deviſe could not paſs. And one Authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of *Paul* in the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*. *Your deviſe* (quoth he) *may have a ſemblance of Holineſs, but indeed it ſhall be the deſtruction and undoing of the ſame.*

Paphnutius.

Marriage permitted free by the Councell of Nice.

More-

{KING 1 Hen.8.} Le illuſtrat. des Gaules.

Moreover, in one of the principal Hiſtories of *France*, called *Les illuſtrations de Gaulles*, Whoſoever pleaſe may there read it as it ſtandeth, with fix leaves afore the end of the ſame; how the Author with deep ſorrow lamenteth the Ordinance that decreed firſt, Prieſts to live unmarried, ſhewing and that amply, the miſeries that have enſued in *France* thereby, imputing it unto *Calixt* the Pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in meter, whereof the firſt I yet remember, and it is thus, *O Sanctè Calixte, totus mundus odit te, &c. O holy Calixte, all the world hateth thee.* Which followeth in writing to ſome of his friends therein. But what need I to make longer *Treatiſe* hereof, forſomuch as you do daily both hear and ſee, what foul abomination ariſeth in every corner, of this pitious Law made of men that would preſume to be wiſer than God, thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or elſe for lack of wiſdom he could not ſhew us a ſufficient Law or way, to direct our life and converſation, to come to the joy and reſting place of him promiſed, and ſo of us longed and looked for. Whereby we both be far unreaſonable in ſo deeming of him after our unwiſe wit, and he much diſhonoured. The which I beſeech him to help. Amen.

Reward how it is promiſed to works. Conſeſſ. lib. Confeſſion. 9.

Men will be wiſer than God.

Anſwer to the fifth Article. Free will to deſerve joy or pain.

¶ Unto the fifth, where ye do aſk, whether I believe that whatſoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of neceſſity; that is (as you conſtrue) to wit, whether man hath free will ſo that he may deſerve joy or pain? I ſay (as I ſaid at the beginning) that unto the firſt part of your Riddle, I neither can, ne will give any definitive anſwer, forſomuch as it ſurmounteth my capacity, truſting that God ſhall ſend hereafter other that ſhall be of better learning and wit than I, to indite it. As concerning the ſecond part, whereas you do interpret; that is to ſay, whether man hath free will or no, ſo that he may deſerve joy or pain; as for our deſerving ſpecially of joy, I think it very little or none, even when we do the very Commandments and Law of God, and that am I taught by our Saviour in St. *Luke*, where he ſaith thus, *Which of you*, quoth he, *having a Servant that hath eared your Land, or fed your Beaſts, will ſay unto him when he cometh home out of the field, go thy way quickly, and ſit down to thy meat; and rather will not ſay unto him, make ready my Supper, ſerving me thereat till I have made an end thereof; and afterward take thy ſelf meat and drink. Think you that he is bound to thank his Servant which thus ſhall do his Commandment? I trow* (ſaith he) *nay. Even ſo you, ſaith he, when you have done all things to you commanded, ſay yet you be unprofitable Servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.*

Merits not to be eſtimed.

In which words you may clearly ſee, that he would not have us greatly eſteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather reckoning our ſelves to be but Servants unprofitable to God, forſomuch as he hath no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to ſee us do well for our own behoof: and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not ſo to magnifie, neither our ſelf, ne our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whoſe benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleaſure; not regarding our merit, but his Grace and Benefit; Whereby only is done all that in any wiſe is to him acceptable. And thus if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the Commandment of God, much leſs ſhould we look for merit, for obſerving of our own inventions, traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture, which *Paul* calleth the word of Truth and of Faith, promiſed.

To walk with God after a civil faſhion, is to work for merits.

Obſerving of Gods works with an intent to merit. Pope, much like the obſerving of mens traditions.

But here may be objected againſt me, that the Reward is promiſed in many places to them that do obſerve the Precepts of God. That I affirm to be very ſooth. Notwithſtanding ſuch Reward ſhall never be attained of us, except by the Grace and Benefit of him which worketh all things in all Creatures. And this affirmeth well Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Ambroſe*, *Fulgentius*, with other, as ye may ſee every where in their Works, and eſpecially in the *Treatiſe* called *Unio diſſidentium*, wherein he entreateth *de gratia & meritis*. And of St. *Auguſtine* I remember two or three right notable Sentences concerning the ſame. One is in the ninth Book of his Confeſſions, in this form, *Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Quia vere non exquiris delicta*

Unio diſſidentium.

Followeth good works but yet good works be not done for reward.

vehementer, fiducialiter ſperamus aliquem locum apud te invenire indulgentiæ. Quiſquis autem tibi enumerat ea merita ſua, quid tibi enumerat niſi munera tua? O ſi cognoſcerent ſe omnes, & qui gloriatur in domino gloriatur; Woe be to the life of men, be they never ſo holy, if thou ſhalt examine them, ſetting thy mercy aſide. Becauſe thou doſt not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and truſt to find ſome place of mercy with thee. And whoſoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would ſee and know themſelves, and that he which glorieth, would glory in the Lord. Again, in the firſt Book he ſaith thus unto God: *Nunquid inops es & gaudes lucris? Nunquid avarus & uſuras exigis? Supererogatur tibi ut de bonis tuis? & quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddis debita nulli debent, donas debita nibil perdens.* Doth any man give that he oweth not unto thee, that thou ſhouldſt be in his debt? and hath any man ought that is not thine? Thou rendreſt debt, and yet oweſt to no man. Thou forgiveſt debt, and yet loſeſt nothing. And therefore his uſual prayer was this, *Domine da quod jubes, & jube quod vis*, Lord give that thou commandeſt, and command what thou wilt.

Confeſſ. lib. 2

Alſo in the Book called *Manuale Auguſtini*, or *de contemplatione Chriſti*, he faith in this wiſe, *Tota ſpes mea eſt in morte Domini. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, ſalus mea, & reſurrectio mea. Meritum meum, miſeratio Domini. Non ſum meriti inops quamdiu ille miſerationum Dominus non defuerit. Et ſi miſericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego ſum in meritis.* All my hope is in the Lords death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my reſurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, ſo long as the Lord of mercy ſhall continue. And if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I alſo great and rich in merits.

Good works and how they be Gods, and how they be ours.

And to conclude, they be Chriſts own Merits and good Works (as ſaith Saint *Ambroſe* well nigh every where) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown, and not ours, if one ſhould look narrowly upon the thing, and ſpeak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheleſs are ours by him, forſomuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours. So that in this, I wot not how other do mean, which luſt to ſell their Merits unto their Neighbours that happily have ſcarce enough for themſelves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scripture with theſe holy Doctors and ſuch other do teach, wiſhing that men ever for good doing ſhould not ſo much (as the common people doth) regard their merit or reward, for that it is not the thing that ingendreth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a ſervile faſhion, and for the love of themſelves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more then becauſe it ſo pleaſeth God, and liketh him: whereas if we regarded firſt, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well (which is the keeping of his Commandments) and that ſo we ſhould content his pleaſure, reward ſhould undoubtedly enſue good deeds, although we minded no whit the ſame, as heat followeth evermore the fire unſeparate there from. And thus we ſhould ſerve God with hearty love as Children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thrals and ſervants.

Reward followeth good works but yet good works be not done for reward.

No ability in man to do the Will of God.

Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth Saint *Auguſtine*, that of our ſelves we have no liberty ne ability to do the Will of God, but are ſubject unto ſin and thrals of the ſame, *Concluſit ſub peccato, & wæmundati ſub eodem*; Shut up and ſold under ſin, as witneſſeth both *Eſay* and alſo *Paul*: but by the Grace of God we are rid and ſet at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the ſame, ſome more, ſome leſs.

Rom. 7. 11.

Anſwer to the ſixth Article. The Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

¶ Whereas in your ſixth demand, you do enquire whether the Sacrament of the Altar be a Sacrament neceſſary unto Salvation, and whether after the conſecration of the Bread and Wine done by the Prieſt, as by the Miniſter of God, there is the very Body and Blood of Chriſt in likeneſs of Bread and Wine, neither can ne will anſwer one word, otherwiſe than I have told ſince I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have anſwered one whit thereunto, knowing ſo much at the firſt as now I do, till you had brought forth ſome that that would

have

have accused me to have trespassed in the same, which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

Answer to the fourth Article.

¶ As concerning the other six Sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the Sacrament of the Altar, and none other. That is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same, unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I so ought to do. But as touching the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as my rudeness will serve; I hold well that such as be duly elect Ministers in the Church ought to baptize, except necessity require otherwise: and that the form used in the Church is in mine opinion not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edify much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar Language, and

Baptism to be in the Vulgar Tongue. Answer to the eighth Article.

cause people in the Baptism of Children more effectuously to thank God for his Institution and high benefit thereby represented.

In like condition do I also deem of ministration in all the other, that it should be expedient to have them ministred openly in the vulgar Language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form used in Matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, saving in all Countries lightly *Judas* hath set in his foot over far, and taken in hand to sell his Master, accompanied with *Simon Magus*, saying, *What will you give me if I deliver unto you Christ?* This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in some places twelve pence, in some six pence, in some more, in some less, but in every place lightly some money when a couple should be married: and this they call *The Churches Right*. Moreover, that they will not suffer Marriage to be solemnized at all times of the year, I think it standeth not with Christs Rule, but rather is against the same: and that they will not suffer the Banes upon all Holy-days to be proclaimed, unless a Dispensation for money be purchased therefore. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But the contrary is seen, which is great pity, yea even at the receiving of the Sacrament of the Altar, Priests every where use to claim somewhat, and in some parts of the West-Country, no less than two pence of every Pole.

Matrimony ought freely to be ministred, and without money.

Answer to the ninth Article.

As touching Priesthood in the Primitive-Church, when vertue bare (as ancient Doctors do deem, and Scripture in mine opinion recordeth the same) most room, there were no more Officers in the Churches of God, than Bishops and Deacons; that is to say, Ministers, as witnesseth beside Scripture full apertly, *Hierome* in his *Commentaries* upon the Epistles of *Paul*, whereas he saith, That those whom we call Priests were all one and none other but Bishops, and the Bishops none other but Priests, men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. Neither were they instituted and chosen as they be now adays, with small regard of a Bishop or his Officer, only appoting them if they can construe a Collect; but they were chosen not only of the Bishop, but also with the consent of the people among whom they should have their living, as sheweth Saint *Cyprian*; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose Priests that be men of good Learning, of good and honest report: but alack for pity, such Elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in. Which if we should confer with the form of the Election shewed of Christ by his Apostle *Paul*, we should find no small diversity, but all turned upside down. To conclude, I say, the order or state of Priests and Deacons was ordained by God, but Subdeacons and Conjurers, otherwise called *Exorcistæ* and *Acolitæ*, which we call *Benet* and *Collect*, were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the Law, *Dist.* 21. and other places where it is written, *Subdiaconatus tempore Apostolorum non fuit factus*, Subdeaconship in the time of the Apostles was no holy Order.

Bishops and Priests, all one in the old time.

The order and state of Priests.

Election of Ministers in the old time not without the assent of the people.

Subdeacons, Exorcists, Benet and Collect not ordained of God but men.

Subdeaconship in the time of the Apostles no holy Order.

¶ As touching ear-Confession, I say, that the common fashion now used was never ordained by Christs Law, that is, written in the Bible, neither can you prove by any authority of the same, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all and of every such, to any man. Again, for the maintenance of this which I have said, you shall know that *Chrysostome* standeth stiffly with me, in his *Commentaries* upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in an Homily also that he maketh upon the *Psalm Miserere*, and moreover in a Sermon that he maketh, *De Pœnitentia*, beside many other *Treatises*, wherein he continueth ever one, testifying in semblable wise.

Answer to the tenth Article. Auricular Confession not ordained by God.

In like manner doth one of your principal Doctors, writing upon your Canon-Law, named *Panormitanus*, testifie that it is made by the Law of man, and not of God, in *cap. Omnis utriusque sexus*. In the Book also called *Historia tripartita*, you shall find how it was first instituted (as I remember) and after undone again, because of a huge Villany committed with a Woman by a Minister of the Church, thorow Confession.

Also it is mentioned in the end of the first *Dist. de Pœnitentia*, how the *Greek*-Church, whom I think you do not note to be Hereticks, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to prove that Confession made to a Priest should not be necessary, and also that Confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, *Quibus authoritatibus, &c.* I could bring forth other that be yet living, men of furmounting and excellent literature, which exactly by many and mighty, both authorities and reasons, do shew and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, left I should bring them in hatred. Notwithstanding I never said, ne will say, but that men feeling themselves agrieved in Conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whom they know and trust to be of stedfast Credence, and to have good skill in the Law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, thorow counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

Dist. de Pœnitentia. The Greek Church allowed not confession auricular.

Asking counsel in the Church is good, but is not tied to any person.

But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their Curate, or to any other Priest, whose Credence they deem not all trusty, or their counsel not sage, but to any other whatsoever he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties above-shewed, when their Curate doth lack them. And this thing is most behoveable, when men needing counsel be so void of knowledge in Christs Law, that they cannot find therein remedy themselves. For the Doctrine of Christ, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men by spiritual knowledge might ease themselves.

To the other part of your question, where you do ask whether a Priest in cases unto him limited may loose a Sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, injoyning him wholesome penance? I say that only Christ looseth a Sinner which is contrite, by his word and promise, and the Priest doth nothing but shew and declare the word: Neither doth declaration or ministry of the Priest any whit avail for to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give Credence unto the Word ministred and shewed by the Priest, which word or promise of Christ is called *The word of Reconciliation or Atonement making betwixt God and man*. And this testified St. *Paul* in the second to the *Corinthians*, where he saith in this wise, *God hath reconciled us unto him through Jesus Christ*. See how it is God that looseth us from sin, which is to make Reconciliation or Atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ whom he caused to die for the same purpose. *And he* (quoth St. *Paul*) *hath ordained us Ministers of the said Atonement*. See how Christs Apostles called not themselves *the Authors of binding and loosing*, but *Ministers*; *For he* (that is to wit God) *reconciled the World unto him, forgiving their sins*. Where you may know what reconciling is. *And hath committed* (saith Paul) *unto us to be Messengers of the same Word, or tydings of atonement or reconciling*.

The great part of the question, whether a Priest in cases limited may loose a Sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, injoyning him wholesome penance?

Christ only looseth the sins from the Priest, unless he be Sinner.

2 Cor. 5.

The Apostles not the Authors of binding and loosing, but Ministers.

Also that the Power, whereby men are loosed from sin, is not the Priests power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can shew the same in the Decrees, which is thus, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*. Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins. And this was preached at *Pauls* Cross the *Sunday* next after the *Epiphany* last, the Bishop of *London* sitting by, the Preacher speaking after this form, treating of this Text, *Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi, Behold the Lamb of God*

Power in binding and loosing, limited no more to one minister than another.

Injoyning of Penance.

Christ only looseth the sins from the Priest, unless he be Sinner.

Answer to the 11th Article.

¶ Unto the eleventh Article I say, That grace is given unto them that duly receive the Sacraments of Christ and his Church, but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, and how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the Sacraments, that are destitute of grace, to their

This saying is taken out of Peter Lombard, and cited in the Decrees.

KING Hen. 8.

God which taketh away the sins of the World. In that, said the Preacher, testimony is given of Christ to be a Lamb, it is shewed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, *That he taketh away the sins of the World*, is shewed that he was God, alledging there for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgar saying above said by me, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*. And the same Proposition, or another equal with the same, useth Saint *Chrysostome* in an Homily that is made upon this Text of St. *Matthew*, *Vocabitur nomen ejus Jesus, &c. His Name shall be*

Mat. 1. *called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.* Also Saint *Chrysostome*, *In opere imperfecto*, upon

Mat. 23. this Text, *Væ vobis Scribæ & Pharisæi, qui claudit is Regnum Cœlorum, &c. Woe be unto you Scribes and Pharisees, because ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, &c.* As near as my remembrance doth serve me, or else in some other place, but in the same Book (as I suppose) he affirmeth that the Keys of Heaven are the Word and Doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover Saint *Gregory*, I trow, in his Book called *Pastoralis*, or else it is an Epistle that he writeth *ad Episcopum Constantinopolitanum*, in these words, *Claves apertionis est formo correctionis, qui increpando culpam detegit, quam sæpe nescit qui perpetravit.* The Key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who rebuking doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not that committeth the same.

The keys of binding and loosing is the word of God. Greg. in pastor.

Saint *Ambrose*, agreeing to the same, saith, *Verbum Dei dimittit peccata. The Word of God forgiveth sin.* But shall we then say, that Gods Ministers do not bind and loose? I say no, not as the authors of so doing, but they do loose and bind in like manner,

Acts 26. as it is said of *Paul* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner: *I shall* (said our Saviour) *deliver thee from the People and Nations, unto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light.* Here *Paul* is said to open the eyes of

Psal. 119. mens hearts, albeit to speak properly, it is God that so doth; and therefore *David* prayeth unto him, *Revela oculos meos. Open mine eyes, O Lord.* And in

Luke 1. like manner it is spoken of *John Baptist* in the first of *Luke*, *That he should go before Christ in the spirit and power of Helias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their Children, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous.* Albeit to turn mens hearts, and to work in them belongeth to God. But so use we to speak, *Metonymice*, as if your Lordship had defined me to be excommunicate, and thereupon should send a commandment to the Parson of *Knoll* to declare the same, the people would say that the Parson of *Knoll* proclaiming your commandment, had accursed me; but yet doth he not properly curse me, but you rather, when he in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

Ambrose. How Ministers bind and loose.

Metonymia, is a figure, when the name that properly belongeth to one, is improperly transferred to another thing.

Touching cases limited to Priests and Ministers, for loosing from sin or binding in the same, I do know no such things shewed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life. Neither can any man, I suppose, shew by authority thereof, that one should have more or less limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thank you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

Concerning enjoying of Penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoyn the same, except it be renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new vertue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend verily by the grace and affistance of our Saviour Christ, to shew and perform.

Sacraments. Whether they give grace or no.

Answer to the 12th Article.

¶ Whereas in your twelfth Article you do ask, Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things upon necessity of salvation, are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: This is the question, as great learned men have shewed me, whom I do count my friends, sith the time I appeared at your Lordships assignment before *M. Dr. Lesse*, and *M. Melling*, with other, in your Chappel of *Lambeth*, when these questions were first propounded, this I say is the question which (as they told me) is the head and whole content of all other objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended right fore to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well-fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking *quod Sanctum est veritatem præferre amicitiæ*, that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amity; and also, *Si dextra manus scandalizet, dehret præscindi & abjici, If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off and cast away.*

Dr. Lesse, M. Melling.

Truth to be preferred before friendship.

But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had Saint *Cyril's* Works by me, I should not need to shew any other answer in this, than he hath shewed aforetime, writing upon this saying of Saint *John*, *Sunt & alia multa quæ fecit Jesus, There are many things more which Jesus did.* Notwithstanding, forsomuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shift, such as he may: I say, as I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for mans salvation be mentioned and shewed in holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be sufficient for the regiment of spiritual living, and mans souls health. And in this shall you find both the ancient Doctors standing with me; and moreover, the suffrage of holy Writ, whose authority is of most sovereign and infallible stedfastness.

Cyrillus in Johannem. John 21.

All things necessary to salvation, contained in Scriptures.

Look what S. *Jerome* saith upon this Verse, *Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum, The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people.* S. *Ambrose* also in a Treatise, *De Paradiso*, doth shew likewise, where he bringeth this Text of *Paul*, written in the 2d to the *Corinthians*, *I am afraid lest it may by some means be brought to pass, that as the Serpent deceived Eve through wilines, so your minds may be corrupt from the simple verity that is in Christ.* And also in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Colossians*, upon this Text, *In Christ Jesus is all treasure of wisdom*, and in divers other places of the same work.

Hieronym. Psal. 87. Ambros. lib. de Paradiso.

Saint *Cyprian* maintaineth well the same in an Epistle that he writeth *ad Cecilium fratrem*, which I would to God were in *English*, that all men might learn the devout goodness in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Christ only, and his learning, not regarding ne attending to the traditions of men, like as he doth also in many other

Cyp. ad Cecil. fratrem.

places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of salvation, the administration of righteousness, the word of truth, yea and the truth itself, the rod of direction, our spiritual food, the spiritual sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaults of our ghostly enemies, the seed of God, the Kingdom of Heaven, and Keys of the same, the power of God, the light of the World, which whoso followeth shall not be overcome with darkness; the law of God, his wisdom and testament. Of which words, and such like, every one will give matter of substantial Argument, that we following the same Doctrine only, shall have sufficient safe conduct to come unto the inheritance promised, albeit none other ways or means were annexed with the same. And certain I am that in this blessed Doctrine of Christ is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to do, as testifieth the *Psalm*, in these words, *Universæ viæ domini misericordia & veritas, &c. All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth.* And again, the Prophet willing us to do as he did, saith in this manner, *Adhæsi testimonis tuis Domine, noli me confundere: I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord, confound me not.* In like manner the said whole *Psalm* warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us stick fast to the steady and true Word of God, saying, that he is *verax, & quæ ejus veritas: omnis autem homo vanitas & mendax: For he is true, and all his ways are truth, but all men are vain and lyers.* For that is the sure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ; *Every one*, saith he, *that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that builded upon a sure foundation.* And there ought to be none other foundation to Christian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as sheweth Saint *Paul*, saying *Fundamentum aliud nemo, &c. Other Foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.* And likewise in the Epistle unto the *Ephesians*, where he saith, *Jam non estis hospites & advenæ, sed concives sanctorum, & domestici Dei, &c. Now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the Household of God.*

Scripture, how many names it hath.

The Word sufficient for all our direction.

Scripture sufficient to salvation, without any other addition.

Psal. 25.

Psa. 118.

1 Cor. 3.

Ephes. 2.

Ephes. 4.

And in the same Epistle, Saint *Paul*, dilating of Christs beneficence, sheweth how that he ordained in the Church divers Officers, to the edifying of Christian people, that he calleth Christs body, until all we may come unto the unity of Faith, which cometh by following of one Doctrine which is Christs, whereby we may grow to be perfect men, and that we should not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by deceit and wiliness of men that study to deceive us.

In like form doth he warn us in his Epistle to the Hebrews, that we should not be carried about as the wind with divers and strange Doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable as mens Constitutions be, whereof look what one doth counsel, or ordain to be of effect, another annulls the same, according as mens minds do alway alter and are full unsteady. Neither do such pertain unto all men; for the *Greeks*, with other (whom the Pope, ne none of his people will yet deny to be of Christs Church) will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the Doctrine that persevereth every one, and is immutable, as sheweth Saint *Paul*, saying, *Jesus Christ yesterday and to day is all one, and so ever shall be.* He is white Bread, without any sower leven of Pharisaical Traditions; verity without guile, light without any darkness, the very straight way that hath neither hook ne crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand ne other unless we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

Heb. 13.

The incostancy and variablenes of mens constitutions.

The Popes laws were never wholly received of all men.

Heb. 13.

But what should I more intreat of this, except I would recite all Scriptures, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the Doctrine of the Gospel? which God I beseech him grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by Laws and Doctrines of men. Look also into *Colossians*, *Chap.* 2. and in the Epistle to *Timothy* and *Titus*. So that I conclude, In holy Scripture to be contained sufficiently enough of Doctrine, for the regiment and salvation of our souls; and this, because I say, *That in holy Scripture the Doctrine there only contained, is sufficient for the salvation of Christian mens souls*; God give us grace we may know it, to build our faith stedfastly upon the same, in working thereafter.

{KING Hen.8.}

The chief Article objected against John Lambert.

Doctrine in the holy Scripture sufficient to salvation of Christian mens souls.

As touching the later part of your question, I say, That there are many things both to be observed, and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture; as the Civil Laws of Princes and Commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the same, I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for Conscience sake, although such ordinances be not expressly and particularly in Scripture expressed, for they are generally therein contained and spoken of.

Unwritten verities.

No third place by St. Augustine.

Moreover, if you mean by this word expressed, that which in Scripture is clearly shewed out, and appeareth evidently to every Reader or hearer that hath but a mean understanding, so do I affirm that there are some things which a man ought to believe, although they be not of him expressly underfood: As I have ever believed that the Virgin *Mary* was and is a perpetual Virgin, and that the same might be gathered by the Scripture. But if by this word expressed, you mean comprehended or contained (as methinks the mind of him that wrote the demand should be) so that he meaneth by this question thus: whether any thing ought to be observed and believed, which is not contained in Scripture, and that upon necessity of salvation; then I say, that there is nothing either to be observed, or to be believed upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture, and mentioned in the same, either generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Doctor *Warham* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, ere ever I saw your Lordship, and I believe verily who was my Father and Mother, albeit I had none intelligence when they begot me, and such like; and yet in such points, although a man have not stedfast belief he may be saved.

What our defending is S. Augustine declareth before in the fifth article. Fol. 1005. No Purgatory.

The 3d part of sins forgiven them that be buried in a Gray Friers Weed. Aug. in Enchiridion.

¶ To the thirteenth Article, where you do ask whether I believe that Purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a Purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also the holy Doctors call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as testifieth Saint *Paul* in the second Chapter of the second Epistle to *Timothy*, whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people, and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, *All that will live godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer persecution.* In this Purgatory do I now reckon my self to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honour. Of this speaketh also Saint *Peter* in these words which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people; *Virtute Dei custodimini per fidem ad salutem, quæ in hoc parata est ut patefiat in tempore supremo, in quo exultatis nunc, ad breve tempus affligi in variis experimentis si opus sit, quo exploratio fides vestræ multo pretiosior auro quod perit, & tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in gloriam*

Answer to the 13th Article. A Purgatory in this World.

2 Tim. 2.

The Purgatory of Christians.

1 Pet. 3.

{KING Hen.8.}

riam & honorem. Te (quoth he) *are preserved through the power of God by faith unto salvation, which is prepared to be revealed in the last time, wherein ye now rejoice, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented, that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory and honour, at the appearing of Jesus Christ, &c.* Other Purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have shewed.

But whatsoever they brought against me, I truft that holy Doctors shall by their interpretation sustain the part, the which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient, so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak; yet that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient Doctors concerning the same, I shall shew you what I have read in Saint *Augustine*; first in a Sermon that he maketh *De Ebrietate*, in this wise saying, *Nemo se decipiat fratres; duo enim loca sunt. & tertium non est visum. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum Diabolo absque ulla dubitatione peribit.* That is to say, Brethren, let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign, shall without doubt perish with the Devil. In another also that he maketh, *De vanitate hujus seculi*, it is said thus: *Scitote vos, quod cum anima a corpore avellitur, statim in Paradiso pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certe pro peccatis, in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Elegite modo quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum Sanctis, aut sine fine cruciari cum impiis.* Which is thus to say, *Know you that when the soul is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for his good deeds, put in Paradise, or else thrown headlong into the Dungeon of Hell for his sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the Saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners.* Thus saith holy *Augustine*.

To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to Heaven, and reign with Christ, ere that I shall feel any Purgatory, beside that I have and shall sustain in this life. And he that believeth not stedfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God woteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one Altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a Gray Friers Frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins, as is granted in a Bull unto the said Religion, and such like. For Saint *Augustine* shall make with me in his Book called *Enchiridion*, after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the Church of Christ living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsly deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of Purgatory, where he concludeth thus: *Such a thing after this life to be, saith he, is not incredible, but whether it be so or no, doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded.* The same words doth he again recite in a Book called, *Quæstiones ad Dulcium*, or *Dulcitium*, I wot not whethether it is called, and there he entreateth the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

To this agreeth Saint *Paul*, writing thus to the *Corinthians*, *Omnes nos manifestari oportet coram Tribunali Christi*, ut reportet quisque ea quæ fiunt per corpus, juxta id quod fecit, sive bonum, sive malum. *For we must all appear before the Judgement Seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done,*

Heb. 13.

whether it be good or evil. And again, where he writeth unto the *Hebrews*, I trow it be said in this wise, *Memores stitis vinctorum, tanquam una cum illis vinctis: eorum qui afflguntur veluti ipsi quoque versantes in corpore. Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them: be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.*

Answer to the 14th Article.

¶ To the fourteenth Article, where you ask whether holy Martyrs, Apostles and Confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of Saint *Augustine*, in his Book, *De vera Religione*, in his last leaf, where he saith thus: *Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes; honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi.* Again, a little after the same, he saith, *Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, & Dei sapientia incommutabilis, & consubstantialis patri & coæternus susciperet dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse hominem colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali & rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos Angelos, & excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt: neque enim & nos videndo Angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus Angelos & his congratulamur.*

Praying to Saints.

Id est, ejusdem meriti cujus ipsi sunt participes.

Nec invidemus quod ea pariores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam & nos tale aliquid sperare a communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, Templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab Angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset & conservus. This saith S. *Augustine*, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

Angels would have no Temples builded to them.

The content of this unto you I expound, that know no *Latine*, for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this, and all manner of doings, to the intent that all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. Saint *Augustine* in these words would have, that we should worship no men departed, be they never so good and holy, for they seek no such honour, but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet no Angel, ne honour the same, but only in the imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive, not building Churches in the name or honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them; it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the Angels will not that we should build any Churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original, maker, and performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called *honor charitatis*, which is nothing else, but to be loved. Thus saith Saint *Augustine*. Which love we shall testifie in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and Man; which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it (I dare say) as the burthen of Christs Cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to *Calvary*; saying that we need not to fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the Prophet *David* saith, *Cum ceciderit Justus non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit manum*

Men decreed no Saints are not to be worshipped.

The first worshipping of Saints, is following their good acts.

Psa. 35.

suam. That is, to wit, When a just person beginneth to fall, he shall not be born flat down to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to rear him up again. And in the Gospel he biddeth, *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati estis, & ego reficiam vos.* That is to say, *Come* Mat. 11. *you unto me all that do travel and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am soft and meek minded, and you shall find ease thereby in your souls, for my yoke is easie, and my burthen is light.* See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustain the chargeable and sore vexations put upon them of the World, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be disclosed.

Invocation. As touching Invocation, That is, to wit, a calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities and tribulations. As in the *Psalms* every where, as in this, Psal. 50. *Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you.* Mark how he saith here, call upon me, appointing neither Saint *Thomas*, ne Master *John Shorn.* And also in another place, *The Lord is nigh* Psal. 145. *unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly*, and with that he sheweth who calleth truly upon him, saying thus, *He shall do the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall hear graciously their prayer, and make them safe, for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed.*

God only to be exalted. What it is to call truly upon God.

And thus used the holy Prophets, Patriarchs, Apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head Psal. 4. 18. 127. Fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is shewed in other places in this wise; *In my trouble I called upon the Lord* (saith *David*) *and he heard me graciously: when I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me. Also I lift mine eyes unto the Mountains*; but from whence shall help come unto me? *Mine help* (quoth he) *shall come from the Lord that made both Heaven and Earth.* I read the first of these Verses in form of interrogation, following Saint *Augustine*, which (as I remember) interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect form, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know that I want Books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithstanding, I am certain, I shall not decline much from him. The Hills toward the which *David* did lift up his eyes, were Saints and holy men, of whom when he could not have his mind satished, God only is the giver of help, and not Saints. he turned another way, saying, *From whence shall help come unto me?* Anon he remembring himself better, sued unto God himself, of whom incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his wish, and so witnessed the same for our instruction saying, *Mine help is of the Lord*, or cometh from the Lord, *which made Heaven and Earth.* This interpretation (as near as I remember) is after the mind of Saint *Augustine*; And I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, ne disagreeing with the sequel of Scripture.

Mark 13. Joel 2. That is, with a special efficacy for us to mark more attentively. Also in this wise it is reported in the New Testament by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, *Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.* And mark how, *cum energia*, it is said, *upon the name of the Lord*, without any sending of us, either to Saint *Christopher*, (though he be painted never so stout) either to Saint *Patrick's* Purgatory in *Ireland*, or to Saint *James* in *Galicia*, in the year of Grace, or yet to any other Saint or place; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who is alway our Advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins; *and not for our sins only*, 1 John. 2. quoth Saint *John* (who is the Writer of this saying and testimony) *but also for the sins of all the World.* Saint *Augustine* upon the same noteth, that Saint *John* in that place saith, *We have an Advocate*, and that Christ is Advocate for him like as he is for all other to purchase mercy for him, like as he doth for all other that shall be saved; and that Saint *John* will not be known for our Advocate, but that Christ should be taken for Advocate of all.

1 King. Hen. 8. Christ is Advocate as meete as well for us. Angelus Pol. Saints and Apostles, as for us.

Saint *Bede* (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose, as doth Saint *Augustine*, or well more; so that by course of Scripture we are taught to resort for all aid and relief (as I have said) unto the head Spring and Fountain of all comfort and mercy, as Saint *Paul* calleth him, the Father of all mercies, and of all comfort, which is ready to comfort us in all tribulation: *Which* (as the *Psalm* reporteth) *healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities. For he is sweet* (as is said in another place) *and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him.* Yet he sheweth us no where, I trow, of benefits that we shall purchase by praying unto Saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think my self highly beholding to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old; but I ween it cannot be.

Bede upon St. John.

I have made truly long search, yet could I never find any such substantial teaching; howbeit, I offer my self ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, unexpert experience, and feeble discretion had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometime he sheweth some sparkle of light and wisdom to children, hiding the same from other that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the World thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometime with indignation, as the Pharisees did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him, *Thou* John 9. *Caitiff wast born blind for thy sins, and wilt thou teach us that are a great multitude of high officers of the Temple, and Doctors to teach the Law?* As who would say, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at such doing, for so much as Saint *Paul*, in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chapter 1. sheweth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all Ages after ensuing, so that it appertaineth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. *The Doctrine of Christs Cross*, that is, to wit, of the New Testament, *is to them that perish, folly*, (saith he) *but to us that obtain thereby salvation*, 1 Cor. 1. (meaning thereby to such as believe) *it is the might or power of God; for it is written* (saith he) *by the Prophet Esay, That God aforetime, said, he would destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.*

Objection to prove Invocation of Saints taken out of reason.

The reason is this; If when one should desire to come to the speech of our Sovereign to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his Chamberlains, or some other like Officers to bring him to the Kings presence, for else he may wait long in vain, until he be full a cold, ere that he shall speak with his Grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break unto the Saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as Mediators, and Intercessors. But such (with their leave I would speak it) I think are deceived, in that they resemble God and the King together. For though the King be a full gracious Prince (as I have by common report he is) yet is he not in graciousness to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the World, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all mens hearts; so that he needeth no Mediators to inform him of our desires, as the King doth need. And he is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy Saints to be intercessors to him for me.

Answer to the objection wherein is declared that God and all earthly things are not to be conferred.

No comparison between God and an earthly King.

Therefore I passing such apparent reasons, take me to the ensample of Antiquity, I mean of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and the Apostles, and authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself, and his holy Father, forasmuch as he bids us in these words and other like, so to do, saying, *Come* Mat. 11. The Lord only to be sought unto with prayer. *unto me all ye that travel, are vexed and sore charged, and I will refresh and ease you.* Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, which are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth no man for their unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him that we would have; so that I leave unto other what they list to do, praying Jesus that we all may suit for that is most pleasing to him.

But I think concerning my self, that according to Christs own commandment I may without any doubt

1 King. Hen. 8. This Prophecy alledged, *Paul* thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the *Corinthians* from the foolish affiance, vain-glory, or opinion that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the same: *Where are ye now* (quoth he) *the worldly wise, the Scribes*, that is to say, Doctors, and such other like Officers, *Hath not God shewed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisdom of God* (which is shewed in Scripture, I suppose) *the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.* He calleth the Word of God foolish preaching, not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of them that set little or nought thereby, esteeming it as *Esop's* Cock did the precious stone, and as Swine do Pearls.

The wisdom of this World condemned. Why the Gospel is called foolish preaching.

After long proces in the same matter, he concludes thus: *Brethren* (saith he) *you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the belief of the Gospel, nor many mighty men, ne many of noble Parentage, but those that he fools after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to confound the wise*, &c.

Therefore I say (as I said afore) that thanks be to God, albeit I am (as I shewed before) void of such great prudency that other be well endued with, yet I see partly now their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to shew that we ought to pray to Saints departed, to be Mediators for us to Christ. And amongst other, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harp upon the same; some favouring it, other contrariwise effeeming it of no value.

God is nigh, merciful and knowledge incomparable. Might, mercy, knowledge, power, and wisdom to help.

One thing yet I will shew you in this case; of which I was once advertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this, *I will* (quoth he) *pray unto Saints, but that shall be when* The saying of a learned man. *I think that God either cannot, or will not give me my petition.* But that (as I shewed in the Convocation-house) shall never be I hope. And therefore it is to me needless to seek any further about, standing in such truth and belief, as I hope I have found upon Gods sure promise.

Saints are to be prayed to when God is not able or will not hear us.

¶ To the fifteenth Article, where you demand whether the Saints in Heaven, as Mediators, pray for us? I say, That I believe Saints in Heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be entangled and clogged with, as sheweth *Augustine*, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying, in this wise, *Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos suos, aut corpora sua, utrum objecta jaceant an sepulta? Quomodo interjunt miseriæ vivorum? cum vel sua ipsi mala patiantur fatalia merita contraxerunt, vel in pace requiescant, ubi mala nullæ nec patiendo nec compatiendo sustineant, liberati ab omnibus malis quæ patiendo & compatiendo cum hic vivebant, sustinebant.* The summ hereof is, That souls departed feel, nor know of no particular miseries sustained of men living in this World, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forsomuch as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners, but not as Mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace, or atonement betwixt God the Father and Man. Record I take of *Paul*, which in the Epistle to *Timothy*, Chapter 2. 1 Tim. 2. saith, *Unus est Deus, Unus est & Mediator Dei & Hominum, Homo Christus Jesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro omnibus. Erasmus* translateth it, *conciliator Dei & hominum.* That is to say, *There is one God* 1 Tim. 2. *and one Mediator or Peacemaker betwixt God and Man, the Man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.*

Answer to the 15th Article. Saints know no particular miseries on earth. Saints in Heaven whether they pray for us. One Mediator, and what a Mediator is.

Thus I say, I believe Saints in Heaven do pray for us as Petitioners, but not as Mediators. Yea, all the Saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the Day of Judgment may soon come, according to the saying of St. *Paul, Solicita creatura expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat, The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the Sons of God shall be revealed.* And again, *Omnis* Rom. 8. *creatura congemiscit, & nobiscum parturit usque ad hoc tempus, Every creature groaneth with us, and travelleth in pain together unto this present*; which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all other elect of God, to be his Children and Co-inheritors with Christ.

Answer to the 16th Article.

¶ In the sixteenth Article, where you demand, whether I believe that Oblations and Pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the Sepulchres and Relicks of Saints? I say, That what they may be I cannot perfectly tell; for God can so work, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as saith Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, in this wise, *Unto those that love God all things shall well succeed and work together for their furtherance in goodness*: Of whom it is written in the *Psalm*, *Blessed is that Nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors*: Yea, their evil deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to pass for the increase of vertue. For as it is said in the Epistle, *Cui minus remittitur, minus diligit. To whom less is forgiven, he loveth less.* And again, it hurted not *Onesimus*, that he ran away from his Master *Philemon*, but God wrought, that by occasion thereof he met with *Paul*, which converted him to the faith of the Gospel, who before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define, God woteth. But this I say, That God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all Christian people to follow and believe. Yea, that only is of perfect surety, and none other, but as it is agreeable and hath ground of the same. And like as we have no certain Doctrine instituted of Christ, ne his Disciples, teaching us thus to do; no more is there any merit appointed of him therefore, as I shewed afore, where I told my mind of our merits.

Pilgrimages and Oblations.

Rom. 8. Psal. 33. Ecc. 33.

Luke 7. All things work to the best to the godly.

Moreover, where ye put *Pie*, which I call devoutly, very true devotion (that is called in *Latin Pietas*) is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 4. which is nothing else but the observation of Christs Law, that in the *Psalm*, for the pureness thereof is called *Argentum igne examinatum, purgatum septuplum*, Silver fined often, and many times through the fire. It hath no chaff in it, as have Mens Traditions, but is pure and clean Wheat, as sheweth *Jeremy*, writing in this wise, *Quid palea ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad Prophetas, dicit Dominus, qui furantur verba mea unusquisque a proximo suo, & seducunt populum meum in mendacia sua, & in erroribus suis: What is the chaff to the Wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the Prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my Word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errors.* And this devotion is that which Saint *James* calleth the pure Religion of Christ, saying, *Pure and immaculate Religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherless Children and Widows in their vexation.* Whereby he meaneth all needy people that are succourless and helpless, with our counsel and other alms, according to our ability, whensoever we see them in need and distress.

Pie Pietas defined.

1 Tim. 4. Psal. 11.

Jer. 23.

True devotion or pure Religion what it is.

James 1. Pure Religion.

The other part of this Religion shewed by St. *James*, is, *That a man should keep himself clean from the World*; and that do they which be not affectionate to unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them when God shall please or charity so requireth.

Thus doing, we shall follow the exhortation of blessed *Paul*, which writing to the *Corinthians*, saith thus, *Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have Wives should be as they had them not; and those that weep should be as they wept not; and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not; for the fashion of this world passeth away.* And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should not love ne dread any worldly thing, passing measure or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfils the commandment of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospel, where he saith, *Go and sell all that ever thou hast, and come follow me.* For he hath sold away all that ever he hath, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ to help the Poor with all that he may. *Voluntas reputatur pro factis.* The will is accepted for the deed, as is commonly said. And this saying both of *James*, and also of the Evangelist, I think verily belongeth to all Christian men that they should perform it, none except, neither lay man, ne woman (as we use to say) but to them as well as to any whom we call religious.

2 Cor. 7.

Mat. 19. What it is to sell away all for the Gospel.

As concerning the Relicks and Tombs of Saints, I have said to your Lordship afore, what I do think of the Milk of our Lady, the Bloud which they say is at *Hails*, *Norwich*, and other places, with such other, whereof I trust you do what ought to be done. And I beseech God you may do therein as your office doth require, so shewing example to other Prelats to follow your Lordship in good doing, as is comely for a Primat to do; remembring alway, as *Paul* saith, *the time is short*, and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

Relicks and Tombs of Saints. Our Ladies Milk. The blood of Hailes.

Finally, Holy *Moses* when he died, would be so buried, that no man should know which was his Grave, as it is witnessed in the Book of *Deuteronomy*; and that (as the Expositors tellifie) was, because the *Jews*, which were prone to new fangled worshipping, should not fall into Idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold Miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

Moses Tomb unknown.

To conclude, I say, It is no point of my belief, to think that Oblations and Pilgrimages at Saints Graves and Relicks, are meritorious works, ne yet, that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituute by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would desire to know for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

To think Pilgrimage to be meritorious, is no point of our belief.

Answer to the 17th Article.

¶ In the seventeenth, where you do ask, Whether the Fast in Lent, and other appointed by the Common Law, and received in common usage of Christian people (unless necessity otherwise requireth) are to be observed? I say, that in mine opinion they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly done is commendable, for so shall a man avoid sloth, and be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the Poet, *Sine Cerere & Baccho friget Venus*, without Wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold. And as St. *Hieronyme* *Venter mero æstuans fumat in libidinem*, The body enflamed with Wine burneth out into lust.

The saying of Hieron.

Yet shall not the breaking of these Fasts make a man to do deadly sin, except in his mind be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rashness of mind, despight, or such like, forsomuch as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this fort made by man, is the Fast of *Lent*, and other days ordained in your Laws without authority of the Scripture, which willeth us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousness, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I fear have done) yea, and that sparely, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed with drunkenness or surfetting, as is commanded by our Saviour in *Luke*; but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certain Prince that is mentioned (I trow) in *Valerius Maximus*, that never rose from his Meals meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderful a long season, that a man could unneath think it possible for ones life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable Author reported it.

Fast broken is of it self no sin.

No positive law without the foundation of Scripture binding to deadly sin. How to fast truly after the Scripture.

And (to tell the truth) I suppose the Prelats should better have perswaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the Word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so fore a multitude of laws and constitutions; for the nature of man is well described by *Horace*, saying, *Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata: Look what is forbid, that we most desire, and always covet the things that be denied us.* And in another Proverb, *Funis plus æquo tensus rumpitur, The Rope by overmuch straining burseth asunder.* According to this said a good old Father in *Cambridge*. I remember his saying well yet. He was an old Doctor of Divinity; when a Legat came into *England* at a time, and he, with certain Bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all Churches through *England* (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and Priests should

Fasting rather to be perswaded than enforced.

Churches dedicated by days solemnized in England.

{KING Hen. 8.} Gowns forged before. Multitude of Laws.

should have their Gowns made close before, with such other like Ordinances, he resisted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his Diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of Laws pleased him not: For we had enough and abundantly before: adding this reason, *Adam* being in Paradise had but one Law to observe, and yet he brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude do (quoth he) but multiply transgression? For when a Faggot is bound over-strait, the bond must break.

Multitude of Laws unprofitable.

Col. 3.

Joh. 6.

Heb. 8.

As a man readeth, so is he faithoned.

Got therefore I beseech him send us of the sweet dew of his Heavenly Doctrine, to moisten and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like fathioned unto him, putting apart our old *Adam*, with all his dissimulation and painted shew, that is much caused by humane Laws and Constitutions, and putting on Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, *Amen.*

Answer to the 18 Art. Against Images. Psal. 97.

Images not to be worshipped.

¶ Unto the eighteenth, where you ask, Whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipful Images be set in Churches for the remembrance of Christ and his Saints? I say, that I know of no Images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the *Psalm* saith, *Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeysance unto carved Images, and that glory in their pictures.* Moreover, Saint *Augustine* in his Book, *De Vera Religione*, saith thus, Let us not have devotion in worshipping the works of men. Or else thus, Let us not be bound to worship the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship. The *Latin* is thus, *Non sit nobis Religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim sunt ipsi artifices qui talia fabricantur; quos tamen colere non debemus.*

Lact. Divinus contra Cels. Gold, Faiths and Carvers needless to a Commonwealth.

Lactantius also makes strongly with the same; I cannot without Book recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of the same matter. *Origen* also, *contra Celsum*, (I trow) will likewise testifie; where (as I remember) he concludeth, saying, That he would have no Goldsmiths nor Gravers in a Commonalty, for they do but little profit or none thereto.

Gregor. ad Serenum.

And Saint *Gregory* that was chief, either inventor that Images should be set in Churches, or elle maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read, (I trow it is in an Epistle which he writeth *ad Servum*) have them worshipped.

And as concerning the exciting of mens memory, I would suppose that if Christs Doctrine were so shewed and opened that people might clearly understand it (and that is the principal office of Prelates and Curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof) I think verily we should have little need of any other Images, than that which should by wholesome Doctrine be shewed unto us by word of mouth and writing, *Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad commonefaciendum Discipulos, quam viva vox*: Nothing is so effectual to exercise the remembrance of Disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers; as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of Learned men.

The Word and Doctrine serveth to put us in remembrance, and not Images.

So that I suppose if this lively Doctrine of God had aforetime been apertly and diligently opened unto the people, as Curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting up or taking down of other dumb stocks, and liveless stones, carved or made by men; and if Prelates would begin to set up Christs word (which also for pity is not looked upon, but rather trodden down and delejected, so that many are not athamed to say, I will have no more learning in Christs Law than my Predecessors; for they that magnifie it must be fore punished, and taken for Hereticks, with such other grievous words) if this Doctrine were yet set up in Churches, I say, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear, I think we should not greatly need the pront that cometh by Images made of men, to excite our remembrances to live Christianly.

The true Image of God in his Word and his Works.

For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of other that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, sheweth full perfectly his blessed Will, which is the true and certain Image of his mind and device. If this therefore were diligently inculcate, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of *Paul*, which writing to the *Colossians*, saith thus, *See that you live not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovate after the knowledge and image of him that made us.* Yea, thus should we all be *Docti a Deo*, taught of God, as is said in *John*, and all should know God both small and great, according to the promise recited in the *Hebrews*; yea, thus should we be restored to goodness, that we should have the image of God carved in our hearts full expretly. For every man is transformed into the fashion of vertuous things, that he is accustomed to read and hear. And therefore it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise, that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to pass, that Craftsmen should sing Spiritual Psalms sitting at their works, and the Husbandman at his Plough, as witheth Saint *Hierome.*

The best Image of God is his Word.

Yea, this holy Image of Christ, I mean his blessed Doctrine, doth appoint us also to contider the works made by the hand of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith Saint *Paul*, writing to the *Romans*, *The Invisible power and Divinity of God is known and seen by the creation of the World, of such as will consider his works that are therein by him made.* Look in the *Psalm*, *Laudate Dominum de Cœlis, Cœli enarrant*, &c. *Praise ye the Lord from Heaven. The Heavens declare the Glory of God.* With others. And these two Images, Gods Works and his Doctrine, have, e're any Images made by men were set up in Churches, well and sufficiently instructed the Primitive Church, and should yet instruct us well, if they were well conficered; so that we should not need so fore to contend for setting up of other made by men. Whereby I have perceived much harm to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them but rather contrary. As concerning which matter, I would your Lordship would please to read the Epistle of *Baruch* once again, writing of the same matter.

Rom. 1. Psal. 148. Psal. 19.

Gods Works and his Word the right Images of God.

Unto the nineteenth, where you ask, whether I believe that Prayers of men living do profit fouls departed, and being in Purgatory? I made answer in the thirteenth Article.

Answer to the 19 Art.

Answer to the 20 Art. Truth taken many times for Heresie, and Heresie for Truth.

Unto the twentieth, where you do ask, whether men merit and deserve both by their fasting, and also by other deeds of Devotion? I have shewed what I do think thereof, in the fifth demand.

In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men prohibited of Bishops to preach, as suspect of Heresie, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspition, or an higher Judg? I say, that men may be wrongfully suspected of Heresie, either because they never thought to believe such Errors, as men by false suspition do deem them to favour; or elle, when men as well of high estate, as of low, by sinister judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh *Esay*, *Wo be to them*, quoth he, *that call the light darkness, and the darkness light; the truth falshood, and the falshood truth.* As the Bishops and the Priests, with their Orator *Tertullus*, called *Paul*, saying thus before a Judg called *Felix*, unto whose Court they brought him to be condemned to death, *We have*, quoth they, *gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer up of the Sect of the Nazarens, which was also minded to have polluted our Temple*, &c. This is to call by perverse judgment, truth falshood. And thus did their Predecessors speak of the Prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of Heresie: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected (as I would none were) ought in no wise therefore to cease neither from preaching ne teaching.

Answer to the 21 Art. Truth taken for falshood. Falshood taken for a truth. Act. 24. Esay 5. Whether men prohibited, ought to cease from preaching.

Truth taken for falshood. In what cases men forbidden, ought not to cease from preaching.

Act. 4. & 5.

Ensample of this we have in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, where is shewed, that when *Peter* and *John* had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused

caused to go where he pleased) the people hearing of this, came running about *Peter* and *John*. *Peter* seeing this, did exhort the people in a Sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow Saint *John*, to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the worke of Christ, whom they and their head-rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the Priests and Officers of the Temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being fore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the Name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified, and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward until next day. The next day they sent for the Apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle? *Peter* made answer, *If you*, quoth he, *that are head rulers over the people, last by examination to* Acts 4. *know by what means we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the Name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucifie: but God did cause him to arise again. In the vertue of his Name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and found. For Christ is that head corner-stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the peoples faith upon him, neither is there any Salvation without him.*

These great men seeing that *Peter* spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow *John*, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, being like idiots, and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At the last they did command them to depart out of their Councel-house, whiles they should commune more largely of the matter. Afterward they called the Apostles afore them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, Peter and the Apostles prohibited by the Pharisees to preach Christ. Act. 4. ne teach in the Name of Jesus. But the Apostles answered, saying, *I beseech you judge better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? For certainly we must needs testifie of those things which we have both heard and seen.* Then the head Priests threatening them fore, did give them strait charge not to break their Precept, and so did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared left the people would have taken part with the Apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle thewed by them.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, *Peter* wrought Miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Jesus, by whose Power and Name they were done. Wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy; so that they followed after the Apostles whithersoever they went.

Peter disobeyed the Precept of the Pharisees.

The Primate of the Priests hearing of this, and all that were about him repleat with indignation, laid hands upon the Apostles, putting them in the common Prison. But the Angel of God in the night opened the Prison-doors, and brought them out, saying, *Go you into the Temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life.* That is to say, Christs Doctrine; and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief Priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a Council, in which were all the Priests of *Israel*, or Ancients of *Israel*. So they sent unto the Prison-house to have the Apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the Prison-house, and found the Apostles gone thence, they returned to their Masters, saying, We found the Prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without full diligently. But when we had opened the Prison, we could find no body within.

Peter delivered out of prison.

Act. 5. Then as the High Priests and Officers of the Temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and shewed them, saying, Behold the men that ye put in Prison are standing in the Temple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the Apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid left the people would have beaten them down with stones.

Then they caused the Apostles to be brought into their Council-house, the High Priest beginning his Proposition against the Apostles in this form: Have we not straitly commanded you (said he) that you should not preach in the Name of Christ? And see, you have filled all *Hierusalem* with your Doctrine. Will you bring this mans blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death? Then answered *Peter* and the other Apostles, saying, *We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our Fathers hath raised Jesus from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.*

{KING} 1 Hen. 8. God to be obeyed more than men. Act. 5.

These great Rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the Apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the Apostles again afore them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus, and so did let them depart.

The Counsell of Gamaliel.

Then went they away out of the Council, rejoycing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his Names sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ, every day in the Temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practise is thewed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or infamed of Heresie, and so prohibited by Bishops to preach the Word of God, that they ought for no mans commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves afore them, for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judg in their own causes, and that as they lust, which me thinks, is not at all comely. Therefore in the old Law the Priests and other Judges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversie. Act. 4, 5, 6.

Wrongful prohibition ought not to stop the preaching of Gods Word Priests Prelates Judges in their own cause.

Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causeless suspect, and namely if he be so found faulty of Heresie, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, until he have made his Purgation before some Judge. But in my rude opinion, it were necessary and convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved, from preaching, especially in this season, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre, or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

Suspicion to be proved.

¶ In the two and twentieth, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all Priests freely to preach the Word of God or no, and that in all places, at all places, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that Priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *Presbyteri* & *Sacerdotes*. The first is to say, ancient men, Seniors, or Elders, and by that word or vocable are the Secular Judges, or such like head Officers, sometime also signified, as we read in *Daniel*, that they were so called which defamed and wrongfully accused *Susanna*: that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as those to be called *Presbyteri*, which are set to be Prelates in the Church to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed Doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christs Faith. And Priests thus called *Presbyteri*, in the Primitive Church (what time were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his Apostles) were the very same and none other but Bishops, as I shewed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. *Hierome*.

Answer to the 22 Article.

Priests Prelates ought to preach, else they be not sent.

Bishops & Presbyters all one.

Paul also recordeth the same right evidently in the first to *Titus*, in this form: *I left thee Titus* (quoth blessed *Paul*) *behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed, and that thou shouldest set Priests in every Town, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproach, or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly, for so ought a Bishop* Priests have power ministry in Scripture Presbyters & Sacerdotes. Tit. 1.

{KING} 1 Hen. 8. Description of a true Priest. Guiltyness of truth are to be represented by Scriptures, and not by authority only, or traditions of men, made in General Councils.

Bishop to be, &c. These are not my words, but Saint *Paul*'s in the Epistle to *Titus*. Where you may see that a Priest called *Presbyter*, should be the same that we call a Bishop, whom he requireth a little after, to be able by wholesom Doctrine of Gods Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same Doctrine, and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a Bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a Priest) to make exhortation by holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in General Councils. And as many as are in this wise Priests, which are commonly called *Presbyteri* (otherwise Bishops) such as in the Church are set to take Cure of souls, and to be spiritual Pastors, ought to preach freely the Word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edifie and profit.

What Ministers be sent. Gregorie Pastoral.

And whereas you add this Particle; *Though they were not sent*; I say, that all such are chosen to be Preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaketh St. *Gregory* in his Pastorals, in this wise; *Prædicationis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit*: Whosoever taketh Priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the Office of preaching. Yea, your Law reporteth in like manner, *Distinct.* 43. where it is thus said, A Priest ought to be honest, that he may shew honesty both in words and conditions. Wherefore it is said in the *Canticles, The cheeks of the Spouse*, that is, to wit, of Preachers, *are to be compared to a turtle Dove.* Dist. 43.

Where it must never added, He must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith S. *Hierome*) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by exampie giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence keeping; for Wolves must be driven away by barking of Dogs, and by the Shepherds staff, which (as the Gloss sheweth) signifieth preaching, and sharp words of the Priest. And this I understand of such as should be Priests elect both by God and Men, in Gods Church, whose office is to preach.

Multitude hereth not authority.

And though many of them which now do minister in the Church, and are elect by Bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christs Institution, and the form of the Primitive Church, neither do, ne can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me, or other, that are compelled to shew the truth and right ordinances of the Apostles, that was used aforetime in the Primitive Church: God bring it in again. Neither ought we for the negligence of Bishops, which have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of Priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do shew you thereof, to be so enforced by a Book-Oath, and therefore noted as Hereticks, imprisoned and burned.

Bishops.

Other be called Priests in the New Testament, by this word *Sacerdotes*, that is to say, I think, Sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called *Rex & Sacerdos*, King and Priest, so be all Christian men in the New Testament (as is testified *Apoc.* 1.) by Christ made Kings and Priests. The words in the *Apocalyps* be thus, *To Jesus Christ which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his blood, and made us Kings and Priests unto God, even his Father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever. Amen.* Apoc. 1.

1 Pet. 2. Note upon the 8 Epistle of S. Peter.

And here saith S. *John*, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said, 1 *Pet.* 2. where he writeth unto all Christian men, *You*, quoth he, *be a chosen Generation, a regal Priesthood, an holy People.* S. *Bede* expounding the same (as my remembrance doth serve) shall testifie plainly with me. And S. *Augustine*, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all Christian men be so called, *Regale Sacerdotium.* And likewise doth *Faber*, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the Treatise called *Unio dissidentium*, shall find a multitude of ancient Fathers sayings, declaring the same.

How all men are Priests.

But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called Priests, and that in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many other, when we read it first; because we never read ne heard of the same before it and so did Christs Doctrine and his Apostles seem new to his Audience, when he himself preached.

Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the Law and Prophets, as is shewed in the first of the *Romans*, where *Paul* reporteth, *That he was chosen apart to be a Minister of the Gospel that was promised before by the Prophets.* And our Saviour testifieth the same in St. *John*, saying to the *Jews*, *Think you not*, quoth he, *that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if you believed Moses, you should certainly believe me, for he writeth of me*, &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him. Rom. 1. Joh. 5.

But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same (God amend and help it, when it shall please him) yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the Doctors above named, and so was it preached of a certain Doctor also of Divinity in *London*, the second day of *Advent* last past, in this sentence. I wote not whether these were the self words or no. The Church, quoth the Doctor, is nothing else but the Congregation of faithful people: and you all, quoth he to the people, are of the Church, as well as I, or any other, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are Priests, but yet are not all alike ordained Ministers, said he, to consecrate the Body of Christ in the Church. Thus said the Preacher: whom when I see opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these I say ought not all to preach openly in general Conventions or Assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolk, and such like, to speak that should be for the edification of vice, and increase or upholding of vertue, whensoever time and place requireth, as sheweth St. *Paul*, saying in this wise, *You that are Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger, but bring them up in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Lord.* The saying of a Doctor preaching at Paules. All be Priests, but not all Ministers publick. Every man Minister of good instruction in his own house. Ephes. 6.

In the three and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay-men of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women to sacrifice and preach the Word of God? I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion to preach openly the Word of God, except they be chosen and elect to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both, and therefore St. *Paul* calleth himself in all his Epistles, an Apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And the *Galathians* he writeth thus, *Paul an Apostle, not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.* Also to the *Romans*, *How shall men preach truly*, quoth he, *except they be sent?* Answer to the three and twentieth Article. No man to preach openly, except he be chosen. Gal. 1. Rom. 5.

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of Gods Law, and also of Laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay-people may preach, and that of both kinds, both men and women, as you may see in the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, where he saith, *That it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation.* Yet in another place he saith, *That every woman praying or prophecying, having nothing upon her head doth dishonour her head.* In time of great necessity, lay-people, man or woman, may preach. 1 Cor. 14. 1 Cor. 11

To this accords the Prophesie of *Joel* recited *Act.* 2. where in the person of God it is said thus, *I shall pour out of my spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesie.* Thus did *Anna* the Prophetess, daughter of *Phanuel*, give praise unto Christ in the Temple, and spake of him to all men of *Jerusalem*, that looked after the redemption of *Israel*. Joel 2. Act. 2. Luk. 2. Women Prophesied in the Scripture.

This also doth yet speak unto us in the Scripture the Virgin *Mary*, by the Song which she made, that is daily recited in the Church, called *Magnificat*. Yea *Stephen* also being no Priest, but a Deacon, made a wonderful good Sermon, *Act.* 7. This also willeth your Decrees, *Dist.* 9. *de Consc.* where it is thus said, A woman although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the Congregation, ne Baptize, except necessity requireth. So that where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the Law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the Word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, *Cap.* 16. *Quæst.* 1. *& in Glossa. Cap.* 11. *Cap. adjicimus. Distinct.* 18. And I beseech God, that for lack of true and well learned Officers such necessity do not come now upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach. Act. 7. Distinct. 9. de Consecrat. Cap. 16 & 1. Dist. 18. cap. adjicimus.

There

He meeteth the Dialogue of Erasmus, Intituled, Abbat & Eruditus.

There is a learned man, which in a Dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude Abbot and a Gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest (as his manner is) and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the Dialogue. The Gentlewoman answering the Abbot, for that he had partly checked her, because she was quick in utterance of learning: Sir, quoth she, if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it (as they begin fast to grow quick in sight) it is to be feared, lest they will set you beside the Saddle, and put us in your rooms.

Sacrifice doing. Sacrifice in offering our bodies.

As concerning Sacrifice-doing, (so do I understand by the word which you do use, *Libare*, not knowing else what it should mean) I say, that it is lawful for all men and women to do Sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by Sacrifice doing, to say Mass, as Priests used to do, thereunto appointed: but like as Christian people be *Sacerdotes*, that is to say, Sacrificers, as is shewed afore, so ought they to offer, and do offer Spiritual sacrifices, as writeth Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, saying, *I beseech you brethren, for the love of Gods mercy, that you will give your body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping.* In that he saith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it slain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed, should be first slain. But he joyneth therewith, *Living*; saying, *Give your body to be a living sacrifice.* So that he would we should continue to live in this body to Gods pleasure, but fleeing the evil lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we do die, give unto our reason overmuch of the Brinot whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy, as when men will take in hand to devise, by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is institute by Christ (which is the wisdom of his Heavenly Father) saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow. Of whom it is said by the Prophet *Esay* in these words, *The people approach near unto me, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but they do worship me in vain, teaching Doctrines that are lawes or precepts of men.*

Sacrifice true and lively. Rom. 12

Esay 29.

Rom. 12

Then *Paul* proceedeth shewing of this Christian sacrifice, saying, *And apply not your selves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed by renovation of your mind, that you may know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable, and right full before him.* See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortifie our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the Will of God, and following after the same.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth, is, that we should alway offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is to wit, the fruits of our lips, that *Osee* calleth *Vitulos Labiorum*, giving laud unto his name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our neighbours: *For in such sacrifice* (saith he) *God hath delight.*

Sacrifice of praise. *Paul* table-wise. Osee. 14. Heb. 13.

Thus I say, that by plain suffrage of your Law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay-persons in necessity and in time of need may lawfully preach or shew the Word of God, and also do sacrifice; but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

Thus have you herein my mind: which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is shewed, as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methink the Decrees do pass evidently with me.

To the 24 Article.

¶ In the twenty 4th where you do ask, Whether Excommunication, denounced by the Pope against all Hereticks, do oblige and bind them before God? I say, That it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named, and if he denounceth them so to be out of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of other gathered with him in Christs name, for the behoof of Christs Church: For so used Saint *Paul*, when he did Excommunicate the man of *Corinth*, which had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth 1 *Cor.* 5.

Excommunication. Excommunications requireth consent of other.

1 Cor. 5.

Mat. 18. ¶ And the same form declareth the Gospel, *Mat.* 18. in these words, *If thy brother hath trespassed against thee,* 5 KING 18. 8. *go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will hear thee thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, shew it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a Paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in Heaven.* So that such Excommunication ought to be done (as methinketh) by the Congregation assembled together with their Pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be vertuous and godly.

And thus is it convenient to be done. For the Pope is made of flesh as well as other men, and therefore he may sometime judg awry, curfing the bleffed, and bleffing the curfed. And likewife may other Prelates, judging the Chriftian to be Hereticks, and Hereticks Chriftian. Of whom it is alfo written in the Prophefie of *Ezechiel*, *Mortificabant animas quæ non moriuntur, & vivificabant animas quæ non vivunt: They flew the fouls of them that fhould not die, and gave life to the fouls that fhould not live.* As did the Phariſees when they did caſt Chriſt out of the Vineyard, which ſignifieth the Church, *Mat.* 21. And as our Saviour prophefied in the nineteenth of *John*, ſaying unto his Diſciples, *There ſhall be* (quoth he) *ſome that ſhall Excommunicate you: yea, and the time ſhall come, that whoſoever ſhall ſlay you, ſhall think to do honour to God; and this ſhall they do unto you, becauſe they do neither know my Father nor me.* Theſe words be written in the Goſpel of *Joh.* 19. Whereby you ſee, that for lack of knowldg of God, which is taught and ſeen by the light of Scripture, Chriſt prophecied how lewd men ſhould lewdly Excommunicate the good, yea and ſlay his true ſervants, thinking through ſuch facts to pleaſe God, and to do him good ſervice.

The Pope may err.

Ezech. 13

Mat. 21.

Joh. 19.

Wherefore ſend, O Lord, I beſeech thee, the knowledg of thee to be dilated upon earth, which *Oſee* beſaith for, ſeeing it abſent, whereby mens judgments may be rectified, and ſo do accordingly to the leading of the ſame.

Oſe. 4.

¶ In the five and twentieth, where you do ask whether every Prieſt is bound to ſay daily his Mattens and Evening-ſong, according as it is ordained by the Church, or whether he may leave them unſaid, without offence or deadly ſin? I ſay that Prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and unmeaſurable benefits are ſhewed to enſue thereupon, that men ſhould the more luſtily give themſelves thereto. With prayer doth Saint *Paul* bid us to fight in divers places, continuing in the ſame againſt our ghoſtly enemies. A figure of this is read in *Exodus*, when the *Iſraelites* fought in battel againſt a Nation of Infidels; I trow their Captain was called *Amalech*. *Moſes* ſtood upon a mountain to behold what ſhould be the concluſion, and lifting up his hands prayed that it might well ſucceed with the *Iſraelites*, but in long holding them up, at laſt his fervor began to grow cold and faint, and his hands ſagged downward, and ever as his hands grew heavy (which ſignifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold) the Infields prevailed, but as he kept them heaved upward (whereby was meant intentive prayer of a devout mind) he purchaſed victory to the *Iſraelites*. *Aaron* and *Hur*, which indited the Law to the people, and were thereof the Interpreters, ſtood with *Moſes*; which always, as they did fee his arms to faint, did uphold them, ſo that finally the victory came unto *Iſrael*.

To the 25 Article.

Exod. 17

The virtue of Prayer.

By *Moſes* is ſignified, as ſhew great Clerks, Devotion: By *Aaron* and *Hur*, the knowledg of Gods Doctrine. Which two things (Devotion I mean, and Knowledg) all men had need to have preſent with them: for Devotion doth elevate the mind to God; but knowledg doth ſuſtain or uphold the ſame, that it may with courage continue not falling down, but ſo alway doth incenſe and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the preſence of our Heavenly Father, where they ſavour together far more ſweetly than any fumigation either of Juniper, Incenſe, or whatſoever elſe, be they never ſo pleaſant, do ſavour in any mans noſe.

Devotion and knowledg to be joyned together.

Devotion a deceivable thing.

Therefore

5 KING 18. 8.

Therefore Saint *Paul* ſeeing how neceſſary the knot of theſe two, Devotion and Knowledg of Gods Will, was, which is ſhewed in Scripture (as teacheth Saint *Cyprian* in theſe words, The Will of God, ſaith he, is that which Chriſt hath taught and wrought) *Paul*, I ſay, ſeeing this wiſhed to be excommunicate and ſeparate from God, to have the *Jews* come to the knowledg of Chriſts Church, which is the only right way to ſalvation, for whom he prayed right ſtudiouſly, as appeareth a little after, in the tenth Chapter to the *Romans*, ſaying, *I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledg of Chriſts Doctrine*, &c. Where you may clearly ſee how the *Jews* (as St. *Paul*, which is no lyer, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledg therewith. *Moſes* was amongſt them, but *Aaron* was away: whoſe abſence pained *Paul* ſo ſore, that he ravithed with exceeding charity, wiſhed no ſmall harm unto himſelf upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgment, even to be ſeparated from God.

Moſes not to be without *Aaron.*

Devotion without knowledg hurtfull.

It muſt needs be then greatly hurtful, albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledg of God and his Law, ſignified by *Aaron*.

Act. 26.

Saint *Paul* alſo before that he came to knowledg had ſuch like devotion himſelf, as he reporteth, *Acts* the ſix and twentieth. In theſe words, *All the Jews*, quoth he, *have known my living, that I have lead ſince I entred into mans age* (which time, as I remember, is accounted from the ſixteenth or eighteenth year of a mans life, in *Latin* he calleth it *adoleſcentia*) *which from the beginning thereof, was*, ſaith he, *at Jeruſalem among mine own Nation, that did know me afore alſo from the beginning, if they would ſay the truth, and that I lived after the moſt ſtrait Order or Sect of our Religion, being a Phariſee. And I*, quoth *Paul* a little after, *thought to do many things in fighting againſt the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, yea and did alſo being at Jeruſalem, and I thruſt many Saints or holy men into priſon, having power given me thereto of the High Prieſts, and when they ſhould be put to death I gave ſentence, and I*, quoth he, *was commonly in all Synagogues puniſhing them, and compelling them to blaſphemy* (as men are fain now a days, when the Biſhops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the Goſpel) *yea moreover did I*, quoth *Paul*, *rage againſt them, purſuing after them into ſtrange lands.*

The zeal of Saul without devotion.

Zeal without knowledg.

See what zeal *Paul* had to God, afore he was inſtructed in the Doctrine of Chriſt. He thought to have pleaſed God highly in perſecuting his ſervants, of whom one was St. *Stephen*. He was then fore blinded through ignorance, and wanted the aſſiſtance of *Aaron*: but anon, as Chriſt which is the true *Aaron*, had appeared unto him, asking him, and ſaying, in a lamentable form, *O Saul, Saul, why doeſt thou thus perſecute me*, in troubling and ſtriking my ſervants the members of mine own body? Of whom it is ſaid, *He that ſmiteth you, ſhall ſmite the tender ball of mine eye*: His heart fell (I dare ſay) ſo low as his body, that is, even down to the earth, repenting himſelf full ſore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way, as appeareth by his anſwer, where he ſaith, *O Lord, what will thou have me to do?* as though one would ſay, Now I ſee all that I thought to have done afore of good intention, and good purpoſe or devotion, hath deceived me. I find it otherwiſe. That which I eſteemed good, in very deed is and was naught.

Act. 2.

Zach. 2.

Teach me therefore, good Lord, quoth he, a better way, and amend my judgment, that mine own will or intention forſaken, I may now follow thine, to pleaſe thee, and to do thy will. And ſo he came to *Ananias*, by the aſſignment of Chriſt; the thick filthineſs of his old waywards judgment fell away, as appeareth by the droſs or rubbiſh that came from his eyes, even like ſcales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgment, which is directed after the ſtraight rule of the Goſpel. Whereby you may ſee that mens devotion may oft beguile and ſeduce them, except knowledg do aſſiſt the ſame, to ſuſtain and direct it: which knit together ſhall much ſtrengthen men in all trouble and temptations.

So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledg: and that ſheweth full notably *Eraſmus*, in the ſecond paſſage of *Enchiridion*, where he teſtifieth but of eaſie liking, that he hath in ſaying of Mattens, yea rather contrariwiſe he ſheweth diſliking, and ſo he doth alſo in his Expoſition of *Pſal.* 1. *Beatus vir*, where the Text maketh agreeably for the ſame: it is written in this wiſe, *Bleſſed is the man that hath not gone after the counſel of the wicked, and hath not ſtood in the way of ſinners, nor ſit in the chair of peſtilence: but hath his will in the Law of God, and ſhall muſe or be occupied in it both day and night.*

Pſal. 1.

Eraſmus in Enchiridion. Saying Mattens.

See how the Prophet (which I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that Will and pleaſure of God, as ever did any Pope or general Council, or whatſoever they were beſide, that ordained long ſervice to be ſaid of Prieſts teſtifieth them to be bleſſed, that ſtudy and are exerciſed in the Law of God both day and night, that is, to wit, always. A great promiſe put of God to ſuch bleſſed exerciſe, which we may call right devotion, or true godlineſs. For *Paul* deſining godlineſs, ſaith thus, *Pietas ad omnia utilis eſt, ut quæ promiſſiones habeat præſentis vitæ & futuræ.* That is, to wit, *Godlineſs is profitable unto all things, for that hath annexed thereto promiſes of this life preſent, and of the life to come.*

What is true Godlineſs, or Piety. 1 Tim. 4.

But no ſuch promiſe is made of God, I am certain, to them that ſay daily Mattens. Neither are we certain by the Word of God, that we ſhall therefore be bleſſed of him, no more than we are certain, that for ſaying over the fifteen *Ooes*, every day once through an whole year, we ſhall apertly ſee our Lady to aid us afore our death, as it is teſtified in the Scripture of the Primer, but not by Scripture of the Bible; or that we ſhall have a like benefit for ſaying of her Pſalter upon the ten Beads that cometh from the croſſed Friers, or upon the five Beads hallowed at the Charter-houſe, or ſaiting the Ladies faſt, as men call it; ne for faſting on the *Wedneſday*, as is ſhewed by a Book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that luſteth, for it is neither the New Teſtament ne the old.

No promiſe of God for ſaying of Mattens.

The 15 Ooes.

Our Ladies Pſalter.

Faſting our Ladies Faſt.

They are condemned you wot well, and I perhaps ſhall have a little leſs favour because I tell the truth freely, for ſuch things are called offenſive. But would God, that all perſons ſo thinking, would remember what anſwer Chriſt made unto his Diſciples in the 15th of *Matthew*, when they came to him, and warned him to beware, ſaying, *You know that the Phariſees are offended, hearing ſuch words ſpoken.* I will leave out Chriſts anſwer, leſt I ſhould be thought over free and plain in taxing or uttering of abuſions, and ſpeak no further.

Mat. 15.

A like demand, with anſwer thereunto annexed, ſhall you find in the eleventh of *Luke*, where Chriſt would not refrain to ſpeak any deal more eaſily. Therefore I beſeech them that deem me (God worteth whether righteouſly or no) ſlanderouſly, to reviſe the faid places, and then counſel me to do that ſhall be moſt expedient to follow, if their charity will ſo require. Yet would I that all people ſhould know that I do not reprove that ſaying of the fifteen *Ooes*, which (ſo far forth as my remembrance doth ſerve) is a very good prayer, or ſuch like prayers; ne would I that any perſon ſhould think me to diſallow any ſecret faſtings; for ſuch, not only preſent with you, but even from hence abſent, have I commended in earneſt ſpeaking, and ſo intend to do by the aſſiſtance of Gods grace. Nevertheleſs ſuch vain promiſes I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the ſame. For ſuch do cauſe vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and ſeducing them from the right belief of the Goſpel (which Chriſtian men ought only to build their faith upon) unto new inventions of vanity. S. *Paul* calleth ſuch, *old womens tales*, where he writeth unto *Timothy*, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away.

Luke 11.

Faſtings commended.

The Prophet *David* likewiſe doth accord thereunto, ſaying, *Beatus vir cujus eſt nomen Domini ſpes ejus, & non reſpexit in vanitates & inſanias falſas: Bleſſed*, quoth he, *is the man that hath in the Name of God his aſſiance or hope, and hath not looked back to vanities and falſe dotages or madneſs.* And this I ſay again, That the Mattens-ſaying hath no more promiſe of God made to the ſayers, than hath the other above named, for they were inſtitute by the fantaſie or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think the Prieſts which will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought ſo to be charged or incumbred with ſaying of them, that they thereby ſhould be hindred from the ſtudy of that, which how belongeth principally both to their own ſouls ſal-

Pſal. 40.

vation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of Priests doth require (I mean the study of his Gospel) whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christs flock, the Congregation of his people, according to the saying
Joh. 10. of our Saviour in *John*: *I*, (quoth he) *am the door, whosoever shall come in by me, shall both come in, and go out, and find good pasture or feeding*: that is to say, Whosoever shall enter to be a Pastor or Minister in Christs Church or Congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of Gods glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and shew the same abroad to other for their wealth and edifying.

To this accordeth that is written in *Luke*, whereas our Saviour speaketh to all his Church signified in the person
Luk. 22. of St. *Peter*. *Peter*, quoth he, *I have prayed that thy faith should not fail, and thou being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren*. So that he would have *Peter* established first in faith of his sure Doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach other to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all Priests to be called *Presbyteri*, which will be Ministers in the Church; for so biddeth St. *Peter* in his first Epistle, in the last Chapter,
1 Pet. 5. saying thus, *I beseech the Priests*, quoth he, *that are among you, I my self being a Priest and a witness bearer of Christs afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, see that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as inforced thereto, but willingly; not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns or ensample-givers to the flock.* See how he requireth of Priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christs flock, and to shew good ensample of living, making no mention of long Mattens-saying, which then were not mentioned nor spoken of.

Ignorance mother of Error.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form; ignorance, saith the Law (mark it well I beseech you all) is the mother of all errors. Which ought to be eschewed especially of Priests, that among the people of God have taken upon them the office of preaching: Priests are commanded to read holy Scriptures, as saith *Paul* the
2 Tim. 4 Apostle to *Timothy*, *Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching, and continue always in the same*. Let Priests therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edifie all men both in knowledg of Faith, and in Discipline of good works.
Dist. 38. These be the words of the Law in the Decrees, *Dist.* 38. Wherefore you see how the Law lamenteth ignorance in all persons, for it is the original of all errors. God send us therefore the knowledg of his true Gospel. It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally of Priests, and labour and diligence should be bestowed all in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same, bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the Apostle, which willeth it in like manner.

Priests to give themselves rather to study than to saying of Mattens.

What Priests ought to study.

Moreover, it requireth that Priests should give all their study to edifie other in faith and vertuous living. Whereof I do gather both by the saying of the Prophet, that willeth us to be studious in the Law of God day and night, and by the saying of the Apostle, which would have *Timothy* to be occupied ever in reading and teaching, and by the report of your own Law, which saith likewise, That a Priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a Priest set thus truly to study, that he may stablish himself in the faith of Christs Doctrine, intending after to help other with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity, assigned in the Law of God, shall not offend deadly, if so spending his time, he omitteth to say Mattens, which is an Ordinance of men.

Negligence of Bishops in making Priests no-ted.

Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made Priests by negligent admission of Bishops, and their own presumption, that labour to be made Priests before they be any Clerks, and e're ever they know what is the very office of a Priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be a Curate, they recke not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding after that the study of Scripture, after they are come to *Dominus vobiscum*: for such I do think long Mattens to be needful, to restrain them from other enormities that they should else run into. Of which you may be weary to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one Mattens were as long to them as five, except they could beltow their time better.

{KING Hen. 8.}

¶ In the six and twentieth where you do ask, whether I believe that the Heads or Rulers by necessity of salvation are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their Mother-language? I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the Mother-tongue, that they may have it by them at all times to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in *France* under the *French* Kings priviledg, and also the priviledg of the Emperor, and so do I know that they have had it these fifty four years in *France* at the least, and it was translated at the request of a King called, I trow, *Lewis*, as appeareth by the priviledg put in the beginning of the Book.

To the 26 Article.

Scriptures in the vulgar Tongue.

Whether for any cause the Scripture may be restrained from the people.

Sed frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum; But without cause you spread the Net before the eyes of the Birds or Fowls. I shew you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the Bishops have not sith amended it, if so be they could, that the People might have it to use and occupy vertuously.

Prov. 1.

The French Bible translated into the French Tongue, with the Kings priviledg, about fifty years before Lanbertine time.

The Psalter translated by the King of England into the Saxon Tongue. Read before

A perfect reason why Scripture ought not to be withdrawn from the people at any time.

S. Guthlak's Psalter.

And here I will add one reason. The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of mans soul. This is shewed to be true in many places of Scripture; like as other corporal meat is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind Father that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our Bishops be no gentle Pastors or Fathers, that keep away the food of mens souls from them (specially when other do offer the same) both months, years, and ages. Neither do I see any opportunity of time or reasonable advisements that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away, but the contrary rather, for it is reasonable, convenient, and needful for men to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry, and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our *Pater Noster*, saying, *Give us Lord our*
Matth. 5. *heavenly bread.*

Bede translated the Gospel of St. John into English.

To the 28 Article.

¶ In the eight and twentieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that Confecrations, Hallowings and blessings used in the Church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them, neither can I therefore over much speak of them all, seeing I know them not; such as are the hallowing of Bells, the hallowing of Pilgrims when they depart to *Rome*, the hallowing of Beads, and such like: But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: When the Priest hath consecrated holy Bread, he saith, Lord bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health, &c. Which I would every man might say in English when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

Joh. 3. *naughtily hateth the light, and will not have their doings known.* And therefore they keep down the light strongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and reproved, yea and all men should see among, whether those that hold against unrighteousness, being therefore sometime horribly infamed and slandered, named Hereticks and Schismaticks, were in deed as they be called or not.

The cause why the Scripture is not suffered to come to light.

Hallowings and blessings some allowed and some not. Hallowing of Bread. Blessing of him that goeth to read the Gospel.

Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the Gospel; the Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and shew forth his blessed Gospel. Which is also spoken over a Preacher taking Benediction when he shall go into a Pulpit. And such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they mean, that they with joy of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of
1 Cor. 9. S. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 9. where he wisheth, *rather to speak five words in the Church heartily with understanding, wherewords by other might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown*. Yea, to say truth, and truth it is indeed that I shall say; a good thing, the further the vertue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in mens hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to see, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things.

Divers such Testaments are yet to be seen in divers places of a long continuance.

Errors found in the translated Testament where note was, Italice never sith well.

Thus I conclude; That consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the Church (so far forth as I remember and know be commendable. Of other I can give no sentence, wishing even as I trust men shall once see it come to pass, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

To the 29 Article.

¶ In the nine and twentieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the Pope may make Laws and Statutes to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such Laws and Statutes be not contrary to the Law of God? I say, that if it be true that is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, Laws be never confirmed until they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the Popes Laws bind all Christian men, for the Greeks and the *Bohemians* will (as you do know full well) never admit them, but do refuse them utterly; so that I do not find that his Laws may bind all Christian men.

Laws and observances of the Pope whether they bind to deadly sin.

The Popes not receiv-ed of all men.

Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make Laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the King or the Emperor: And to say sooth, I say, (as I have said afore) I think verily that the Church was more full of vertue before the Decrees or Decretals were made (which is not very long ago, but in the time of *Constantine*, if it be true that is reported in the Decrees, *Dist.* 15. *Cap. Canones generalium*) than it hath been since; God repair it, and restore it again to the antient purity and perfection.

The Pope hath no power to make laws binding under deadly sin, more than hath the Kings or Emperors.

¶ In the thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the Pope and other Prelats, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to Excommunicate Priests, and Lay people that are inobedient and sturdy from entering into the Church, and to suspend or let them from ministration of the Sacraments of the same: I think that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate both Priests and Lay men, such as be rebellious against the Ordinance of God, and disobedient to his Law: For such are founded from God, afore the Prelats do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in *Esaiah* by Almighty God: *Your sins*, quoth
Esai. 59. he, *do make division betwixt you and me*. And the Prelats by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, as that is to pronounce such to be Excommunicate of God, and unworthy to Minister any Sacraments, or to be conversant with Christian folk that will not amend. For thus biddeth *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 5.
1 Cor. 5. *If any amongst you called a brother, shall be a Whoremonger, a Covetous person, or a worshipper of Images or Idols, or a Rayler, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the Church, and not be suffered to come within it.*

To the 30 Article.

The power of the Pope and Prelats to Excommunicate.

A doubt whether Prelats may suffer any such power to exclude any from the Church. Paulus. 2. of Corinthians.

I am not certain that Prelats have any such power: And though they had, I doubt whether charity should permit them to shew it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in Churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through the which the sturdy coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with Compunction and Repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a Law made in the Council of *Carthage*, which is this: A Bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the Church, and to hear the Word of God, whether he be *Gentile* or *Jew*, or Heretick, until the Mass time of them that are called *Catechumeni*. *De Consc. distinct.* 1.

Bishops Deputies not behooved-ful.

Moreover, where you speak of Prelats Deputies, I think such be but little behoovable to Christs flock. It were necessary and right, that as the Prelats themselves will have the Revenues, Tithes, and Oblations of their Benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be (pity it is) undone. Such doth S. *John* call *Fures & latrones*. *Thieves and Murtherers*, although they make never so goodly a worldly shew outward, and bear a stout port.

Every Prelate and Beneficed person ought himself to discharge his cure without deputy of vicars.

This I say, that the Pope and other Prelats have power to Excommunicate rebels against Gods Ordinance, and to suspend them from receiving or ministring the Sacrament: But I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of Churches, especially when Gods Word is there preached, unless the sinners be so fore despe-rate, that they scorn the same. And I would that every Prelate receiving his living of Benefices, should himself work in the same, specially in true preaching of Christs Doctrine, without winding his own neck out of the yoak, and charging therewith other called Deputies or Vicars, Curates, and such like. For God would have every man to get his

living by sweat of his own face, that is to say, by his labour, according to his Estate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat: Contrariwise, they that labour not, unless they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and such less to take of those, to whom they do no service, Fifty or Fourty pound a year, for waiting after none other thing than the Moon shining in the water. The Canon Law maketh clearly with the same. Look in the Decrees, *Cap.* 21. *quæst.* 2. *cap. Præcip.* and you shall find plainly as I say.

To the 31 Article. Faith only to justifie.

¶ In the one and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether Faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fain into sin after his Baptism, for his Salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, Faith only doth justifie, and works Salvation, afore a man do any other good works; and that is shewed by many authorities both of Scripture, and also of many holy Fathers, in a Treatise called, *Unio dissidentium*, which I would it were in English, as it is in French, and other Languages, what it truly translated into English. And truly I do think in this matter (like as is shewed by many authorities of holy Fathers) that a man fallen into sin after Baptism shall be saved through Faith, and have forgiveness by Christs Passion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: As when a man having short life, lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true Faith is of such vertue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plenteously deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witness bearer of mans true Faith. This declareth Saint *Augustin* upon *John*; I trow it is where he expoundeth this Text: *Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate: If ye love me keep my commandments.* Whereas within a little after he speaketh in this wise, *Opera bona non faciunt justum, sed justificatus facit bona opera.* That is to say, good works make not a just or a righteous man, but a man once justified doth good works.

Unio dissidentium to be out in English. Works make not a man justified, but a justified man maketh good works.

Aug. in Joan.

To the 32 Article.

¶ In the two and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether a Priest marrying a Wife, and that without the Dispensation of the Pope, begetting alſo Children of her without slander giving, do sin deadly? I say, that he doth not so much offend as those which in *Wales* (as I have heard say) and also in many parts beyond the Sea, or rather in all places, do give openly dispensations, for money to Priests to take Concubines: Neither doth he offend so much as the purchasers of such Dispensations: For they on every hand do clearly commit Fornication and Adultery, utterly forbidden by Gods Law; and the Priest of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but mans Law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written. I ween it be in a Gloss, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the Text or no, I can lightly turn to it having a Book. The sentence is thus; *Presbiter fornicans est plus prædendus quam uxorem ducens.* That is to say, A Priest doing Fornication ought to be punished more than one which hath married a Wife. Finally, I think such a Priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

A Priest fornicating is more to be punished than a Priest marrying, by the Popes own Laws.

To the 33 Article.

¶ In the three and thirtieth, where you ask, Whether a Latine Priest, after he hath taken the Order of Priesthood, being fore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a Wife for a remedy of the same, do sin deadly? I say that a Latine Priest and a Greek Priest is all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Christ, left to us in holy Scripture; neither doth Christ put any such difference, but the one hath by that rule the same liberty that another, and no more nor less, for there is the same God in *Greece*, that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And therefore, I cannot see by his Law, but that a Latine Priest may marry, as well as they do. And if the Greeks should not follow Christs Law in believing the same, and living there after, you would call them Hereticks. But that will not the Pope have done. Wherefore seeing they do let Priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the Law of God, and yet are not reputed Hereticks, why should other men that say the same be called Hereticks, or be therefore burned? Therefore following the Law of God, I make the same answer of a Latine Priest, that I made before of all Priests, that a Priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoiding Fornication.

Marriage of Priests as well Latine as Greek, permitted alike in the Scripture.

¶ In the thirty fourth, where you ask, Whether ever I prayed for *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and for *Hieron* of *Pragne* condemned of Heresie in the Council of *Constance*, or any one of them, fith they dyed, and whether I have openly or secretly done any such deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in Bliss and saved? I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far forth as I can remember. And though I had, it followeth not, that in so doing I should be an Heretick. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great Country called *Bohemia*, which yet do follow (as men say) that same Doctrine, which *John Hus*, and *Hierom* of *Prague* taught their Ancestors, whom (as I trow) neither the Pope nor you do account Hereticks and Infidels.

{KING Hen. 8.} The Greek Churches suffer Priests to marry.

To the 34 Article.

¶ In the thirty fifth, where you ask, Whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be Saints, and worshipped them as Saints? I say that in secret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the Counsel of Saint *Paul*, which bidden that we should not judge over soon, but to abide (unless the things which we should pass upon, be the more evident) unto the coming of the Lord, which shall illuminate and shew forth clearly things, that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, nor against them, but have refrained such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment I wot infallible.

To the 35 Article.

Councils may and do err. Psal. 26.

And whereas you say, they were condemned of Heresie in the Council of *Constance*: If so the Council did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not, and that shall suffice to have commendation of him; So that it is not need to ask of me whether the Acts of the same are commendable or no? Neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily perswaded, that I, because the Council hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned: For a Council, as I ween, may sometime slip beside the right truth; but what that Council did in condemning them, I cannot precisely say; God woteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a Council, appeareth by Gods Law, and by the Law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the Council that is spoken of in the eleventh of *John*, where is shewed, that after our Saviour had reised *Lazarus* to life, the Bishops and *Pharisees* then were gathered together in a Council, saying; What shall we do? Truth it is that this man Jesus doth many Miracles, and if we suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of *Jerusalem*, our dwelling place, and destroy our Nation. At which time *Caiaphas* did arise, shewing forth his sentence, which the whole Council did admit.

Councils may sometime slip awry.

Some one man sometime may see more than a whole Council. *Dist.* 31. *cap. Sicut.*

Joh. 11.

In like wise is shewed, Acts the fifth, where in a Council of the Bishops and Priests assembled to know what punishment should be done unto Christs Apostles, because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commanded the Apostles no more to speak in Christs name) there among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together, did rise a certain man, called *Gamaliel* (a pitiful thing verily to see but one good man in such a great Convocation or Council of Priests, that should be the lights of vertue to all the people) which *Gamaliel* was a Doctor of the Law, and had in good reputation among the people; much like he was, as seemed to me, to Doctor *Collet*, sometime Dean of *Pauls* in *London*; while he lived. I may come no nearer to name some other of our time, left I should be thought offensive. This *Gamaliel* did bid the Apostles go aside for a while out of the Council, or Convocation House; and so he spake unto the other Priests or Bishops in the Council thus; *You men of Israel* (quoth he) *take heed to your selves what ye shall do unto these men the Apostles: For before this time have risen one called* Theudas, *and after another named* Judas of Galilee, *which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now*, quoth he, *I say unto you, refrain from hurting these men the Apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if the enterprise and work that they have made be of men, undoubtly it shall perish, and be foredone: but if*, quoth he, *it be of God, you cannot*

Gamaliel and Doctor Collet compared to the Pharisees.

Acts 5.

One man having Scripture with him, is more to be believed than a whole Council without Scripture.

{KING Hen. 8.} Councils go not always right.

cannot foredo it. And this I tell you, said *Gamaliel*, *lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.*

Unto this sentence of *Gamaliel*, did all the other of the Convocation or Parliament agree, so that they called the Apostles of Christ afore them, causing them to be scourged and charging them, no more after to preach of Christs name, and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the name of our Saviour and his Apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew afore, that like practice should come in the later time of the world, which we are in. Wherefore you may clearly see, that Councils do not always decern with Christ, but sometime they may do against him. And therefore said *David*, *Non sedi cum concilio vanitatis, & cum iniqua agentibus non introibo: Odi Ecclesiam malignantium, & cum impiis non sedebo; sed lavabo inter innocentes manus meas*, &c. *I did not* (quoth *David*) *sit with the Assembly or Council of vain doers, or lyers, and will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: For I hate the Convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: But I will wash my hands among innocents*, &c.

Also in another Psalm he writeth thus; *Dominus dissipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, & concilia Principum: Concilium autem Domini in æternum manet*, &c. *The Lord*, quoth he, *doth destroy or annihilate the Councils of the Gentiles, he reproveth the Councils of the People and of Rulers. But the Counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever, and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the World of Worlds.* For that purpose doth S. *Peter* in the Acts of the Apostles alledge this verse out of the Psalm; *Quare fremuerunt Gentes*, &c. *Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagin vain things*, &c. Like unto this is written, *Esaiah* the first. Also you may see in the Councils of the *Pharisees* above shewed, that one singular person may sometime perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: For only *Gamaliel* did see better what was behooveable, than could all the other there congregate.

Psalm 2.

Isaiah 1.

Acceptable unto this we find in the Decrees, *Distinct.* 31. where it is written, that the Council of *Nice*, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the Church, ordained Laws called Canons or Rules. And as they treated upon such Ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a Law that Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, should not lie with their Wives whom they had married afore they were consecrate into the order. With that arose *Paphnutius* a confessor of Christ, and gainsaid it, telling that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper Wife. And so he perswaded the Council, that they should constitute no such Law: affirming, that it was a fore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the Priests, or else to their Wives an occasion of Fornication. And this was *Paphnutius* reason. The words of the Canon proceed thus.

The Story of Paphnutius in Nices Council.

Chastity standeth not by singleness of life, but of parents of Matrimony.

This declared *Paphnutius*, he never being married, nor having experience of Marriage, and the Council commended his sentence, making no Statute in this matter, but put it to every mans Freewill and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity. These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in *Historia tripartita*, as I have shewed before in the fourth Article. Upon this, that *Paphnutius* did thus resist and prevail against all the other Council, doth the Gloss note in the same Law; that one singular person may gainsay or speak against an universal generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in Abbot *Panormitane*, where he saith thus: I would (quoth he) rather believe one lay person, bringing in for him authority of Scripture, than an universal Council, that ordaineth or defineth a thing without Scripture.

Finally, I say, that I never recounted them neither Saints nor Devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so fast forth as I can remember.

In the six and thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every General Council and the Council of *Constance* also do represent the Universal Congregation or Church? I say, that what such Councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro* or *contra*, with this demand or against it: and no marvel: For I know of no Scripture to certifie me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And me thinketh this (under correction I speak) that Councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the Universal Church, not being yet the same, as I wote well they neither are nor were. For the Church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinate to be inheritors of eternal Bliss and Salvation, whether they be Temporal or Spiritual, King or Subject, Bishop or Deacon, Father or Child, *Grecian* or *Roman*. And this Church spreadeth through the Universal World, whereas any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ: and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, whereas his blessed Word is purely and openly preached and declared; for that is the relief of mans soul, whereunto all men, loving their souls health, last to resort and seek: as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life) for in it is shewed that righteousness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hungred for, shall come in the Kingdom of Heaven. Of this may well the Proverb in the Gospel (although it be applyed to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) be verified, *Wheresoever is a dead Carrion, thither will soon be assembled Eagles*: That is to wit, wheresoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christs death, thither will men seek and flie, to know how they may enjoy and attain them, which I beseech him to grant us, *Amen*.

Answer to the 36 Article.

Whether every General Council representeth the Universal Church.

What is the Church.

He meaneth here the Church invisible.

¶ In the seven and thirtieth, where you do ask, Whether I believe that the same thing which the Council of *Constance*, representing the Universal Church, hath approved, and doth approve for the maintenance of Faith and souls health, is to be approved and holden of all Christian people; and that which the same Council hath condemned and doth condemn to be contrary to Faith and good Manners, ought of the same Christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned? I say, that whatsoever the same Council or any other have approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all Christian people to be likewise approved, holden and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtful to Faith or good living, I say, the same ought of all Christian people to be condemned and reproved. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright, because I did never look upon their Acts, neither do I greatly covet to do. Wherefore I refer the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have more skill in them than I.

Answer to the 37 Article.

To certifie the Church of Christ.

¶ In the eighth and thirtieth you demand, Whether the condemnations of *John Wickliff*, *John Hus*, and *Hieronimus* of *Pague*, done upon their Persons, Books and Documents, by the Holy General Council of *Constance*, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such of every Catholike person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed? I answer, That it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss the thing determinately, yet my Christendom shall be therefore nevertheless, and I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other; neither yea nor nay.

Answer to the 38 Article.

¶ In the thirty ninth you ask, Whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that *John Wickliff of England*, *John Hus*, of *Bohemia*, and *Hieron* of *Prague*, were Hereticks, and for Hereticks to be named, and their Books and Doctrines to have been, and now be perverse, for the which Books and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the Holy Council of *Constance* for Hereticks? I say

that I know not determinately whether they be Hereticks or no, nor whether their Books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called Hereticks or no.

Answer to the 40 Article.

¶ In the Fortieth, where you ask, Whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any caſe to ſwear? I ſay, that I neither ſo do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

Answer to the 41 Article.

¶ In the Forty firſt, where you ask, Whether I believe that it is lawful at the commandment of a Judge, to make an Oath to ſay the truth, or any other Oath in a caſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of Infamy? I anſwer, that I never ſaid the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an Oath afore a Judge, to ſay the truth, if the Judge ſo require, and that by requeſt lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in Controverſie betwixt two perſons, and thereupon they ſue unto a Judge for ſentence; when the Judge can none otherwiſe bolt out the truth, he may require an Oath. As when the two Women which contended before *Solomon*, to avoid the crime of Murther, which the one had committed in oppreſſing her Child to death, and would have put the ſame upon the other, if *Solomon* could not by his wiſdom otherwiſe have inveſtigated the truth, he might, I ſuppoſe, to come by the more certain information of the thing, have cauſed one of them, or both, ſeeing it expedient for him, to ſwear; wherein the Women had been bound to obey him: But Judges have need to be ſpare in requiring of Oaths. For in cuſtomable, or oft Juſtices, creepeth in alway betwixt times ſome perjury, as ſheweth *Chriſoſtom* in words ſemblable to theſe, and thing pretious, through oft haunt or occupying, loſe their eſtimation. And ſo reverent Oaths, unadviſedly required for every triſle uſually, do cauſe men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear to break them.

An Oath before a Judge in a caſe convenient is lawful.

An Oath ought to be required of a Judge, and how it may be given before a Judge.

Overmuch uſe of Oaths reprehended.

Judges muſt be ſpare and wary in requiring Oaths.

Where many Oaths be, there is ſome perjury.

Therefore in *Almain*, they have made of late (as I have heard ſay by credible perſons, which have come from thence) many notable Ordinances for the Commonwealth within a while, and amongſt other this is one: If a man be fet for to enter Plea againſt another in any Town, the Peers thereof afore whom all Actions are uſed to be debated, hearing ſuch a Plea entred, ſhall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open Court. And the matter examined, they ſhall exhort them to let the Plea ceaſe without further proceſs, ſhewing them the great damnage both godly and worldly, coming of waging the Law, and the great eaſe and commodity that is in agreement and concord. Which exhortation they uſe to ſhew with ſo great gravity, and fatherly love (ſuch wonders are wrought where the Goſpel hath free paſſage) that very few will Commence Plea. And though any Plea be Commenced, through ſuch fage admonition it falleth lightly to Sequeſtration and Arbitrement of Neighbours, who do fet their ſuters at unity, ere the matter do come to diſcuſſion in open Court.

The uſe and manner of the Germans in cauſes judicial.

Fruit of the Goſpel in Germany.

In Germany few controverſies come to the open Court, but commonly are compounded at home.

Notwithſtanding, if ſome be ſo waywardly minded (as in a multitude all are not one mans Children, and therefore unlike of intent) that they will needs proceed and follow the Law, they ſhall be heard to ſpeak their matters in open Court, and taught how the matter is moſt like to proceed, and Counſelled with new exhortation to ſtop their proceſs. If they will not be perſwaded, and then the Judges feeling the matter ſo ambiguous, that they cannot give perfect ſentence therein, except by vertue of an Oath made by one of the parties, they be firſt better certified: Then will they ſhew the ſame before the ſuters, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a ſolemn Oath for love of winning ſome worldly profit: And how (unleſs ſuch as ſhall make it, be the better ware to eſchew the ſame) they ſhall (beſide an evil example giving to a multitude) work themſelves happily ſhame or diſhoneſty.

Cuſtom among the Germans of taking Oaths.

Upon this, they ſhall give a reſpite until a certain day appointed. So that in the mean while the ſuters may take deliberation thereof, what is beſt to be done. If after this they will not thus reſt, at the day appointed ſhall they come forth into a common place, and the great Bell of the City cauſed to be rung, whereby the people ſhall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people aſſembled, the Judges ſhall in full chargeable and lamentable wiſe charge the parties, under the vertue of their Oath, to make true relation of that ſhall be demanded.

So that by reaſon of ſoberly and fatherly exhortations made of the Judges or Peers of the Town, and perſwaſion of Neighbours, and for avoiding Gods diſpleaſure, and ſhame of men, there is little ſuites in Courts; and if at any time any be made, they be lightly ſtopped. So that Jury and Swearing is well excluded, and need not much to be required.

KING Hen. 8. Jury and Swearing well excluded out of Germany. The reaſon why in ſpiritual men, cauſing them ſtraightways light matter to ſwear.

This I have ſhewed, becauſe it pitieth me to hear and ſee the contrary uſed in ſome of our Nation, and ſuch alſo as name themſelves ſpiritual men, and ſhould be head Miniſters of the Church; who incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a Book, and do move him to ſwear, without any longer reſpite, yea, and they will charge him by verture of the contents in the Evangely, to make true relation of all that they ſhall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawful to ſhew them the truth of their demands, or no; for ſuch things there be that are not lawful to be ſhewed. As if I were accuſed of Fornication, and in that vice, I ſuppoſe it were expedient to hold me ſtill, and not to follow their will; for it ſhould be contrary to charity, if I ſhould ſo affent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet trufting of their amendment, I have promiſed before to keep their fault ſecret without any diſcloſing of the ſame. Yea, moreover, if ſuch Judges ſometime, not knowing by any due proof that ſuch as have to do afore them are culpable, will inforce them by an Oath, to detect themſelves in opening before them their hearts; in this ſo doing, I cannot ſee that men need to condeſcend to their requeſts.

A man is none bound to detect another mans fault before a Judge.

Law compelleth no man to bewray himſelf.

For it is in the Law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: *Nemo tenetur prodere ſemetipſum*, that is to ſay, No may is bound to bewray himſelf. Alſo in another place of the Law it is written, *Cogitationis panam nemo patiatur*, no man ſhould ſuffer puniſhment of men for his thought. To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus: *Cogitationes liberæ ſunt a vectigalibus*. That is to ſay, Thoughts be free, and need to pay no Toll. So that to conclude, I think it lawful at the commandment of a Judge, to make an Oath to ſay the truth, ſpecially if a Judge requireth an Oath duly, and in lawful wiſe, or to make an Oath in any other cauſe convenient, and that alſo for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid againſt a man.

Thought be free, and need to pay no toll.

No man is bound to bewray himſelf by the Law.

In the two and fortieth, where you ask, Whether a Chriſtian perſon deſpiſing the receit of the Sacraments of Confirmation, extream Unction, or ſolemniſing of Matrimony do ſin deadly? I ſay like of the receit of them, as I have ſaid before of the ſelf things, and none otherwiſe.

To the 42 Article.

In the three and fortieth, where you ask, whether I believe that Saint *Peter* was Chriſts Vicar, having power on Earth to bind and looſe? I ſay, that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term Vicar; for Chriſt never called *Peter* nor none other ſo in Scripture. If you mean thereby, that after the departing hence of Chriſt, when he was riſen from death in his immortal body, and ſo aſſied into Heaven, whereas he remaineth ſitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he ſo being away from hence, Saint *Peter* occupied his room; then, I ſay, it is not untrue but *Peter* in a manner (which I ſhall ſhew hereunder) was his Vicar; and like as *Peter* was his Vicar, even ſo was *Paul* and the other Apoſtles, and the one no leſs than the other, if it be true that Saint *Cyprian* doth write, which is alſo confenting to Scripture, he ſaith thus: That Chriſt ſpake unto *Peter* ſaying: *I ſay, ſaith our Saviour, that thou art* Peter, *and upon this rock of Stone ſhall I build my congregation, and the gates of Hell ſhall not overcome it. To thee will I give the Keys of Heaven, and what things thou ſhalt bind upon Earth, the ſame ſhall be bound alſo in Heaven: And whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe upon Earth, ſhall be looſed alſo in Heaven.* And to him after his reſurrection doth Chriſt ſay, *Feed my Sheep.*

To the 43 Article.

Vicar of Chriſt.

Objection diſcuſſed.

Peter no more Vicar of Chriſt, than Paul and other Apoſtles.

Mat. 16.

Cyprian. de ſimplicitate Prælatorum.

Hieron.

Paul equal to Peter.

And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his Apoſtles after his Reſurrection, and ſaith, *Like as my Father ſent me, ſo do I alſo ſend you: Take you the holy Ghoſt: if you ſhall retain to any man his ſins, they ſhall be retained. If you ſhall remit to any man his ſins, to him they*

Joh. 20.

Apoſtles equal together without any difference of ſuperiority.

KING Hen. 8. Unity.

they ſhall be remitted. Nevertheleſs, becauſe he would declare unity, he ordained by his authority, the original of the ſame unity, beginning of one. The other Apoſtles truly were the ſame that *Peter* was, indued with equal parting both of honour, and authority or power, but the beginning cometh of one, that the Congregation ſhould be ſhewed to be one. Thoſe are the words of Saint *Cyprian*, in a Treatiſe that is called, *De ſimplicitate Prælatorum*; wherein you may ſee that Chriſt made all the Apoſtles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithſtanding, becauſe he would teſtifie the unity of his Church or Congregation, he ſpake, as it were, only unto *Peter*, when he ſaid, *Feed my ſheep.* And, *I ſhall give thee, Peter, the Keys of Heaven:* But in ſo ſaying, though the words ſeem ſpoken to *Peter* only, yet they were ſpoken unto him, in that he ſuſtained the general perſon of all the Church, being, as it were, a common Speaker for the ſame. So that in ſpeaking to him, Chriſt ſpake unto all other the Apoſtles unto whom alſo he gave all the ſame authority that he gave unto *Peter*; as you may ſee both in theſe words of *Cyprian*, and alſo the ſame is clearly ſhewed out of Saint *Auguſtin* in divers places, but no where more plainly in a few words, than in a Treatiſe called *De Agone Chriſtiano*.

The Only perſon of Peter declareth the unity of the Church. Peter beareth the perſon of the whole Church.

Auguſt. de Agone Chriſtiano.

To this accordeth well that which was written of *Paul*, Gal. 2. *Ab his qui videbantur aliquid eſſe; quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert, &c. Of thoſe Apoſtles* (quoth Paul) *which ſeemed to be of authority I was not taught* (*what they were in time paſſed it ſkilleth me nothing; God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man*) *neverthleſs, they which appeared to be of price ſhewed me no learning, nor gave me no Counſel. But contrary, when they had ſeen that the Goſpel of Uncircumciſion was committed unto me, like as the Evangely of Circumciſion was unto* Peter; *for he that was mighty in* Peter *concerning the Apoſtleſhip toward the* Jews *was mighty alſo in me toward the* Gentiles. *Therefore when* James, Peter *and* John, *which appeared to be as Pillars, knew the Grace given me; they gave unto me and* Barnabe *their right hands in ſigne of fellowſhip to be their partners, ſo that we ſhould exerciſe the Office of Apoſtles among the Gentiles, as they did among the* Jews. Wherein you may clearly ſee, that *Paul* took no inſtruction of them, which ſeemed to be in high authority, and that *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, which were noted Principals, took *Paul* and *Barnabas* to be their Mates and Fellows; which they would not have done (as I ſuppoſe) if they had known that God had granted unto then a Prerogative ſingular, to excel *Paul*, and to be his Sovereign: But according to the Prerogative of God granted, they might have fately ſhewed it, and enjoyed the ſame; like as they did rejoyce in other benefits granted to them of God, to be Miniſters in his Church for the edifying of the ſame. And as Saint *John* calleth himſelf the Diſciple loved of his Maſter Jeſus, and teſtifieth, how that unto him, Chriſt hanging upon the Croſs, did commit his bleſſed Mother.

Gal. 2.

Apoſtles Mates and Fellows together.

Moreover, If theſe three Apoſtles, *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, ſhould have by humility left out to make mention of their Prerogative, when they took *Paul* and *Barnabas* into their fellowſhip, yet it is to be thought that *Paul*, which never uſeth any inordinate Arrogancy, writing the words above faid for the magnifying of his own priviledge and authority given him of God, would not have ſuppreſſed and paſſed over their Primacy unſpoken of, with whom he maketh here compariſon: For then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from other to himſelf unlawful; that cannot ſo be. Moreover, he faith a little after the words afore reherſed, that he reproved Saint *Peter* even before his face. Whereupon Saint *Hierom* expounding the ſame Epiſtle, faith (as I remember) that *Paul* would not have been bold ſo to do, except he had known himſelf equal to *Peter*.

Gal. 2.

In the words alſo of *Paul* above written this might be noted, as ſerving to my purpoſe, that *Peter* had no preheminence or primacy above the other, for *James* is named afore him: Which *Paul* would not have done (I think) knowing *Peter* to be *James* ſuperior. Therefore he making no ſuch variety in order, put *James* afore, ſaying, *And* James, Peter *and* John, *that appeared the Principals*, quoth he, *gave unto me and to* Barnabe *their right hands in ſign of fellowſhip.* Yet notwithſtanding *Paul* loved good order, I ſuppoſe, as well as any that now are, which contend ſo fore for ſuperior Rooms and preheminency, claiming to be the Apoſtles Succeſſors. I would it were ſo much for the Commonwealth of Chriſtian people, as it is ſuſpect that they do it for vainglory and worldly lucre. According to this you ſhall find, *Acts* the Eleventh, where is ſhewed, that after *Peter* by inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called *Cornelius*, a petty Captain, having the governance of an hundred men, teaching him the ways and Doctrine of Chriſt, and Baptiſing him and other with him aſſembled, being, like as he afore was, *Pagans*; the Apoſtles and other Chriſtian brethren that were in *Jewry*, hearing thereof, when *Peter* came to *Jeruſalem*, they which held upon Circumciſion made none obeyſance unto him, (albeit I think verily he had more holineſs than ever had any Pope) as the Emperor is fain to do to the Pope at his Coronation, falling down to kiſs the Popes feet, or to hold the Popes Sitrrop while he mounteth upon his Horſes back, according to the form of Law written: I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or elſe the Decretals, or in both rather (for ſuch Ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally Recorded) but they reaſoned fore, and diſputed both againſt Saint *Peter* and alſo his doings, ſaying; You have gone amongſt them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them, that are men unclean, becauſe they are uncircumciſed, yea, and that is more, you have eat and drunk with them. *Peter* mildly and coldly made anſwer again, rehearſing all the manner of his doing in order; ſhewing that he was ſo inſtructed to do by mighty and clear Revelations of God, and not by his own fantaſie and pleaſure.

Fame noiſed before Peter.

Contentions about ſuperiority witneſs in proceedeth Acts. 11.

Emperors give more obeiſvance to the Popes than ever did the Apoſtles unto Peter.

Differences between Peter and the Pope. The Popes kiſſing his feet to be kiſſed of Emperors. Peter was content to be charged of the brethren.

Which anſwer being heard, the other that afore had made fore objections againſt him (which were both of the Apoſtles, and other Chriſtian brethren) were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, ſaying: *Then God hath granted alſo unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and ſo to come to eternal life.* Wherein you may ſee, that the other Apoſtles were as bold with *Peter*, as before is ſhewed of *Paul*, to diſpute againſt him. Neither were they therefore by *Peter*, reproved of inobedience. He did not alledge any preheminency or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: As one would ſay, why ſhould you that are my Sheep control me, that am the Head of the Church and your Paſtor, or Chriſts General Vicar, having both juriſdiction Temporal and Spiritual; with ſuch other like? But ſhewed them it was the Will of God, that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleaſed to give to them as well as to the *Jews*. In token whereof the Holy Ghoſt did ſenſibly come among them, and ſo were they baptized.

Thus may you ſee, that if *Peter* were the Vicar of Chriſt, even ſo likewiſe was *Paul*, and all the other Apoſtles. And I do not think contrary, but that *Peter*, and all other of the Apoſtles, were Chriſts Vicars, if you mean by this word Vicar, a Deputy, or ſuch like, for to preach his Evangely, (which is an Office of all other moſt Sovereign) to Miniſter Sacraments, and to do other ſuch divine ſervice in Gods Church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Chriſts true Apoſtles, Biſhop, Prieſts, Legats, or any ſuch like. Which authority was given them by Chriſt after his reſurrection, when he ſaid unto them theſe words, *Peace be among ſt you. Like as my Father hath ſent me, ſo do I ſend you. Take you the Holy Ghoſt: Whoſe ſins ſoever you ſhall forgive, are forgiven them: and whoſe ſins ſoever you ſhall retain, are retained:* And the ſame authority did they receive, when Chriſt ſpake unto all the Church, after the mind of Saint *Auguſtin* and other, in *Peter*, ſaying, *Peter, Feed my Sheep.*

Peter Vicar of Chriſt and more than other Apoſtles.

Vicar of Chriſt.

Luk. 24.

John 20.

¶ In the four and fortieth, where you ask, whether I believe, that the Pope ordinarily choſen for a time (his proper name being expreſſed) be the Succeſſor of *Peter*; I ſay, that it ſeemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe ſo or no, I cannot fee that it ſhould be

The 44. Article.

numbred amongst the Articles of our Faith, notwithstanding. I will shew my rude thought in it, which is this.

Successor of Peter. How the Pope may be a Successor of Peter.

The Pope may succeed in Saint *Peters* stead or Office, and do the same duty and diligently feeding Christs flock, and shewing vertuous example of living to the same, and so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of Saint *Peter*. And thus is your Lordthip Saint *Peters* successor, preforming the conditions aforesaid, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many other as do truly their duty, and duly the Office of a Bishop. And otherwise may not the Pope be called the Successor of *Peter*, because he is entred into Saint *Peters* Office, not regarding to that is requisite for the same, nor following the trace of vertue, but the contrary. And then he is wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not impossible. For what should men call *Peters* Successors, that play the *Pagans*, and follow with the Conditions of *Caiaphas*, *Simon Magus*, or *Judas*? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claim to be *Peters* Successors, no more than the night may claim to be Successor of the day; for *Peter* was never so minded, nor taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called *Peters* Adversaries, for so much as they do not his will that is shewed by his own Acts and writing, but work against the same. Of such may be said, *Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum*, That is to say, they are not all Saints children, that occupy the rooms of Saints, but they are their children that exercise their works. Yea, of such may be said, that which is written of Saint *Hieroms* time: All Bishops (quoth he) are not Bishops; mark you well *Peter*, but mark also *Judas*: Behold *Stephen*, but behold *Nicholas*. Ecclesiastical dignity maketh not a Christian man. *Cornelius* the *Centurion*, being yet a *Pagan*, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghost. Contariwise, *Daniel* being a Child, condemneth Priests or antient men. It is no easie thing, saith he, to stand in the room of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to keep the seat of them now Reigning with Christ: For unsavory salt is nought worth else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and troden down of Hogs. This saith Saint *Hierom*.

Every good Bishop may be Successor of Peter.

The Pope rather may be Peters adversary than his Successor. Hierom. At the night is Successor of day, so is the Popes Successor or Peter except he follow the steps of Peter.

Augustin. Wherunto agreeth well S. *Augustin*. Every one (quoth he) that saith unto you, *Pax vobis*, ought not to be heard, or to believed a Dove. Crows be fed of dead Carrion, and so is not a Dove, but the liveth by-the fruits of the Earth. Her living is pure, innocent, and hurtless. Whereby you may see, that ill Bishops are no Bishops, and that they which follow not Saints in vertuous living, are not the Successors of Saints, but unsavory salt, that is, neither of the Church, nor shall come in Heaven to reign there with *Peter* and *Paul*, but be thrown out with great contempt. For God knoweth a Dove from a Crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of Carrion. But fuch as declare and shew good deeds as the Saints did, be their Children and Successors, and shall with them reign in Heaven.

Let us mark not how the bird feedeth, but how he feedeth. The Crow feedeth upon carrion, the Dove not so.

How the Pope is Successor of *Peter*, and how not.

So that to conclude, I say, That the Pope ordinately chosen is the Successor of S. *Peter*, following Saint *Peters* godly living. And else, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vain name. For rather may he else be reputed an Image of a Pope, or of a Bishop, according as fuch be called of the Prophet; *O Pastor & Idolum*; O Idol Shepheards.

Zech. 11.

To the last Article.

In the five and fortieth, where you ask, Whether ever I have promised at any time by my Oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would alway hold and defend certain conclusions or Articles seeming to me and to my Complices right and Consonant unto the Faith? And will that I should certifie you of the course and form of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the Names and Sirnames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this behalf; I say, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by Oath, that I would alway hold and defend any conclusions or Articles, seeming to me and other right and Consonant to the Faith, unless it hath chanced me to say in this form; That I would never with the aid of God forsake, neither decline from the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.

Thus I have perhaps said in some time, or some place, {KING Hen. 8.} because I have indeed so intended, and do intend, Gods grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, nor to what persons, nor at what time, neither in what place: neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but such as do love me, and I them, for love God and in God. And those do I reckon all them that are or will be truly Christian, in calling upon Christs name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none other than I have shewed: The sum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the New Testament. All the opinions of John Lambert stood in two propositions.

The first, The Acts of Apostles in this wise: *Christus est caput angeli, nec est in alio quoquam salus. Non enim aliud nomen sub cœlo datum est inter homines, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri*; That is to say, *CHRIST is the Head Corner stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other, for there is no other name under Heaven given amongst men wherein we may be saved.* This is one of the propositions, wherein is ingrossed or comprehended my saying, which Saint *Paul* doth thus otherwise explicate; *CHRIST is made of God our wisdom, our righteousness, our prayness, our satisfaction, and our redemption.* And in another place; *There is no other foundation, that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is CHRIST JESUS.* The first Proposition. Acts 4. 1 Cor. 1.

The other proposition is written of the Prophet *Esaiah*, and recited of our Saviour in the Evangely of *Matthew*, in these words; *Men do worship me in vain, teaching Doctrines and precepts or Laws human.* Of this writeth *Paul* very largely in divers places, and every where well nigh. Amongst other, *Colossians* the second, where he warneth the *Colossians* to take heed that no man do spoil them, to steal them away by Philosophy or vain deception, according to the constitutions of men, and Ordinances of this world. The second and recited of our Saviour in the Evangely of *Matthew*. Esai. 29. Col. 2.

Thus I do certifie you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Other hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that is sung at Mass, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day. Finally, that you require to know of the names and Sirnames in order particularly of them, that be to me adherents, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part; I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of (I suppose) through all Regions and Realms of *Christendom*, that do think likewise, as I have shewed. I ween the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one half of *Christendom*; and more should do likewise, by a great fort within a while, I doubt not, but that our Ghostly enemy laboureth amain to have knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seen. I say therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that hath so promised me to be in these matters. And though I did, I would not (except I know not that charity to required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect, nor bewray any one of them, for no mans pleasure: For I am bound to obey God above men. Who be with us, and grant the Truth to be known. *Amen.* The number of Godpellers vel-ler half *Christendom*. John Lambert denyeth to detect any by his Oath.

These answers of *John Lambert*, to the five and forty Articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Doctor *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as it appeareth, about the year of our Lord 1532, at what time the said *Lambert* was in custody in the Archbishops house at *Otford*, being there destitute of all help and furniture of Books, as by his own word is to be gathered. But, to the providence of God wrought for *Lambert*, that about within short space after, *Anno* 1533, the said Archbishop *Warham* died: Whereby it seemeth that *Lambert* for that time was delivered. In this mean while Doctor *Cranmer* was sent over in Embassage, with the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Doctor *Stokesly*, Doctor *Kern*, Doctor *Benet*, and other learned men, to the Bishop of *Rome* lying then at *Bonony*, to dispute the matter of the Kings Marriage, openly, first in the Court of *Rome*, then in the Court of the Emperor. Where after sundry promises, and appointments made, yet when the time came, no man there These answers of *John Lambert*, to the five and forty Articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Doctor *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the year of our Lord 1532. The death of Archbishop *Warham*. Cranmer Embassador to the Bishop of *Rome*. The forms cannot be without the subject. Cranmer offered disputation before the Pope and Emperor in the Kings cause.

{KING Hen. 8.} a Proposition of Cranmer. there appeared to dispute with them, in these two Propositions: First, That no Man, *Jure Divino*, could or ought to Marry his Brothers Wife. Secondly, That the Bishop of *Rome* by no means ought to dispence to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will intreat (the Lords Grace permiting) in the sequel of our Story, coming to Doctor *Cranmer's* life.

D. Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury. Lambert delivered out of custody. Lambert taught Children about the Stocks. After the death of *William Warham*, succeeded in that See the said Doctor *Cranmer*. *Lambert* in the mean season being delivered, partly by the death of this Archbishop, partly by the coming in of Queen *Ann*, returned unto *London*, and there exercised himself about the Stocks, in teaching Children both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue. And forsomuch as Priests in those days could not be permitted to have Wives, he left his Priesthood, and applied himself to that Function of Teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the *Grocers* and to be married. But God, who disposeth all Mens purposes after the secret pleasure of his own Will, did both intercept his Marriage, and also his Freedom, and Married him to his Son Christ Jesus, as now consequently followeth to be declared.

{Anno 1538. D. Taylor Bishop of Lincoln, who after was deprived in Queen Maries time and died 1554.} Thus then after that *John Lambert* now had continued in this Vocation of Teaching, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the Youth; it happened this prefent year 1538, he was present at a Sermon, in St. *Peters* Church at *London*. He that preached, was named Doctor *Tailor*, a Man in those days not far disagreeing from the Gospel, and afterward in the time of King *Edward* was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, and at last in the time of Queen *Mary* was deprived from the same, and so ended his life, among the Confessors of Jesus Christ.

Lambert feeketh conference with the preacher. The first occasion of Lamberts trouble. When the Sermon was done, *Lambert*, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered those Arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controverse was concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. *Tailor*, excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind and to come again at more leisure.

Lamberts Arguments. *Lambert* was contented, and so departed. Who within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his Arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, approving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good Reason, and by the Doctors. The which Arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such Men as were present at those Affairs reported them to be of great force and authority. And of a few which were born away in memory, the first reason was this which followeth, gathered upon Christs Words, where it is said in the Gospel, *This Cup is the New Testament.*

The words of Consecration change not the cup: ergo, neither do the words change the Bread one portally into the Body. One Body cannot fill many places at once naturally. And if, saith he, these words do not change neither the Cup, neither the Wine corporally into the *New Testament*, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the Bread should turn the Bread corporally into the Body of Christ.

The forms cannot be without the subject. Another Reason was this: That it is not agreeable to a Natural Body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity that either Christ had not a natural Body, or elfe truly, according to the common nature of a Body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say in Heaven and in Earth, on the right hand of his Father, and in the Sacrament.

Moreover, a Natural Body cannot be without his form and shape, conditions and accidents, like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then forasmuch as in the Sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the Body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of Flesh; who doth not very plainly perceive that there is no transubstantiate Body of his in the Sacrament? And to reason by the contrary; all the proper conditions, signs and accidents whatsoever they be, pertaining to Bread, we do see to be present in the Sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the Bread to be there. He added also many other allegations out of the Doctors. But to be short, this *Tailor* the preacher, whom I speak of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfie *Lambert* in this matter, amongst other whom he took to Counsel, he also conferred with Doctor *Barns*. Which *Barns*, although he did otherwise favour the Gospel, and was an earnest preacher; notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this Cause, fearing peradventure that it would breed some let or hinderance, among the people, to the preaching of the Gospel, which was now in a good forwardness, if such Sacramentaries fhould be suffered: he perswaded *Tailor* by and by to put up the matter to *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And hereby we may see it truly verified, which *William Tyndal*, before writing to *John Frith*, did note in Doctor *Barns*, saying, That Dr. *Barns* will be hot against you, *&c.* Dr. Barns.

Upon these Originals *Lambert's* quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, That through the sinister doing of many it began of a private talk to be a publick and common matter. For he was sent for by the Archbishop, and brought into the open Court, and forced to defend his Cause openly: for the Archbishop had not yet favoured the Doctrine of the Sacrament, whereof afterward he was an earnest professor. In that disputation it is said, That *Lambert* did Appeal from the Bishops to the Kings Majesty. But howsoever the matter was, the rumor of that Disputation was by and by spread throughout the whole Court.

I told you before, how that King *Henry* for two years past, shewing the part of an hard Husband, had beheaded Queen *Ann* his Wife. Which Deed did not only greatly displease the *German* Princes (who for that only cause had broken off the League with him, *Anno* 1536.) but also many other good Men in *England*.

Moreover, how that within a while after Abbies began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscate and given abroad. For which Causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Commons had conceived a very evil Opinion of him, insomuch as the feditious fort rebelled against him.

S. Gardiner Bishop of Winchester. At that time *Stephen Gardiner* then Bishop of *Winchester* was in Authority amongst the Kings Counsellors, who as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtil and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to let and hinder the Gospel; albeit a long time he was not so greatly esteemed with the King, that he could much prevail to atchieve his conceived purpose: But at length, upon this matter adviling himself, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire. Neither did he foreslack the occasion minisired, but went straight unto the King, privily admonishing him, and with fare flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel; declaring how great hatred and suspition was raised upon him almost in all places. The perilous Counsel of the Bishop of Winchester.

Firft, for abolishing the Bishop of *Romes* Authority, then for subversion of the Monasteries, and also for that the Divorce of Queen *Katherine*, was yet fresh in Mens minds: and now the time served if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacifie the minds of them which were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of *John Lambert* he would manifest unto the People how stoutly he would resist Hereticks; and by this new rumor he would bring to pass, not only to extinguish all other former rumors, and as it were with one Nail to drive out another, but also should discharge himself of all suspition, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new Sects and Opinions.

The King giving ear more willingly, than prudently or godlily, to this Syrene, immediately received the wicked counsel of the Bishop, and by and by sent out a General Commission, commanding all the Nobles and Bishops of his Realm to come with all speed to *London*, to affist the King against Hereticks and Heresies, which the King himself would sit in Judgment upon.

These preparations made, a day was set for *Lambert*, where a great Assembly of the Nobles was gathered from all parts of the Realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this strange a case. All the Seats and Places were full of Men round about the Scaffold. The Nobles and Bishops assembled to Lamberts Disputation.

By and by the godly Servant of Christ, *John Lambert*, was brought from the Prison with a Guard of Armed Men, even as a Lamb to Fight with many Lyons, and placed right over against where the Kings Royal Seat was, Lambert brought before the King to Dispute.

so that now they tarried but for the Kings coming to that place.

At the last the King himself did come as Judge of that great controverſie, with a great guard, clothed all in White, and covering by that colour and diſſembling ſeverity of all bloody Judgment.

On his right hand ſate the Biſhops, and behind them the famous Lawyers, clothed all in Purple, according to the manner. On the left hand ſate the Peers of the Realm, Juſtices, and other Nobles in their order; behind whom ſate the Gentlemen of the Kings Privy Chamber. And this was the manner and form of the Judgment, which albeit it was terrible enough of it ſelf to abaſh any innocent, yet the Kings look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto ſeverity, did not a little augment this terror, plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy ſuch a Prince, eſpecially in ſuch a matter, and againſt ſo humble and obedient a ſubject.

The Kings ſtern look againſt *Lambert.*

When the King was ſet in his Throne he beheld *Lambert* with a ſtern countenance, and then turning himſelf unto his Counſellors, he called forth Doctor *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, commanding him to declare unto the People the cauſes of this preſent Aſſembly and Judgment.

The Orati-on of Doctor *Day.*

The whole effect of his Oration tended in a manner to this purpoſe: That the King in this Seſſion would have all States, Degrees, Biſhops, and all other to be admoniſhed of his will and Pleaſure, that no Man ſhould conceive any ſiniſter Opinion of him, that now the Authority and Name of the Biſhop of *Rome* being utterly abolliſhed, he would alſo extinguiſh all Religion, or give liberty unto Hereticks to perturbe and trouble the Churches of *England*, without puniſhment, whereof he is the Head. And moreover, that they ſhould not think that they were Aſſembled at that preſent, to make any Diſputation upon the Heretical Doctrine; but only for this purpoſe, that by the induſtry of him and other Biſhops, the Hereſies of this Man here preſent (meaning *Lambert*) and the Hereſies of all ſuch like ſhould be refuted or openly condemned in the preſence of them all.

When he had made an end of his Oration, the King ſtanding up upon his Feet, leaning upon a Cuſhion of White Cloth of *Triſſine*, turning himſelf toward *Lambert* with his Brows bent, as it were threatning ſome grievous thing to him, ſaid theſe words: Ho, good Fellow what is thy name? Then the humble Lamb of Chriſt humbly kneeling down upon his Knee, ſaid, My name is *John Nicholſon*, although of many I be called *Lambert*. What (ſaid the King) have you two names? I would not truſt you, having two names, although you were my Brother.

The Kings words to *Lambert*

Lambert. O moſt noble Prince, your Biſhops forced me of neceſſity to change my name. And after divers Prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the King commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his Mind and Opinion, what he thought as touching the Sacrament of the Altar.

Lambert's Oration to the King.

Then *Lambert*, beginning to ſpeak for himſelf, gave God thanks, which had ſo inclined the heart of the King, that he himſelf would not diſdain to hear and underſtand the controverſies of Religion; for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the Biſhops, that many good and innocent Men in many places are privily Murthered and put to Death without the Kings knowledge.

The cruelty of Biſhops noted.

But now forſomuch as that High and Eternal King of kings, in whoſe hands are the hearts of all Princes, hath inſpired and ſtirred up the Kings mind, that he himſelf will be preſent to underſtand the cauſes of his Subjects, ſpecially whom God of his Divine goodneſs hath ſo abundantly endued with ſo great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not miſtruſt but that God will bring ſome great thing to paſs through him, to the ſetting forth of the Glory of his Name.

Then the King, with an angry voice, interrupting his Oration; I came not hither, ſaid he, to hear mine own praiſes thus painted out in my preſence, but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumſtance. Thus he ſpake in *Latin*.

But *Lambert* being abaſhed at the Kings angry words, (contrary to all Mens expectation, ſtayed a while, conſidering whether he might turn himſelf in theſe great ſtraights and extremities. {KING Hen. 8.}

The King force upon *Lambert.*

But the King being haſty, with anger and vehemency ſaid, Why ſtandeſt thou ſtill? Anſwer as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, whether doſt thou ſay, That it is the Body of Chriſt, or wilt deny it? And with that word the King lifted up his Cap.

Gyrdermoo. ſo I. after a certain manner.

Lambert. I anſwer with St. *Auguſtine*, That it is the Body of Chriſt, after a certain manner.

The King. Anſwer me neither out of St. *Auguſtine*, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou ſaiſt it is the Body of Chriſt or no? Theſe words the King ſpake again in *Latin*.

Lambert. Then I do deny it to be the Body of Chriſt.

The King. Mark well, for now thou ſhalt be condemned even by Chriſts own words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum.*

The Archbiſhops Reaſons.

Then he commanded *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to refute his aſſertion: who, firſt making a ſhort Preface unto the Hearers, began his Diſputation with *Lambert*, very modeſtly, ſaying, Brother *Lambert*, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your Argument to be falſe by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuſe the ſame; but if you ſhall prove it true by the manifeſt Teſtimonies of the Scripture, I do promiſe, I will willingly embrace the ſame.

The Archbiſhops Argument.

The Argument was this, taken out of that place of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, where as Chriſt appeared unto St. *Paul* by the way: diſputing out of that place, that it is not diſagreeable to the Word of God, that the Body of Chriſt may be in two places at once, which being in Heaven was ſeen of St. *Paul* the ſame time upon Earth; and if it may be in two places, why by the like reaſon may it not be in many places?

In this manner the Archbiſhop began to refute the ſecond Argument of *Lambert*, which, as we have before ſaid, was written and delivered by the ſaid *Lambert* unto the Preacher: for the King had firſt Diſputed againſt his firſt Reaſon.

Lambert's Anſwer to Cranmers Objections.

Lambert anſwered unto this Argument, ſaying, That the *Minor* was not thereby proved, that Chriſts Body was diſperſed in two places, or more, but remained rather ſtill in one place, as touching the manner of his Body. For the Scripture doth not ſay, that Chriſt being upon the Earth did ſpeak unto *Paul*: *But that ſuddainly a light from Heaven did ſhine round about him, and he falling to the ground heard a voice, ſaying unto him, Saul, Saul, why perſeceteſt thou me? I am Jeſus whom thou perſecuteſt*, &c. Here this place doth nothing let but that Chriſt, ſitting in Heaven, might ſpeak unto *Paul*, and be heard upon Earth: for they which were with *Paul* verily heard the voice, but did ſee no Body. Acts 9.

The Archbiſhop's reply.

The Archbiſhop on the contrary part ſaid, *Paul* himſelf doth witneſs, *Acts* the ſix and twentieth, that Chriſt did appear unto him in the ſame Viſion.

Anſwer to the reply.

But *Lambert* again ſaid, that Chriſt did witneſs in the ſame place, *That he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles*: Notwithſtanding we read in no place that Chriſt did corporally appear unto him.

Thus, when they had contended about the Converſion of St. *Paul*, and *Lambert* ſo anſwering for himſelf, that the King ſeemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the Biſhop himſelf that diſputed, to be intangled, and all the Audience amaſed, then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, which was appointed the ſixth place of the Diſputation, fearing leſt the Argument ſhould be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice againſt the poor Man, without the Kings commandment, obſerving no order, before the Archbiſhop had made an end, unſhamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the Diſputation, alledged a place out of the twelfth Chapter of the *Corinthians*, where St. *Paul* ſaith, *Have I not ſeen Jeſus?* And again in the fifteenth Chapter: *He appeared unto Cephas: and afterwards unto James, then to all the Apoſtles, but laſt of all he appeared unto me as one born out of due time.*

The haſty impudency of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*

The reaſon of St. Hie. 1 Cor. 15

Hereunto

{KING Hen. 8.} Hereunto *Lambert* anſwered, he did nothing doubt but that Chriſt was ſeen, and did appear, but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Wincheſter recalleth 2 Cor. 5. Then *Wincheſter* again, abuſing the Authority of *Paul*, repeated the place out of the Second *Epiſtle* to the *Corinthians*, and the Fifth *Chapter*, *And if ſo be we have known Chriſt after the fleſh, now henceforth know we him ſo no more*, &c.

Lambert anſwereth to Wincheſter. *Lambert* anſwered, That this knowledge is not to be underſtood according to the ſenſe of the body, and that it ſo appeared ſufficiently by St. *Paul*, which ſpeaking of his own Revelation, ſaith thus: *I know one, whether in the body or without the body, God knoweth, which was rapt into the third Heaven, and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth.* Whereby, even by the teſtimony of St. *Paul*, a Man ſhall eaſily gather, that in this Revelation he was taken up in ſpirit into the Heavens, and did ſee thoſe things, rather than that Chriſt came down corporally from Heaven, to ſhew them unto him: eſpecially, for that it was ſaid of the Angel, *That even as he aſcended into Heaven, ſo he ſhould come again.* And St. *Peter* ſaith, *Whom it behooved to dwell in the Heavens.* And moreover appointing the meaſure of time he addeth, *Even until that all things be reſtored*, &c. Here again, *Lambert*, being taunted and rebuked, could not be ſuffered to proſecute his purpoſe.

Tonſtal Biſhop of Dureſme againſt Lambert. After the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* had done, *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Dureſme* took his courſe, and after a long Preface, wherein he ſpake much of Gods Omnipotency, at the laſt he came to this point, ſaying, That if Chriſt could perform that which he ſpake, touching the converting of his Body into Bread, without doubt he would ſpeak nothing, but that he would perform.

The anſwer of Lambert to Tonſtal. The figurative Phraſe of the Scripture to be marked. *Lambert* anſwered, That there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Chriſt doth at any time ſay, That he would change the Bread into his Body: and moreover, that there is no neceſſity why he ſhould ſo do. But this is a Figurative ſpeech, every where uſed in the Scripture, when as the name and appellation of the thing ſignified is attributed unto the ſign. By which Figure of ſpeech, Circumciſion is called The Covenant, the Lamb the Paſſover, beſide ſix hundred ſuch other.

Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we ſhall judge all theſe, after the words pronounced, to be ſtraightway changed into another nature. Then again began they to rage afreſh againſt *Lambert*, ſo that if he could not be overcome with Arguments, he ſhould be vanquiſhed with rebukes and taunts. What ſhould he do? he might well hold his peace like a Lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

The wicked luſt of Sinkeſley. Next orderly ſtepped forth the valiant Champion *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, who afterward, lying at the point of death, rejoyced, boaſting, that in his life time he had burned fifty Hereticks. This Man amongſt the reſidue, intending to fight for his Belly, with a long proteſtation promiſed to prove, That it was not only a Miracle of Divine Work, but alſo that it did nothing at all abhor from Nature. For it is nothing diſſonant from Nature, the ſubſtance of like things (ſaith he) to be often times changed one into another. So that nevertheleſs the accidents do remain, albeit the ſubſtance it ſelf, and the matter ſubject be changed. Then he declared it by the example of Water boyling ſo long upon the Fire until all the ſubſtance thereof be evaporate. Now (ſaith he) it is the Doctrine of the Philoſophers, that a ſubſtance cannot be changed but into a ſubſtance: wherefore we do affirm the ſubſtance of the Water to paſs into the ſubſtance of the Air; notwithſtanding the quality of the Water, which is moiſtneſs, remaineth after the ſubſtance is changed; for the Air is moiſt even as the Water is.

One ſubſtance may be changed unto another, but then the accidents change with it.

The wateriſh cold Argument of Sinkeſley.

When this Argument was heard, the Biſhops greatly rejoyced, and ſuddainly their countenance changed, as it were aſſuring themſelves of a certain triumph and victory by this Philoſophical tranſmutation of Elements, and like as it had been of more force than *Chriſippus* argument, which paſſed all manner of ſolution.

The Biſhops triumph before the victory.

Lambert's anſwer was long looked for here of all Men. Who as ſoon as he had obtained ſilence, and liberty to ſpeak, firſt of all denied the Biſhops aſſumpt, that the moiſture of the Water did remain after the ſubſtance was altered. For albeit (ſaith he) that we do grant with the Philoſophers, the Air to be naturally moiſt; notwithſtanding it hath one proper and a divers degree of moiſture, and the Water another. Wherefore, when as the Water is converted into the Air, there remaineth moiſture, as you do ſay, but that is not the moiſture of Water, but the proper and natural moiſture of the Air. Whereupon there is another Doctrine amongſt the Philoſophers, as a perpetual rule, That it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things ſhould remain in their own proper nature, without their proper ſubject.

Lambert anſwereth to Sinkeſley.

Then again the King and the Biſhops raged againſt *Lambert*, inſomuch that he was not only forced to ſilence, but alſo might have been driven into a rage, if his Ears had not been acquainted with ſuch taunts afore. After this the other Biſhops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, fupplied their places of diſputation.

Taints and raging againſt Lambert.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this Tragedy, for his ten Arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto *Taylor* the Preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the Reaſons and Arguments of every Biſhop; and no leſs ſuperfluous were it for to do, eſpecially forſomuch as they were all but common reaſons, and nothing forceable and ſuch as by the long uſe of diſputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Ten Biſhoppes againſt Lambert.

Lambert in the mean time being compaſſed in with ſo many and great perplexities, vexed on the one ſide with checks and taunts, and preſſed on the other ſide with the authority and threats of the perſonages; and partly being amazed with the Majeſty of the place in the preſence of the King, and eſpecially being wearied with long ſtanding, which continued no leſs than five hours, from twelve of the Clock, until five at night, being brought in deſpair, that he ſhould nothing profit in this purpoſe, and ſeeing no hope at all in ſpeaking, was at this point, that he choſe rather to hold his peace.

Lambert in great perplexity.

Lambert keepeth ſilence when ſpeaking would do no good.

Whereby it came to paſs that theſe Biſhops, which laſt of all diſputed with him, ſpake what they liſted without interruption, ſave only that *Lambert* would now and then alledge ſomewhat out of St. *Auguſtine* for the defence of his cauſe; in which Author he ſeemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the moſt part (as I ſaid) being overcome with wearineſs and other griefs, he held his peace, defending himſelf rather with ſilence than with Arguments, which he ſaw would nothing at all prevail.

The Kings words for Lambert.

At the laſt, when the day was paſſed, and Torches began to be lighted, the King minding to break up this pretenſed diſputation, ſaid unto *Lambert* in this wiſe, What ſaiſt thou now (quoth he) after all theſe great labours which thou haſt taken upon thee, and all the Reaſons and Inſtructions of theſe learned Men; Art thou not yet ſatiſfied? Wilt thou live or die? What ſaiſt thou? Thou haſt yet free choice.

Lambert anſwered; I yield and ſubmit my ſelf wholly unto the Will of your Majeſty. Then, ſaid the King, commit thy ſelf unto the hands of God, and not unto mine.

The King condemneth the Martyr.

Lambert. I commend my Soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and ſubmit unto your Clemency. Then ſaid the King, if you do commit your ſelf unto my Judgment, you muſt die, for I will not be of Chriſt a Patron unto Hereticks; and by and by turning himſelf unto *Cromwel*, he ſaid, *Cromwel*, read the Sentence of Condemnation againſt him. This *Cromwel* was at that time the chief friend of the Gospellers. And here if is much to be marvelled at, to ſee how unfortunately it came to paſs in this matter, that through the peſtiferous and crafty counſel of this one Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Satan (which oftentimes doth raiſe up one Brother to the deſtruction of another) did here perform the Condemnation of this *Lambert* by no other Miniſters, than Gospellers themſelves, *Taylor*, *Barns*, *Cranmer* and *Cromwel*, who afterwards, in a manner, all ſuffered the like for the Goſpels ſake; of whom (God willing) we will ſpeak more hereafter.

Lord Cromwel condemned by the King to be read the Sentence.

This

The crafty fetch of Sir. Wint.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtilty of the Bishop of *Winchester*, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by *Cromwel*, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But to be short, *Cromwel*, at the Kings commandment taking the Schedule of Condemnation in hand, read the same: Wherein was contained the burning of Hereticks, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any Books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their the Papistical Church and tradition touching the Sacrament of the Altar: also a Decree that the same should be set upon the Church-Porches, and be read four times every year in every Church throughout the Realm, whereby the worshipping of the Bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the People. And in this manner was the condemnation of *John Lambert*. Wherein great pity it was and much to be lamented, to see the Kings Highness that day so to oppose and set his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against that one poor silly Soul, to be devoured; whom his Majesty with more honour might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many Wolves and Vultures, especially in such a cause tending to no derogation to him nor his Realms, but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere Truth and Doctrine decayed. For therein especially, consisteth the honour of Princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth standeth with him: which if the King had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted Creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his Princely estate to all posterity.

The part of a good Prince what to do.

But thus was *John Lambert*, in this bloody Session, by the King judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when as before the Tribunal Seat of that great Judge both Princes and Subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.

{KING Henr.8.}

Ex testimonio cujusdam AUTHENTICI, A. G.

And thus much hitherto of *Lambert*'s Articles, Answers, Disputations, and his condemnation also. Now to proceed further to the Story of his Death.

Lambert going to death.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy Martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the Prison at Eight of the Clock in the morning unto the House of the Lord *Cromwel*, and so carried into his inward Chamber, whereas it is reported of many, that *Cromwel* desired of him forgiveness, for that he had done. There at the last, *Lambert* being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered, and being brought out of the Chamber into the Hall, he saluted the Gentlemen, and fate down to breakfast with them, shewing no manner of sadness or fear. When as the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of Execution, where he should offer himself unto the Lord a Sacrifice of sweet savour, who is blessed in his Saints, for ever and ever, *Amen*.

Lord Cromwel desired of Lambert forgiveness.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed Martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other which have been burned and offered up at *Smithfield*, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For after that his Legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched Tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the Fire from him, so that but a small Fire and Coles were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their Halberds pitched him upon their Pikes, as far as the Chain would reach, after the manner and form as is described in the Picture hereunder following. Then he lifting up such Hands as he had, and his Fingers ends flaming with Fire, cried unto the People in these words, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and so being let down again from their Halberds, fell into the Fire, and there ended his life.

The words which he spake at his death.

The order and manner of the burning of the constant Martyr of Christ, Master John Lambert.

Thus ye have heard by what craft and subtilty this good Man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed: so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the Bishops thought should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the Archbishops Ward at *Lambeth*, which was a little before his Disputation before the King, he wrote an excellent Confession or Defence of his Cause to King *Henry*.

Wherein he first mollifying the Kings Mind and Ears with a modest and sober Preface, declared how he had a double hope of Solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of Princes, God; the other next unto God, in his Majesty, which should represent the Office and Ministry

{KING Henr.8.}

Ministry of that most High Prince in governing here upon Earth; after that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done.

The Apology of John Lambert unto the King.

And albeit he was not ignorant how odious this Doctrine would be unto the People, yet notwithstanding because he was not also ignorant how desirous the Kings mind was to search out the Truth, he thought no time unmeet to perform his Duty, especially forsomuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence, but only unto the Prince himself unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

The Preface of his Apology.

After this Preface made, he entring into the Book confirmed his Doctrine touching the Sacrament by divers Testimonies of the Scriptures; by the which Scriptures he proved the Body of Christ, whether it sitteth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then he, gathering together the minds of the Ancient Doctors, did prove and declare by sufficient Demonstration, the Sacrament to be a Mystical matter. Albeit he so ruled himself in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny, but that the Holy Sacrament was the very Natural Body of our Saviour, and the Wine his Natural Blood; and that moreover his Natural Body and Blood were in those Mysteries, but after a certain manner, as all the Ancient Doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this Protestation thus made, he inferreth the Sentence of his Confession, as here followeth:

A Treatise of John Lambert *to the King.*

A Treatise of John Lambert upon the Sacrament to the King.

CHrist is so ascended Bodily into Heaven, and his Holy Manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father; that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in Glory, that by the infallible Promise of God, it shall not or cannot from thence return before the general Doom, which shall be in the end of the World. And as he is no more corporally in the World, so can I not see how he can be corporally in the Sacrament, or his Holy Supper. And yet notwithstanding do I knowledge and confess, that the Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood is the very Body and Blood in a certain manner, which shall be shewed hereafter with your Graces favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, Instituting the same Holy Sacrament, and saying, *This is my body which is given for you.* And again, *This is my blood which is of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* Mat. 26.

But now for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into Heaven, and his Holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c. that by the infallible Promise of God he shall not, or cannot any more from thence bodily return before the general Doom, I shall for this alledge first the Scriptures, following the Authorities of old Holy Doctors, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing, but that we have taught to us in these Three Articles of our Creed, *He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.* For Christ did ascend bodily, the Godhead which is infinite, uncircumscriptible, replenishing both Heaven and Earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend.

Scriptures affirming the same.

The Scriptures which I promised to alledge for the confirmation of my said Sentence, be these: *He was lifted up into Heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes: and when they were looking up into Heaven, they saw two men,* &c. Here it is evidently shewed, That Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscript Body. That this departing was visible and in a visible Body, these words do testifie: *And when they were looking up; Why stand you here looking up into Heaven?* And, *even as ye have seen him,* &c. That Secondly it was in Body, I have afore proved; and moreover the Deity is not seen, but is invisible, as appeareth: Acts 1.

To God only invisible, &c. And, *He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man seeth nor may see,* &c. Therefore the Manhood and Natural Body was assumpt, or did ascend. That Thirdly it was in a circumscript Body, appeareth manifestly in this: First, That his Ascention and Bodily departing caused them to look up. And 2dly, That he was lift up; that is to wit, from beneath or from above. And Thirdly, That a Cloud received him, whereas no Cloud nor Clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c. 1 Timot. 1 Tim. 6.

I am fain to leave out other evident Arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. It doth there also follow in like form, how the Angels made answer to the Disciples, saying; *Ye men of Galilee, Why stand ye gazing into Heaven? This Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come again, as you have seen him going up into Heaven.* Here we see again, that Jesus is assumpt, or taken away into Heaven. And then it must be from out of the World, according to that we read, *John 16. I went forth from the Father, and I came into the World. I leave the World again, and I go unto the Father:* That is not else, but as he came from the Father of Heaven into this World, in that he was Incarnate and made Man, for his Godhead was never absent, either from Heaven, or yet from Earth; even so should his Manhood leave the World again, to go to Heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, *So shall he come,* is plainly testified, that he is alway, and now corporally absent. John 16

Finally, It is shewed further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, *Even as you have seen him going up into Heaven.* Which is not else, but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to Heaven, a Cloud embracing him and taking him from among you, even so shall you visibly see him to come again in the Clouds, as we read, *Matth. 26. You shall see the Son of Man to come in the Clouds of Heaven.* And again, *Matth. 24. And they shall see the Son of man.* Such other Texts have we full many, declaring my Sentence to be Catholick and True. Of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, *Mark 16. Luke 24. John 13, 14, 16, and 17. Rom. 8. Ephes. 1,* and 2, and 2 *Cor. 6. Heb. 8, 9, 10,* and 12. and 1 *Thess. 4.* and 1 *Pet. 2.* Which all do testifie, that Christ hath Bodily forsaken the World, departed from it unto his Father, ascending into Heaven, sitting still upon the right hand of the Father above all Dominion, Power and Principality, where he is present Advocate and Intercessor before his Father, and that he shall so Bodily come again, like as he was seen to depart from hence. Mat. 26: Mat. 24:

Nothing can better or more clearly testifie and declare, what is contained in the Sacrament of Christs Holy Body and Blood, than do the words of the Scripture, whereby it was Instituted. *Mark* doth agree with *Matthew*, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is. For as the Doctors do say, The Gospel of *Mark* is a very Epitome or Abridgment of *Matthew*. I shall therefore write the relations of them touching the Institution of this Sacrament together. The Relation or Testimony of *Matthew* is this: *As they were eating, Jesus took Bread, and when he had given thanks he brake and gave to his Disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body. And taking the Cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the Vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of my Father.* This Gospel of Mark is an abridgment of Matthew. Mat. 26:

The Testimony or Relation of *Mark*, is this, *And as they did eat, Jesus took the Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body. And he took the Cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the Vine unto that day that I drink it new in the Kingdom of God.* Mark 14

Luke being the Companion of *Paul*, as appeareth in the *Acts*, and 2 *Tim. 4.* doth next agree with him in making relation of his Supper, and Holy Institution of the 2 Tim. 4:

Sacra-

Luke 22. Sacrament. His relation or report is this: *When he had taken Bread, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my Body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also after Supper he took the Cup, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood which is shed for you.*

Paul's Testimony doth follow next, agreable to *Luke*, 1 Cor. 11 and it is thus: *For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you; That our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you: this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the Cup when he had Supped, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, this do as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me: for as often as ye shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye shall shew the Lords death till he come.* By these Testimonies shall I declare my Sentence to your Grace, which I conceive of the Holy Sacrament of Christs Blessed Body and Blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy Doctors and Fathers, to shew that I do not ground any thing upon my self. Thereafter shall I add certain Arguments which I trust shall clearly prove and justifie my Sentence to be True, Catholick, and according both with God and his Laws, and also with the mind of holy Doctors.

My Sentence is this: That Christ ascended into Heaven, and so hath forsaken the World, and there shall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general Doom: at which time he shall come from thence, to Judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his Natural Body, which he took of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* his Mother, in the which he also suffered Passion for our safety and redemption upon a Cross; which died for us, and was buried: in which he also did rise again to life Immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his Manhood and Natural Body, and so assumpt into Heaven, we may soon prove; forsomuch as the Godhead of him is never out of Heaven, but ever replenishing both Heaven and Earth; and besides that, is infinite and interminable or uncircumscriptible, so that it neither can properly either ascend or descend, being without all alteration, and unmutable, or unmovable.

So that now his Natural Body being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the World, the same can no more return from thence unto the end of the World. For as *Peter* witnesseth, *Acts* the third; *Whom the heavens must contain until the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets since the World began.* And the same doth the Article of our Creed teach us, which is, *From thence* (*i.* from Heaven) *shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead.* Which time *Paul* calleth *the appearing of our Lord* 1 Tim. 6. *Jesus Christ*, 1 Tim. 6.

Acts 3.

Seeing then this Natural Body of our Saviour, that was born of his Mother *Mary* being a Virgin, is all whole assumpt into Heaven, and departed out of this World; and so as saith St. *Peter*, *He must remain in Heaven until the end of the World*, which he calleth, *the time when all things must be restored*; This I say, seen and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the Natural Body of him can contrariwise be in the World, and so in the Sacrament. And yet notwithstanding is this true, That the Holy Sacrament is Christs Body and Blood, as after shall be declared.

Doctors affirming the same.

Testimonies out of the Doctors.

BUT first for the establishing of my former purpose, That the Natural Body of our Saviour is so absent from this World, and ascended into Heaven, that it can be here no more present unto the general Doom; I would beseech your Grace to consider the mind and sentence of the old holy Doctors, in this purpose or matter, how agreeable they testifie with that which is before shewed. Amongst whom we have first St. *Augustine*, writing thus to *Dardanus*: *Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, Creator est Christus; omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt.* KING Hen. 8. *Quod vero ad hominem, &c. Therefore as concerning the Word, Christ is the Creator, all things are made by him. But as touching Man, Christ is a Creature made of the seed of* David, *according to the Flesh, and ordained according to the similitude of Men. Also because Man consisteth of two things, the Soul and the Flesh; in that he had a Soul, as was pensive and sorrowful unto death; in that he had Flesh, he suffered death. Neither when we call the Son of God Christ, we do seperate his Manhood, nor when we call the same Christ the Son of Man, we do seperate his Godhead from him. In that he was Man, he was conversant upon the Earth, (and not in Heaven, where he now is) when he said; No Man ascendeth up into Heaven, but he which descended from Heaven, the Son of Man which is in Heaven. Although in that respect that he was the Son of God he was in Heaven, and in that he was the Son of Man, he was yet in the Earth, and as yet was not ascended into Heaven: likewise, in that he is the Son of God, he is the Lord of Glory; and in that he is the Son of Man he was Crucified. And yet notwithstanding the Apostle saith, And if they had known the Lord of Glory, they would never have Crucified him. And by this, both the Son of Man was in Heaven, and the Son of God, in that he was Man, was Crucified upon Earth. Therefore as he might well be called the Lord of Glory, being Crucified, when as yet that suffering did only pertain unto the Flesh; so it might well be said, This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise, when according to the humility of his Manhood in his Flesh, he lay in the Grave; and according to his Soul he was in the bottom of Hell that same day. According to his Divine immutability, he never departed from* Paradise, *because he by his Godhead is always every where. Doubt you not therefore that there is Christ Jesus according to his Manhood, from whence he shall come. Remember it well, and keep faithfully thy Christian Confession: for he rose from the dead, he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: neither will he come from any other place, but from thence to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come as the voice of the Angel beareth witness, as he was seen to go into Heaven; that is to say, in the self-same form and substance of Flesh, wherewith undoubtedly he gave Immortality, but he did not take away the nature thereof: according to this form of his Flesh he is not to be thought to be every where. And we must take heed that we do not so affirm the Divinity of his Manhood, that we thereby take away the truth of his Body. For it is not a good consequence, that that thing which is in Christ should so be in every place as God. For the Scripture saith very truly of us, That in Him we live, move and have our being; and yet notwithstanding, we are not in every place as he is; but that Man is otherwise in God, because that God is otherwise in Man, by a certain proper and singular manner of being: for God and Man is one Person, and only Jesus Christ is both. In that he is God, he is in every place; but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven.* Acts 7. He ascends Christ.

By which words of holy *Augustine*, your Grace may evidently see, that he testifieth and teacheth the Blessed Body or Flesh of Christ to be no where else than in Heaven. For to it being assumpt or ascended into Heaven, God, as he saith, hath given Immortality, but not taken away Nature. So that by the Nature of that Holy Flesh or Body, it must occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, *According to this form*; that is to wit, of his Fleth, *Christ is not be thought to be in every place*, For if Christ should in his Humanity be every where diffused or spread abroad, so should his Bodily Nature, or Natural Body be taken from him: And therefore he saith, *For we must beware that we do not so affirm the Divinity of Man, that we do take away the Humanity of his Body.* But in that he is God, so is he every where, according to my words before-written: and in that he is Man, so is he in Heaven. And therefore it is said, *For God and Man is one Person, and only Jesus Christ is both. He, in that he is every where, is God: but in that he is Man, he is in Heaven.*

Christs Body occupieth one place.

August. ad Dardanum.

And

KING Hen. 8. And yet do we read agreeable to the same matter, more largely in the same Epistle, by these words, *Cujusmodi Dominum nostrum unigenitum Dei Filium, æqualem patri, eundemque hominis Filium, quo major est Pater, ut ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, & in eodem Templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem, &c. Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, equal with his Father, and the same being the Son of Man, whereby the Father is greater, is present every where as God, and also in one and the same Temple of God as God, and also in some place of Heaven as concerning the true shape of body.*

Thus find we clearly, that for the measure of his very body he must be in one place, and that in Heaven, as concerning his manhood, and yet every where present in that he is the eternal Son of God and equal to his Father. Like testimony doth he give in the thirtieth Treatise that he maketh upon the Evangely of *John*. These be his words there written, *Donec seculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Domini, &c. Until the world be at an end, the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord also; for the Body of our Lord in which he rose must be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place.* The first parcel, that is, *until the worlds end*, is so put, that it may joyn with the sentence going before, or else to these words following, *The Lord is above, &c.* And so should it well accord to my sentence before shewed, which is, the Lord is so bodily ascended, that in his natural body he cannot again return from Heaven until the general Doom.

August. in Joan. tract. 30.

But howsoever the said clause or parcel be applied, it shall not greatly skill; for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full stedfast: Insomuch as the Scripture doth mention but of two adverts or comings of Christ, of which the first is performed in his blessed Incarnation, and the second is the coming at the general Doom. And furthermore, in this Article of our Creed, *From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*, is not only shewed wherefore he shall come again, but also when he shall come again: So that in the mean while, as the other Article of our Creed witnesseth, *He sitteth at the right hand of God his Father*, that is nothing else to say, than he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearsed the forefaid authority of *Austen*, so have I read in his *Quinquagenes* upon a *Psalm*, of which I cannot now precisely note or name the number. And the same words doth he also write in the Epistle to Saint *Hierom*. So that we may know he had good liking in it, that he so commonly doth use it, as his usual Proverb, or By-word.

The real presence against the Article of our Creed.

In the same is also testified that this blessed Body can be but in one place, so that it being now, according to the Scripture and Article of our Belief or Creed, in Heaven, it cannot be in Earth: and much less can it be in so innumerable places of the Earth, as we may perceive that the Sacrament is. Thus although the Body of our Saviour must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the saying of Peter, *Whom the Heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things*; Yet as the words following make mention, *Veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est. But his verity is scattered every where.* This verity of Christ, or of his Body, I do take to be that he in other places doth call *Virtus Sacramenti, the Vertue of the Sacrament.* As in the five and twentieth Treatise upon *John* we find thus written, *Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud virtus Sacramenti. The Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing.* And again, *Si quis manducaverit ex ipso, non moritur, sed qui pertinet ad virtutem Sacramenti, non qui pertinet ad visibile Sacramentum, &c. If any man eat of him, he dieth not, but he meaneth of him, which doth appertain to the vertue of the Sacrament, and not of him which pertaineth to the visible Sacrament.* And to declare what is the vertue of the Sacrament, that I count to be the truth of the Lord or of his body, he saith, *Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente; He which eateth inwardly in Spirit, not outwardly; he that eateth in heart, and not he which cheweth with teeth.*

The Body of Christ canbe but in one place at once.

The vertue of Christ. the vertue of the Sacrament.

The verity of the Lord or of his Body expounded.

So that finally, *this truth of the Lord or his Body*, which is dispersed every where abroad, is the spiritual profit, fruit and comfort, that is opened to be received every where of all Men by Faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promise or testament made to us in the Lords Body that was crucified and suffered death for us, and role again ascending immortal into Heaven, where he sitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his Father, from thence not to return until the general Doom or Judgment. This bodily absence of our Saviour is likewise clearly shewed in the fiftieth Treatise that he maketh upon *John*; where he doth expound this Text, *Te have the poor always with you, but ye shall not always have me with you*, to my purpose, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather Catholick, than theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirm in his Sermons of the second and third Feries of *Easter*; and so many places besides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is so pasting great.

Aug. in Joh. Tract. 50.

With him consenteth full plainly *Fulgentius* in his second Book to *Thrasimundus*, writing in this wise, *Unus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est Deus immensus ex patre. Unus idemque secundum humanam substantiam, absens Cælo cum esset in terra, &c.* One and the same man being local in that he is man, which is God Almighty of the Father. One and the same according to human substance, being absent from Heaven when he was in the earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended up into Heaven. But according to his divine and Almighty substance, neither departing from Heaven when he descended from Heaven, neither leaving the earth, when he ascended into Heaven. The which may well be known by the undoubtful saying of our Lord himself: which that he might the better shew his humanity occupying a place, said unto his Disciples; *I ascend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Also when he had said of* Lazarus; Lazarus *is dead, he adjoyned, saying; And I am glad for your sakes, that you may believe, because I was not there. But shewing the greatness of his Divinity, he said to his Disciples; Behold I am with you unto the end of the World. For how did he ascend into Heaven, but because he is local and true man? And how is he present to his faithful, but because he is Almighty and true God, &c.* In this manner doth he proceed forth, speaking much, full agreable to my sentence, which is now over-long here to write. But what can be said more plainly in so few words making for me?

Fulgentius ad Thrasimundum lib. 2.

Christ in his human substance is local.

Firth he faith, that Christ being a Man, is as concerning his manhood local, that is to say, contained in one place. And to express that more clearly, he addeth to it, saying, *He is one and the same according to his human substance, absent from Heaven when he was in Earth, and leaving the Earth when he ascended into Heaven.* Whereas he hath a contrary *Antithesis* for the godly nature, to shew forth the first point the more effectually. The *Antithesis* is thus; *But according to his divine and incomparable substance, neither leaving Heaven when he descended from Heaven, neither forsaking the Earth when he ascended into Heaven.* Whereby is also confirmed that I said; Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmoveable; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it *Almighty substance.* Furthermore, to shew that Christ (as touching his human and natural body, is local) and in one place, he alledgeth, and that right justly, two Texts of Scripture: The first is; *I ascend to my Father, &c.* And the second is of *Lazarus*; *I am glad for your sakes, &c.*

Antithesis, that is to say, contrary position or relation.

Finally, he maketh this demand; *But how did he ascend into Heaven, but because he is a local and very man?* Whereby we may see, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to Saint *Augustine*, writing as is above shewed; *And he shall so come (as the Angel witnesseth) even as you have seen him go up into Heaven, that is to say, in the same form and substance of his flesh. According to this form he is not spread abroad in every place: for we must beware that we do not so esteem his Divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body.* So that they both do retithe, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have afcended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man, and that if

Augustine.

We must not so defend Christs divinity, that we must destroy his humanity. Aug. ad Dard.

he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore Saint *Augustine* saith further, *Ad Dardanum, Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, & nusquam erunt, & quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt*; That is to wit, *Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be no where: and because they shall be no where, they shall have no being at all.*

Bodies cannot be without limitation of place.

We therefore coveting to find Christ or his natural Body, should seek for him in Heaven, where his natural manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us Saint *Ambrose*, in the tenth Book which he writeth upon *Luke*, speaking of Christs humanity assompt in this wise; *Ergo, non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te quærere debemus, si volumus te invenire, &c. Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now according to the flesh we do not know Christ. Furthermore,* Stephen *did not seek thee upon the Earth, when that he did see thee standing on the right Hand of God the Father.* But Mary, *which sought thee upon the Earth, could not touch thee.* Stephen *touched thee because he sought thee in Heaven.* Stephen *amongst the* Jews *saw thee being absent, &c.*

Amb. in Luc.

Thus we muſt ſeek for the natural Body of Chriſt, not upon the Earth, but in Heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely ſhew in the ſame Treatiſe, ſpeaking thus of the verity of Chriſts Body; *Quomodo non corpus quieſceret, in quo manebant inſignia vulnerum, veſtigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpanda obtulit? &c. How could it come to paſs that the body could not reſt in the Sepulcher, in which the tokens of the wounds and skars did appear, which the Lord himſelf did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only ſtabliſh the Faith, but alſo augmented devotion;) Becauſe he would rather carry up into Heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might preſent to God the Father the price of our liberty: ſuch a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our ſalvation, &c.*

Gregory alſo in an Homily of Penteco*ſt*, faith, agreeable to the other in theſe words, *Quando non maneret apud eos, qui ſecuturus cœlos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiſcum ſum omnibus diebus uſque ad conſummationem ſæculi, &c. When was it that he did not tarry with them, which aſcending up to Heaven, promiſeth, ſaying, Behold, I am here with you continually until the end of the World?* But the word Incarnate tarrieth and alſo goeth away. *It departeth in body, and tarrieth in Divinity. And therefore he ſaith, that he tarried with them: even he which was ever preſent with them by his inviſible power, and now departed by his corporal viſion.* In like wiſe doth he teſtifie in the Homily of *Eaſter-day*.

Gregorius in homil. Pent.

With theſe doth *Bede* accord in an Homily of *Eaſter* in which he declareth this Text, *John* 16. *A little while, and ye ſhall not ſee me: and again, a little while and ye ſhall ſee me.* And alſo in an Homily of the Vigil of Penteco*ſt*. And who can otherwiſe ſay or think knowing the Scripture and our Belief, but that the natural Body of Chriſt is ſo aſſumpt into Heaven all whole, that it muſt there abide without returning, until the general judgment? Notwithſtanding, ſeeing this is the chief point whereupon I ſeek to eſtabliſh my ſentence in this matter of the holy Sacrament, that Chriſts holy and natural Body is ſo aſſumpt into Heaven, that there it muſt remain all whole without returning until the general Doom; I will yet, with the permiſſion of your grace, add one or two Arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my ſentence to be faithful and Catholick.

Bede in hom. c. 16. Joan.

Arguments out of Scripture.

Chriſt h. his manhood not in many places at once.

AS Chriſt was enclo*ſed* and ſo born about in the Womb of his Mother, being a Virgin undefiled, and after was born into this World, and put in a Manger, and ſo he growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, ſometime in *Galilee*, ſometime in *Samaria*, ſometime in *Jury*, ſometime beyond, ſometime on this ſide of *Jordan*, and conſequently he was Crucified at *Jeruſalem*, there being incloſed and buried in a grave, from whence he did ariſe, ſo that the Angels teſtified of him, *He is riſen, and is not here, Matthew* 28. and as at the time appointed, after his reſurrection, he was aſſumpt, or lifted up into Heaven from the top of the Mount of *Olivet*, in the ſight of his Diſciples, a cloud compaſſing him about: Even ſo ſhall he come from the ſame Celeſtial place corporally, as they did ſee him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the teſtimony of the Angels, *Acts* 1. So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Chriſt, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once, and ſo to be corporally in his natural Body in Heaven, and alſo in Earth, and that it is moreover in ſo many parts of the World, as Men have affirmed.

{KING Hin.8.} Matth. 28.

Act. 1.

Neither doth the Scripture requ*i*re that we ſhould ſpoil Chriſt of the property of Mans nature, which is to be in one place, whom the ſame Scripture doth perpetually witneſs and teach to be Man, and ſo to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. *Paul* doth teach, that Chriſt in his manhood was made in all points like unto his Brethren, ſin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his Brethren? But here do ſome witty Philoſophers, yea, rather Sophiſters than Divines, bring in to the annulling of Chriſts humanity, a ſimilitude of Mans ſoul, which being one, is yet ſo all whole in all our whole body, that it is ſaid to be all whole in every part of the body. But ſuch ſhould remember, that it is no convenient ſimilitude which is made of things different and diverſe in nature, ſuch as be the ſoul and body of Man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Chriſts Body to be of one nature and property with his ſoul, and that things naturally corporal were not moſt diverſe from Creatures naturally ſpiritual.

The property of mans nature not to be ſequeſtred from Chriſt.

Things corporal and ſpiritual not to be compared.

Furthermore, if ſo it might be, that the body or fleſh of Chriſt were meerly ſpiritual, and full like unto the ſubſtance of Angels, yet it could not in this wiſe follow, that his body could be every where, or in divers places at once. Wherefore ſuch ſubtilties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture ſhould well like us, by which the old Doctors do define, that the Body of Jeſus, exalted or aſſumpt into Heaven, muſt be local, circumſcript, and in one place, notwithſtanding that the verity, ſpiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffuſed and ſpread broad in all places, or every where. How could Chriſt corporally depart out of this World, and leave the Earth, if he in the kinds of Bread and Wine be not only corporally contained and received, but alſo there reſerved, kept and incloſed? What other thing elſe do theſe words teſtifie, *John* the thirteenth? *But Jeſus knowing that his hour was come, that he ſhould paſs out of this World to his Father, &c.* And in like form, *Luke* the four and twentieth, *And it came to paſs, that as he bleſſed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into Heaven:* What do they ſignifie, if Chriſt went not verily out of this world, his natural Body being ſurely aſſumpt into Heaven?

The Body of Chriſt is local and in one place.

John 13.

Luke 24.

They do therefore undoubtedly declare, that Chriſt, being very God and very Man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being aſſumpt into Heaven, where he remaineth ſitting in Glory with the Father: Whereas yet his Deity did not leave the world, ne depart out from the earth. *Paul* doth ſay, *Philippians* the ſecond, that of two things he wiſt not which he might rather chuſe, that is to wit, to abide in the fleſh for preaching the Goſpel, or elſe to be diſſolved from the fleſh, ſeeing that to abide with Chriſt is much and far better. By the which *Paul* doth manifeſtly prove, that they be not preſently with Chriſt, which yet do abide mortal in the fleſh. Yet they be with Chriſt in ſuch wiſe, as the Scripture doth ſay, that the believing be the Temple of Chriſt. And as *Paul* doth ſay, 2 *Cor.* 13. *Do you not know your ſelves that Jeſus Chriſt is in you?* In which ſenſe he alſo promiſed to be with us unto the end of the world. Chriſt therefore muſt be otherwiſe in that place, in which the Apoſtle deſired to be with him, being diſſolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the Supper, or elſe in any other places of the Churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean Heaven, which is the Paradiſe of perfect bliſs and glory: whereas

Phil. 2.

2 Cor. 13.

{KING Hin.8.}

whereas Chriſt being a Victor, Triumpher, and Conqueror over death, ſin and Hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I truſt that your Grace doth ſee my ſentence thus far forth to be right, Catholick, Chriſtian, and faithful, according to holy Scripture, to holy Fathers, and the Articles of our Chriſtian Belief. Which ſentence is this; Chriſts natural Body is ſo aſſumpt into Heaven, where it ſitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, from Heaven return, until the end of the World; and therefore cannot the ſame natural Body of Chriſt be both in heaven and earth locally.

The natural Body of Chriſt cannot be both in heaven and earth locally.

The ſecond part of this matter.

The 2d part, how the natural Body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament.

NOw my ſentence in the ſecond part of this matter is this (if ſo be your Grace ſhall pleaſe to know it, as I your poor and unworthy, but full true ſubject would with all ſubmiſſion and inſtance beſeech you to know it) I grant the holy Sacrament to be the very and natural Body of our Saviour, and his very natural Blood, and that the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour is in the Sacrament after a certain wiſe, as after ſhall appear: for ſo do the words of the ſupper teſtifie, *Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.* And again, *Drink ye all of this; this is my blood which is of the* New Teſtament; *which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins.* Of which words, ſeeing on them dependeth a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is and hath been all the controverſie of this matter, I therefore ſhall ſhew the interpretation, that holy Doctors have made of them, that, as to me ſeemeth, be full worthy credit.

The proper ſignification of Scripture.

Firſt, we find in the ſecond Book of *Tertullian*, which he writeth againſt *Marcion*, *Ipſe Chriſtus nec panem reprobavit, Chriſt did not reprove the bread, becauſe it doth repreſent his body.* This *Marcion*, againſt whom *Tertullian* doth thus write, did erroneouſly reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing *Tertullian* doth improve by the Scripture, ſaying as is above written, *Chriſt did not reprove the bread, which repreſenteth his body.* As who would ſay; if Chriſt had judged the Bread evil, then would he not have left it for a ſign or Sacrament to repreſent his bleſſed Body. Agreeable to the ſame doth he alſo ſay in the fourth Book made againſt the ſaid *Marcion* in theſe words, *Chriſtus acceptum panem & diſtributum Diſcipulis, corpus ſuum illud fecit, &c. Chriſt made the ſame bread which he took and diſtributed to his Diſciples, his body, ſaying: This is my body, that is to ſay, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, unleſs it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a phantaſie, could not receive a figure or a form.* This *Marcion* had an erroneous opinion, that Chriſt had no natural Body, but a Body phantaſtical. Which Error or Hereſie, this famous Doctor *Tertullian* doth improve by the holy Sacrament, ſaying, as afore is written, *That the Sacrament is a figure of Chriſts body: Ergo,* Chriſt had a very and true body. For a thing which is vain and phantaſtical can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of theſe words, *This is my body:* which interpretation is not new, but authentick, or full antient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, becauſe none of the old Doctors, which followed him, did ever reprove him therefore, but rather have followed it, as appeareth by holy *Auguſtine*. In the Preface upon the third *Pſalm*, doth the ſaid *Auguſtine* highly commend the wonderful ſufferance of Chriſt, which ſo long did ſuffer and forbear *Judas*, as if he had been a good and an honeſt Man: whereas notwithſtanding he did know his Trayterous thoughts, when he received him to the Feaſt or Supper, in which he did commend and deliver to his Diſciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of *Auſtein* in Latin be theſe: *In Hiſtoria novi Teſtamenti, ipſa Domini noſtri tanta & tam admiranda patientia erat; quod ille tamdiu pertulit tanquam bonum, &c. In the Hiſtory of the* New Teſtament, *the patience of our Lord was ſo great, and ſo to be marvelled at, becauſe he ſuffered* Judas *ſo long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the Feaſt, in the which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his Diſciples.*

Tertul. contra Marcion. l. 4.

Tertul. contra Marcion. l. 4.

The bread repreſenteth the Body of Chriſt.

Bread bleſſed with a figure of Chriſts Body.

This is my body expounded.

The patience of Chriſt in ſuffering Judas.

Auguſtine. The Sacrament a figure of the ſacred body.

The ſame holy Doctor alſo writeth againſt *Adamantius*, ſaith thus, *Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, hoc eſt corpus meum, cum daret ſignum corporis ſui: For the Lord did not doubt to ſay, This is my body, when he gave a ſign of his body.* And for a further declaration, in the ſame Chapter, he ſaith, *Sic enim ſanguis eſt anima, quomodo petra erat Chriſtus, &c. For the blood is ſo the ſoul, as the rock was Chriſt. Notwithſtanding he doth not ſay, that the rock did ſignifie Chriſt: but he doth ſay, that the rock was Chriſt.*

Aug. contra Adamantium.

Expreſly doth *Auguſtine* here call the ſign of Chriſts Body, his Body, plainly interpreting theſe words, *This is my body*, as both he and *Tertullian* did before.

Moreover, he taketh theſe three ſentences, *This is my body, the ſoul is the blood, and Chriſt was the Stone*, to be of one Phraſe, and to be like ſpeeches, or to be expounded after one faſhion. And this Text, *The rock was Chriſt*, doth he commonly thus expound: *The rock did ſignifie Chriſt*, as appeareth, *Lib.* 18. *de Civitate Dei. Cap.* 48. Alſo in the Book of Queſtions upon *Geneſis*, and in the Book of Queſtions upon *Leviticus*, handling the 18th Chapter of *John*; and in his Sermon of the Annuntiation of our Lady.

The phraſe of Scripture.

Aug. de civit. lib. 18. cap. 48.

In like manner alſo Saint *Jerom* expoundeth it in the ſmall Scholies, written upon the firſt Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and all other Writers with one conſent, ſo far as I can read; and ſo doth the Text require it to be expounded. For Chriſt was not a natural ſtone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true ſtone figuratively, as *Lyra* ſaith, *Sibet res quæ ſignificat nomine rei ſuam ſignificat, nominari: The thing which ſignifieth is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it doth ſignifie.* And ſo is the ſtone ſignifying Chriſt, called Chriſt, which thereby is ſignified. And as he doth approve this Text, *The ſtone was Chriſt*, likewiſe doth he expound, *The blood is the ſoul*, with the which he doth knit this Text, *This is my body*, to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy Doctor write, *Pſalm.* 50, *Niſi quis manducaverit carnem meam, non videbit vitam æternam, &c. Unleſs a man do eat my fleſh, he ſhall not ſee eternal life. They underſtood that very fooliſhly, and conceived the ſame carnally; and that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they ſaid; This is an hard ſaying. But they were hard of belief, and not the ſaying. For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have ſaid to themſelves: He ſpeaketh not this without a cauſe, but becauſe there is ſome hid Sacrament or myſtery therein. They ſhould have aboden with him, eaſie of belief, and not hard, and then ſhould they have learned of him that which other learned, that tarried after they were gone away.*

Lyranus.

This is not body a figurative ſpeech. Aug. Pſal. 50.

In this we may ſee, that our Saviour willeth his precious fleſh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, theſe is, and hath been much controverſie. The *Jews* of *Capernaum* were offended with Chriſt, when he ſaid, he would have his fleſh eaten: and except a man ſhould eat his fleſh, he could not come to life eternal. They ſuppoſed grofly, and underſtood him (if a man might ſo plainly ſpeak it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the Butcher doth out of dead beaſts, and ſo give it them to eat of, as *Auguſtine* doth here ſay. And upon this groſs, or (as holy *Auguſtine* doth here call it) fooliſh and fleſhly underſtanding, they were offended, and ſaid to him; *This is a ſore or hard ſaying.* They did ſhoot forth their bolt, and unwiſe ſaying over ſoon, and were offended before they had cauſe. They took that for hard and fore, which would have been paſſing pleaſant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

The Jews were offended with Chriſts doctrine.

And even ſo now that which in this matter may appear at the firſt bluſh, a fore, ſtrange, and intolerable ſentence, for as much as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time, been beaten into our heads,

and perswaded to our minds, yet by deliberation and indifference, and abiding a trial of that which at the first may appear fore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your Grace is, loving to hear and to know all troth. But the *Capernaites* were hard, as here saith *Austine*, and not the Word. For if they had not been hard, but soft and patient to hear, they would have said in themselves, Christ saith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mystery therein: and so by patient tarriance they should have known the truth, that they could not attain to for perverse hastiness or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgment. But the Disciples tarried patiently to hear further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words life, that to the other, over readily departing from Christ, were words of death: For they took them literally and grosly; and the Letter (as *Paul* saith) slayeth.

Hardness a great hinderance of true judgment. 2 Cor. 3.

But to shew what the Disciples remaining with Christ did learn, Saint *Augustine* doth consequently shew, by the words of the Gospel, saying, thus: *Ille autem instruxit eos, & ait illis; Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro nihil prodest, &c. But he instructed them, and said unto them, The Spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are Spirit and life. Understand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucifie me. I have set forth to you a certain Sacrament or mystery, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly.* In this do we see, that both Christ and *Augustine* would have Christs Words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally; and therefore doth he say, *You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucifie me.* And what else is this, but that Christ would his Body to be eaten, and his Blood to be drunken? But he would not his Body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seen of them to whom he spake; nor his material or natural Blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his natural Body crucified, as saith *Augustine*; but he ordained and willed his Body and Blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his Body was crucified for us, and that his Blood was shed for remission of our sins.

The words of the Sacrament are to be understood spiritually.

The Body of Christ is not to be eaten carnally.

This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belief as is shewed. Wherefore as Christ saith, *He that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, hath life everlasting.* Even so doth he say, *He that believeth in me hath life everlasting.* And Saint *Augustine* agreeable to the same, treating upon *John*, doth say, *At quid paras dentem & ventrem? Crede, & manducasti, &c. Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten.* I do know that Christ ordaineth his Sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but that same doth not feed the mind of them, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. *Hebrews* the thirteenth, *It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.*

Aug. in Joan.

Aug. in Serm. de verbis Luc.

And Saint *Augustine* assenting to the same, doth say in a Sermon, that he maketh upon these words, in the Gospel of Saint *Luke*; *Lord teach us to pray, Panem dixit, sed Epiousion, hoc est, supersubstantialem, &c. He said Bread, but supersubstantial Bread. This is not the Bread, which goeth into the Body; but that Bread which doth satisfie the substance of our Soul.* Our souls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the Body and Blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his blessed Body and Blood so to be eaten and drunken: Although our souls cannot live, except they be spiritually fed with the blessed Body and Blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed Sacrament, which is truly called his Body and Blood; Not that it is so really, but as is shewed by the interpretation both of *Tertullian* and *Augustine*, because it is a sign or figure of Christs Body and Blood. And the signs or Sacraments do commonly, as saith Saint *Augustine*, both *Ad Bonifacium*, and in his Work, *De Civitate Dei*, take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

The Sacrament truly called the Body and Blood of Christ.

But forsomuch as some will object that *Augustine* in the words afore rehearsed doth not speak of eating the Sacrament; for the Text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the Sacrament, which Text is this, *Unless a man may eat my flesh, &c.* I answer, that true it is, he began of spiritual eating, and thereto feweth the Text recited. Nevertheless, he meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten, either without the Sacrament, or in the Sacrament, but spiritually of the faithful: as more evidently doth appear by these words there following: *Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, quod spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos, &c. I have commended unto you a Sacrament, which being understood of you spiritually shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.*

{KING} Hen. 8.

Sacraments take their denomination of the things which they represent.

Objection answered.

Here doth he shew that he meaneth of eating, not without the Sacrament only, but also in the Sacrament, and therefore he doth not only say, *I have commended unto you a certain Sacrament, &c.* But he addeth moreover, *Although it is requisite the same to be celebrate visibly.* How therefore can the eating of Christ, and the Sacrament thereof be visibly celebrate, but in the Mmundy, or in his Supper? Which is celebrate visibly in visible things of Bread and Wine: which cannot quicken or relieve us and our souls, except they be underfood and so received spiritually.

Furthermore, as concerning the exposition of these words of the Supper, *This is my body, &c.* St. *Augustine*, writing to *Bonifacius*, faith thus. *Sæpe ita loquimur, ut Pascha appropinquante, crastinam vel perendiam Domini passionem dicamus, &c. We use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when* Easter *doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, the passion of the Lord, when as he notwithstanding had suffered before that many years; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say upon the Lords day: This day the Lord hath risen, when so many years are past since he rose. Wherefore no man is so fond, that he will reprove us as liers, for this manner of speaking, because we call these days according to the similitude of those, in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but by course of time of the year coming about; is like unto it: And also because that thing is said to be done that day through the celebration of the Sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Wat not Christ once offered up in himself? And yet notwithstanding, he is not only offered up in the Sacrament, in the solemn Feast of* Easter, *but every day mystically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, which being demanded, answereth, that Christ is offered up. For, if the Sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments, then should they be no Sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude or likeness, Sacraments oftentimes do receive the names of the self same things whereof they are Sacraments,*

Christ is offered in the Sacrament mystically, that is to remembrance of his oblation.

This is nigh body expounded by *Augustine*. *Aug. de Bonif.*

Therefore, as after a certain manner, the Sacrament of Christs Body is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christs Blood is the Blood of Christ: even likewise the Sacrament of Faith is Faith. For to believe, is none other thing, than to have Faith And by this it is answered, that the very Infants have Faith, because of the Sacrament of Faith, and convert themselves unto God, because of the Sacrament of Conversion: for the very answer it self doth appertain unto the celebration of the Sacrament: as the Apostle speaketh of Baptism. For he saith, We are buried by Baptism into his death: He saith not, we have signified a burying, but he plainly saith, we are buried. Therefore he named the Sacrament of so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing it self.

Sacraments are after a certain manner.

How the Sacrament of the Body is the Body of Christ after a certain manner.

Nothing can be more plainly spoken, nor more agreeable to the natural understanding of the Texts of the Supper, and to the exposition aforethewed of *Tertullian* and of himself. For seeing that Christ is bodily in Heaven, and so absent from the Earth, it is needful to know, how the holy Sacrament, which he doth call his Body and Blood, should be his Body and Blood.

This holy Doctor *Augustine* therefore, doth this matter manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches, and first by common speeches, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The common speech is: we do, saith he, use often to say, that when *Easter* doth approach or draw nigh, to morrow or the next day is the Lords passion, whereas he did suffer afore many years past, and that passion was never but once done.

{KING} Hen. 8.

By Analogy of the Scripture speeche a thing may be expounded, one speech by another.

The second common speech is; and of that *Sunday* we say, That this day the Lord did rise from death, whereas so many years be yet past since the time he arose. Wherefore to conclude, he saith, No man is so foolish, that he will reprove us for so saying, or to say that we have lived, because we do call these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the self same, but by revolution of time like unto it. And the Resurrection is said to be done in the same day, throught the celebrating of the Sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time afore past.

The third speech is; Was not Christ offered up once for all in his own person? Yet is he nevertheless offered in the Sacrament mystically for the people, not only every year at the Feast of *Easter*, but also every day. Neither doth he lie, which when he is demanded, shall answer, that he offered or sacrificed. For if the Sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they be Sacraments, then should they be no Sacraments at all. By reason of which similitude they do for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And therefore after a certain manner the Sacrament of Christs Body is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christs Blood is the Blood of Christ, and so also be the Sacraments of Faith called Faith.

This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this: It is none other thing to believe, than to have Faith. And therefore when answer is made that the Infants have Faith, which indeed have it not in full working, it is answered, That such have Faith for the Sacrament of Faith, and that they do convert themselves unto Faith for the Sacrament of Conversion. For the very answer it self doth pertain to the celebration of the Sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appear, that as we use truly to call that *Good-Friday*, or the day of Christs passion, which is not indeed the day of Christs passion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever: and as we use to call the next *Easter* day the day of Christs Resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but only for a memorial of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long time passed.

Sacraments are after a certain manner.

The celebration of the Sacrament representeth the oblation of Christs Body.

The Sacrament of Christs Body is not Christs Body indeed, but in memorial or representation.

And Christ, being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up not only every year at *Easter*, but also every day in the celebration of the Sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented; Even so (saith *Augustine*) is the Sacrament of Christs Body the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of Christs Blood the Blood of Christ in a certain wise or fashion. Not that the Sacrament is his natural Body or Blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or representation thereof, as the days before shewed be of his very and natural Body crucified for us, and of his precious Blood shed for the remission of our sins. And thus be the holy signs or Sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so? For they (saith *Augustine*) have a certain similitude of those things whereof they be signs or Sacraments; for else they should be no Sacraments at all: and therefore do they commonly, and for the most part receive the denomination of the things whereof they be Sacraments.

A fallax in logick, as reverdere quid ad simpliciter. The Popes argument. The Sacrament of Christs Body, is Christs Body: *Ergo, Secundum quid ad simpliciter*; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Christs Body is in a certain wise the Body of Christ: *Ergo*, it is allo plainly and expreffly the natural Body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certain manner a Lyon, a Lamb, and a Dore; *Ergo*, Christ is a natural Lyon, and a Lamb, or material Dore. But the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood is therefore called his Body and Blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, Sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption. Which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently alledge of Baptism; *Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolis dicit, &c.*

So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood the very Body and Blood of Christ, but as he said before. But yet he faith in a certain manner or wise; Not that the Sacrament absolutely and plainly is his natural Body and Blood. For this is a false argument of Sophistry, which they call *Secundum quid ad simpliciter*; that is to say, that the Sacrament of Christs Body is in a certain wise the Body of Christ: *Ergo*, it is allo plainly and expreffly the natural Body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certain manner a Lyon, a Lamb, and a Dore; *Ergo*, Christ is a natural Lyon, and a Lamb, or material Dore. But the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood is therefore called his Body and Blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, Sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption. Which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently alledge of Baptism; *Sicut de ipso baptismo Apostolis dicit, &c.*

The Apostle, quoth *Augustine*, faith not, we have signified burying, but he faith utterly, we be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from fin, which yet do live in all sin. And therefore faith *Augustine* immediately thereupon, he called therefore the Sacrament of so great thing, by none other name than of the thing it self. Thus (O moft gracious and godly Prince) do I confess and acknowledge, that the Bread of the Sacrament is truly Christs Body, and the Wine to be truly his Blood, according to the words of the institution of the same Sacrament; but in a certain wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or fignificatively, according to the exposition of the Doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old Doctors am I inforced, both by the Articles of my Creed, and also by the circumftances of the said Scripture, as after shall more largely appear. But by the same cah I not find the natural Body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent, both from the Sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in Heaven, where he by promise must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

The same holy Doctor, writing against one *Faustus*, faith in like manner, *Si Machabæus cum ingenti admiratione præferimus, quia escas quibus nunc Christiani licite utuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc Prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro Baptismo Christi, pro Eucharistia Christi, pro signo Christi, &c. If we do prefer with great admiration the Machabees, because they would not once touch the meats which Christian men now lawfully use to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time being then Prophetical, that is, in the time of the* Old Testament: *How much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the Baptism of Christ, and for the Sacrament of thanksgiving, and for the sign of Christ, seeing that those of the* Old Testament *were the promises of the things to be compleat and fulfilled, and these Sacraments in the* New Testament *are the tokens of things compleat and finished?* In this do I note, that according to the expolitions before shewed, he calleth the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, otherwise properly named *Eucharistia signum Christi*, and that in the singular number, for as much as they both do fignifie well-nigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he calleth them *Indicia rerum completarum*, that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belief of Christ for us crucified. And he doth call usually both the Sacraments *signum Christi*, in the fingular number. And as the same Saint *Augustine* in his fiftieth Treatise upon the Gospel of Saint *John* teacheth, where he faith thus; *Si bonus es, si ad corpus Christi pertines, (quod significat Petrus) habes Christum, & in præsenti & in futuro. In præsenti per fidem, &c. If thou be good, if thou pertain to the Body of Christ, (which this word* Petrus *doth signifie) then hast thou Christ both here present, and in time to come: here present through Faith; here present by the figure and sign of Christ; here present by the Sacrament of Baptism; here present by the meat and drink of the Altar, &c.*

Aug. contra Faustum.

The sign of Christ.

Aug. in Joan. tract. 50.

More there was that *John Lambert* wrote to the King, but thus much only came to our hands.

The death of Robert Packington.

Robert Packington. Anno 1538.

AMong other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of *Robert Packington*, Mercer of *London*, wrought and caused by the enemies of Gods Word and of all good proceedings. The Story is this; The said *Robert Packington*,

being a man of substance, and dwelling in *Cheapside*, used every day at Five of the Clock, *Winter* and *Summer*, to go to pray at a Church then called *Saint Thomas of Acres*, but now named *Mercers Chappel*. And one morning amongst all other, being a great myrky-morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the Church, he was suddenly murthered with a Gun, which of the Neighbours was plainly heard, and by a great number of Labourers standing at *Soper-Lane* end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the Gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while unespied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the Murtherer so covertly was conveyed, till at length by the confession of Doctor *Incent* Dean of *Paul's*, in his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the Author thereof, by hiring an *Italian*, for forty Crowns or thereabout, to do the feat. For the testimony whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said *Incent*, the names both of them which heard him confess it, and of them which heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

Doct. *Incent* Dean of *Paul's*, murderer of *Packington*.

The cause why he was so little favoured with the Clergy, was this, For that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the Burgesses of the Parliament for the City of *London*, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the Clergy, wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have some talk with the King, for the which he was the more had in disdain with them; and murthered by the said Doctor *Incent*, for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of *Robert Packington*, which was the Brother of *Augustine Packington* above mentioned, who deceived Bishop *Tonstall*, in buying the new translated *Testament* of *Tindall*. Whose pitious murther although it was privy and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins *at* London.

Collins with his Dog burned

NEither is here to be omitted the burning of one *Collins*, sometime a Lawyer and a Gentleman, which suffered the fire this year also in *Smithfield*, *Anno* 1538. Whom although I do not here recite as in the number of Gods professed Martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestred from the company of the Lords saved Flock and Family, notwithstanding that the Bishop of *Romes* Church did condemn and burn him for an Heretick: but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of Saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such, as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning so without all discretion this man, being mad and distract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occation as here followeth.

This Gentleman had a Wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but notwithstanding of so light behaviour and unchast conditions (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty) that she forsaking her Husband, which loved her intirely, betook her self unto another Paramour. Which when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last being overcome with exceeding dolour and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a Student of the Law in *London*. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a Church, where a Priest was saying Mass, and was come to the place where they use to hold up and shew the Sacrament.

Collins being beside his wits, seeing the Priest holding up the Host over his head, and shewing it to the people: he in like manner counterfeiting the Priest, took up a little Dog by the legs and held him over his head, shewing him unto the people. And for this he was by and by brought to Examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the Dog with him, the same year of our Lord, in the which *John Lambert* was burned, 1538.

Collins burned for holding up a Dog at Mass.

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The burning of Cowbridge *at* Oxford, *Anno* 1538.

WIth this foresaid *Collins* may also be adjoyned the burning of *Cowbridge*, who likewise being mad and beside his right senses, was either the same or the next year following, condemned by *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at *Oxford*. What his Opinions and Articles were wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse. For as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be found. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect Articles against him, which said, *He could not tell what*. And if his Articles were so horrible and mad as *Cope* in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my judgment a man more fit to be sent to *Bedlem*, than to be had to the fire in *Smithfield* to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a Creature mad or unreasonable, or to make Heretic of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

Cowbridge burnt at Oxford.

Cope in his Dialogues.

But this is the manner and property of this holy Mother-Church of *Rome*, that whatsoever cometh in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable Examples, both of *Collins* and *Cowbridge* it may appear. Who rather should have been pitied, and all ways convenient sought how to seduce the silly Wretches into their right minds again, according as the true Pastors of *Israel* be commanded by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c. and not so extreamly to brust the things that be bruised before. But to end with this matter of *Cowbridge*, whatsoever his madness was before, or however erroneous his Articles were (which for the fond Phantacies of them I do not express) yet as touching his end, this is certain, that in the midst of the flame, he, lifting up his head to Heaven, soberly and discreetly called upon the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and so departed.

The right Confession of Cowbridge, at his departing.

William Leiton and Puttedew, Martyrs.

ABout the same time and year, or not much before, when *John Lambert* suffered at *London*, there was one *Puttedew* also condemned to the fire, about the parts of *Suffolk*: who coming into the Church, and merrily telling the Priest, that after he had drunk up all the Wine alone, he afterward blessed the hungry people with the empty *Chalice*, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experient, *Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum Sanctis*, as the old saying was then; but rather, as we may see now, *Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis*.

Puttedew martyred.

Prover. Nimium ne credas ludere cum impiis.

To the other *William Leiton*, was a Monk of *Aye* in the County of *Suffolk*, and was burned at *Norwich*, for speaking against a certain Idol which was accustomed to be carried about the Processions at *Aye*; and also for holding that the Sacramental Supper ought to be administred in both kinds, about the year and time aforesaid.

W. Leyton Martyr.

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Collins with his dogge burned at London.

The burning of one Peke at Ipswich.

N. Peke burned at Ipswich, Martyr.

IN the burning of another *Suffolk*-man, named *N. Peke*, dwelling sometime at *Earlesfonham*, and burnt at *Ipswich*, somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I find it recorded and testified; That when as he being fast bound to a stake, and Furse set on fire round about him, was so forched, that he was as black as any foot, one Doctor *Reading* there standing before him, with Doctor *Heyre* and Doctor *Springwell*, having a long white *Wand* in his hand, did knock him upon the right shoulder, and said *Peke* recant, and believe that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very Body of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, after that the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration over it, and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee, having a Scrol of Paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, *Peke* answered, and said, *I defie it and thee also*, and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his Veins brake in his body for extream anguish. And when the said *Peke* had so spoken, then Doctor *Reading* said, *To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this Heretick, is granted forty days of pardon by my Lord Bishop of* Norwich.

Forty days of pardon proclaimed for casting sticks into Peke's fire.

Then Baron *Curson*, Sir *John Audley* Knight, with many others of estimation being there present, did rise from their Seats, and with their Swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people.

Witness John Ramsey *and others, who did see this act.*

Of this Council of Mantua read before.

IN the year last before this, which was of the Lord, 1537. it was declared how Pope *Paul* the Third indicted a general Council, to be holden at *Mantua*. Whereunto the King of *England*, amongst other Princes being called, refused either to come or to send at the Popes call, and for defence of himself directed out a publick Apology or Protestation, rendring just and sufficient matter, why neither he would, nor was bound to obey the Popes Commandment. Which Protestation is before to be read. This Council appointed to begin the three and twentieth day of *May*, the year aforesaid was then stopped by the Duke of *Mantua*, pretending that he would suffer no Council there, unless the Pope would fortifie the City *with a sufficient Army, &c. For which cause the Pope* prorogued the said Council, to be celebrate in the month of *November* following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the City of *Vincence* (lying within the Dominion of the *Venetians*) to be the place for the Council. Whereunto when the King (the year next following, which is this present year of our Lord, 1538.) was requested by the Emperor and other States, to resort either himself, or to send; he again refusing (as he did before) sendeth this Protestation in way of defence and answer for himself, to the Emperor and other Christian Princes; the Copy and effect whereof hereunder followeth, and is this.

Henry *the Eighth by the Grace of God, King of* England *and* France, *&c. saluteth the Emperour, Christian Princes, and all true Christian men, desiring Peace and Concord amongst them.*

WHereas not long since, a Book came forth in our and all our Councils Names, which contained many causes why we refused the Council, then by the Bishop of *Romes* usurped Power, first indicted at *Mantua*, to be kept the three and twentieth day of *May*, after prorogued to *November*, no place appointed where it should be kept: And whereas the same Book doth sufficiently prove, that our cause could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in such a company of men addict to one Sect, nor in any other Council called by his usurped Power; we think it nothing necessary, oft to make new Protestations, as the Bishop of *Rome* and his Courts, by subtility and craft, do invent ways to mock the World by new pretended general Councils. Yet notwithstanding because that some things now occurred, either upon occasion given us by change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now being known to the World may do much good, we thought we should do but even as that love enforceth us, which we owe unto Christs Faith and Religion, to add this Epistle. And yet we protest that we neither put forth that Book, neither yet we would this Epistle to be set before it, that thereby we should seem less to desire a general Council than any other Prince or Potentate, but *rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all* parts, and universal. And further, we desire all good Princes, Potentates, and people, to esteem and think, that no Prince would more willingly be present at such a Council

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The Kings Letter to the Emperor. Of this Book read before. The Pope doth but mock the world with his pretended Councils.

General Councils are to be ussed, so they might be free universally for all parts.

Council than we; such a one we mean, as we speak of in our Protestation made concerning the Council of *Mantua*.

Nothing more pernicious to the Church than general Councils, if they be abused.

Truly as our fore-Fathers invented nothing more holy than General Councils, used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the Christian Commonwealth, to the Faith, to our Religion, than General Councils, if they be abused to lucre, to gains, to the establishment of Errors. They be called *General*, and even by their name do admonish us, that all Christian men, which do diffent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without fear of punishment or displeasure say their mind. For seeing such things as are decreed in General Councils, touch equally all men that give assent thereunto, it is meet that every man may boldly say there what he thinketh. And verily we suppose, that it ought not to be called a General Council, where only those men are heard, which are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the Popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the Bishop of *Romes* quarrel, though it were against God and his Scripture. It is no General Council, neither ought it to be called General, where the same men be both Advocates and Adversaries: the same accused and judges: No it is against the Law of Nature, either that we should condefend to so unreasonable a Law against our selves, or that we should suffer our selves to be left without all defence, and being oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no Refuge to succour our selves at. The Bishop of *Rome* and his be our great Enemies, as we and all the World may well perceive by his doings.

The Popes Councils are not General Councils.

The Pope in his Councells is the party accused and also the Judge.

Against all reason that he which is our Accuser should also be our Judge.

The Popes honour first gotten by Superstition, born by Ignorance, nourished by ambition, encreased by violence, defended by false understanding and wresting of Scriptures.

He defireth nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our Realm: Do not we then violate the judgment of Nature, if we give him power and authority to be our Judge? His pretended Honour, first gotten by Superstition, after increased by violence, and other ways as evil as that; his power set up by pretence of Religion, indeed both against Religion, and also contrary to the Word of God; his Primacy, born by the ignorance of the World, nourished by the ambition of the Bishops of *Rome*, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood: these three things, we say, which are fallen with us, and are like to fall in other Realms shortly, shall they not be established again; if he may decide our cause as him listeth? If he may at his pleasure oppress a Cause most righteous, and set up his, most against truth? Certainly he is very blind that seeth not what end we may look for of our Controversies, if such our Enemy may give the Sentence.

We desire, if it were in any wise possible, a Council, where some hope may be that those things shall be restored, which now being depravate are like (if they be not amended) to be the utter ruine of Christian Religion. And as we do desire such a Council, and think it meet that all men in all their prayers should desire and crave it of God, even so we think it appertaineth unto our Office, to provide both that these Popish subtilties hurt none of our Subjects, and also to admonish other Christian Princes, that the Bishop of *Rome* may not by their consent abuse the Authority of Kings, either by the extinguishing of the true preaching of Scripture, (that now begimneth to spring, to grow and spread abroad) or to the troubling of Princes Liberties, to the diminishing of Kings Authorities, and to the great blemish of their Princely Majesty. We doubt nothing but a Reader not partial will soon approve such things as we here write, not so much for our excuse as that the World may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtilities of the *Papists*, and also how much we desire that Controversies in matters of Religion may once be taken away.

Provision to be made against Popish subtilties.

This Council of *Mantua* which the Pope prerogued, he afterward transferred to *Vincence*.

This was the year, 1537.

All that we said there of *Mantua*, may here well be spoken of *Vincence*. They do almost agree in all Points. Neither is it like that there will be any more at this Council at *Vincence*, than were the last year at *Mantua*. Truly he is worthy to be deceived, that being twice mocked will not beware the third time. If any this last year made forth toward *Mantua*, and being half on their way, then perceived that they had taken upon them that Journey in vain, we do not think them to foolish, that they will hereafter ride far out of the Town to be mocked. The time also and the state of things is such, that matters of Religion may rather now be brought further in trouble (as other things are) than be commodiously entreated of and decided. For whereas in manner the whole World is after such fort troubled with Wars, so incumbred with the great Preparations that the *Turk* maketh, can there be any man so againſt the setling of Religion that he will think this time meet for a general Council? Undoubtedly it is meet that such Controverſies as we have with the Bishop of *Rome*, be taken as they are, that is much greater, than that they may either be discussed in this so troublesome a time, or else be committed unto Proctors, without our great jeopardy, albeit the time were never so quiet.

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This time unmeet for a General Council, and why.

What other Princes will do, we cannot tell: but we will never leave our Realm at this time, neither will we trust any Proctor with our Cause, wherein the whole stay and wealth of our Realm standeth, but rather we will be at the handling thereof our self. For except both another Judge be agreed upon for those matters, and also a place more commodious be provided for the debating of our Causes; albeit all other things were as we would have them, yet may we lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended Council. We will in no case make him our Arbitrer, which not many years past, our Cause not heard, gave Sentence against us. We will that such Doctrine, as we following the Scripture do profess, be rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchstone of true Learning.

Neither the Judge, nor the place convenient for a general Council.

Spoken like a King.

We will not suffer them to be abolished, ere ever they be discussed, ne to be oppressed, before they be known; much less will we suffer them to be trodden down being so clearly true. No, as there is no jote in Scripture but we will defend it, though it were with jeopardy of our life, and peril of this our Realm: so is there nothing that doth oppress this Doctrine, or obscure it, but we will be at continual War therewith. As we have abrogated all old Popish Traditions in this our Realm, which either did help his Tyranny, or increase his Pride: so if the Grace of God forsake us not, we will well forefee, that no new naughty Traditions be made with our consent, to bind us or our Realm.

Would God the King here had kept promise when he made the six Articles.

If men will not be willingly blind, they shall easily see even by a due and evident proof in reason, though Grace doth not yet by the Word of Christ enter into them, how small the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is, by the lawful denial of the Duke of *Mantua* for the place. For if the Bishop of *Rome* did earnestly intend to keep a Council at *Mantua*, and hath power of the Law by God to call Princes to what place him liketh: why hath he not also Authority to choose what place him listeth? The Bishop chose *Mantua*: the Duke kept him out of it. If *Paul* the Bishop of *Romes* Authority be so great as he pretendeth, why could he not compel *Fredericus* the Duke of *Mantua*, that the Council might be kept there? The Duke would not suffer it. No he forbad him his Town.

The Duke of Mantua denieth the Pope his city for his Council.

How chanceth it, that here Excommunications flee not abroad? why doth he not punish this Duke? Why is his Power that was wont to be more than full, here empty? Wont to be more than all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vain to a Council, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place to the which he calleth them? may not Kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the Duke of *Mantua* may deny him the place that he chooseth? If other Princes order him as the Duke of *Mantua* hath done, what place shall be left him, where he may keep his General Council?

If the Popes Authority may be stopped by a Duke, what Authority then hath he over Kings and Emperors.

Again, if Princes have given him this Authority to call a Council, is it not necessary that they give him also all those things, without the which he cannot exercise that his Power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him to find no place to call them unto? Truly he is not wont to appoint one of his own Cities, a place to keep the Council in. No, the good man is so faithful and friendly toward other, that seldom he desires Princes to be his Guests.

Examples that the Pope hath no power upon places in other mens Dominion.

And admit he should call us to one of his Cities, should we safely walk within the Walls of such our Enemies Town? were it meet for us there to discuss Controverſies of Religion, or to keep us out of our Enemies traps? Meet to study for the defence of such Doctrine as we profess, or rather how we might in such a throng of perils

{KING Hen. 8.} perils be in safeguard of our life? Well, in this one Act the Bishop of *Rome* hath declared that he hath none Authority upon places in other mens Dominions, and therefore if he promise a Council in any of those, he promiseth that, that is in another man to perform, and so may he deceive us again.

Dilemma against the Pope. *Vincence* a City under the Dominion of the *Venetians*.

Now if he call us to one of his own Towns, we be afraid to be at such an Hosts Table. We say, better to rise an hungred, than to go thence with our bellies full. But they say, the place is found, we need no more to seek where the Council shall be kept. As who saith, that what chanced at *Mantua*, may not also chance at *Vincence*: and as though it were very like that the *Venetians*, men of such wisdom, should not both forefee, and fear also that the wife Duke of *Mantua* seemed to fear. Certes, when we think upon the state that the *Venetians* be in now, it seemeth no very likely thing, that they will either leave *Vincence* their City to so many Nations, without some great Garrison of Souldiers, or else that they, being elsewhere so fore charged already, will now nourish any Army there.

And if they would, doth not *Paul* himself grant it should be an evil President, and an evil example to have an armed Council?

However it shall be, we most heartily desire you, that ye will vouchsafe to read those things that we wrote this last year touching the *Mantuan* Council. For we nothing doubt, but you, of your equity, will stand on our side against their subtilty and frauds, and judge (except we be deceived) that we in this business, neither gave so much to our affections, neither without great and most just causes refused their Councils, their Censures and Decrees.

Whether these our Writings please all men, or no, we think we ought not to pass much. No, if that which indifferently is written of us, may please indifferent Readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of things by men partial shall move us nothing, or else very little. If we have said ought against the deceits of the Bishop of *Rome*, that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you impute it to the hatred we bear unto his Vices, and not to any evil will that we bear him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his Vices, than with him and his: our prayer is, that it may please God at the last to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that they once may with us (their own glory set apart) study to set forth the everlasting Glory of the ever-living God.

Thus, mighty Emperor, fare you most heartily well, and ye Christian Princes, the Pillars and state of *Christendom*, fare ye heartily well. Also all ye, what people soever ye are, which do desire that the Gospel and Glory of Christ may flourish, fare ye heartily well.

As the Lord of his goodness had raised up *Thomas Cromwel* to be a Friend and Patron to the Gospel; so on the contrary side Satan (which is Adversary and Enemy to all good things) had his Organ also, which was *Stephen Gardiner*, by all wiles and subtil means to impeach and put back the same. Who after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good *John Lambert* (as ye have heard) proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking under the name of *Heresies*, *Sects*, *Anabaptists*, and *Sacramentaries*, to exterminate all good Books, and faithful Professors of Gods Word out of *England*, so wrought with the King, that the next year following, which was of our Lord, 1539. he gave out these Injunctions, the Copy and Contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these.

Certain other Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King, against English *Books*, Sects, *and* Sacramentaries *also, with putting down the Day of* Thomas Becket.

{Anno 1539.} First, That none, without special Licence of the King, transport or bring from outward Parts into *England* any manner of *English* Books, neither yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels, and their Bodies to be imprisoned, so long as it shall please the Kings Majesty.

No Books to be translated without the name of the Translator.

Item, That none shall print, or bring over any *English* Books with Annotations or Prologues, unless such Books before be examined by the Kings Privy-Council, or others appointed by his Highness, and yet not to be put thereto these words, *Cum Privilegio Regali*, without adding, *Ad imprimendum solum*: Neither yet to imprint it, without the Kings Priviledge be printed therewith in the *English*-Tongue, that all men may read it. Neither shall they print any translated Book, without the plain name of the Translator be in it, or else the Printer to be made the Translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment thereof at the Kings pleasure.

English Books of Scripture forbidden to be printed.

Item, That none of the Occupation of Printing shall within the Realm Print, Utter, Sell, or cause to be published any *English* Book of Scripture, unless the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the Kings Highness, or one of his Privy-Council, or one Bishop within the Realm, whose name shall therein be expressed, upon pain of the Kings most high displeasure, the loss of their Goods and Chattels, and Imprisonment so long as it shall please the King.

Against Sacramentaries.

Item, Those that be in any Errors, as *Sacramentaries*, *Anabaptists*, or any other, that sell Books having such Opinions in them, being once known, both the Books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the Kings Majesty, or one of his Privy-Council, to the intent to have it punished without favour, even with the extremity of the Law.

No man ed disputc of the Sacrament.

Item, That none of the Kings Subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the Sacrament of the Altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels without all favour, only those excepted that be learned in Divinity: they to have their liberty in their Schools and appointed places accustomed for such matters.

Holy Bread and holy Water, with other Rites of the Church established.

Item, That the holy Bread and holy Water, Procession, kneeling and creeping on *Good-Friday* to the Cross, and *Easter-day*, setting up of Lights before the *Corpus Christi*, bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, Purification of Women delivered of Child, offering of Crismes, keeping of the four Offering-days, paying their Tythes, and such like Ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it shall please the King to change or abrogate any of them. This Article was made for that the people was not quieted and contented (many of them) with the Ceremonies then used.

Married Priests put unlined.

Finally, All those Priests that be married, and openly known to have their Wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, shall be deprived of all Spiritual Promotion, and from doing any duty of a Priest, and shall have no manner of Office, Dignity, Cure, Priviledge, Profit, or Commodity in any thing appertaining to the Clergy, but from thenceforth shall be taken, had, and reputed as Laypersons, to all purposes and intents; and those that shall after this Proclamation marry, shall run in his Graces Indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his Graces will and pleasure.

Differences to be taught between things commanded of God, and Ceremonies uncommanded.

Item, He chargeth all Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and other Ministers, and every of them in their own charge, within their Cures diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the Glory of God, and truth of his Word, and also considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and stomachs of many, by reason of their fond Ceremonies, he chargeth them upon pain of Imprisonment, at his Graces pleasure, not only to preach and teach the Word of God accordingly, but also sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the Rites and Ceremonies in their Church then used, left the people thereby might grow into further suspicion.

Thomas Becket perverted & stubbornly withstanding.

Item, For as much as it appeareth now clearly, that *Thomas Becket*, sometime Archbishop of *Canterbury*, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome Laws established against the Enormities of the Clergy, by the Kings Highness Noble Progenitor King *Henry* the Second, for the Commonwealth, rest and tranquillity of this Realm, of his froward mind fled the Realm into *France*,

and

and to the Bishop of *Rome*, maintainer of those Enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said Laws (whereby arose much trouble in this said Realm) and that this death, which they untruly called *Martyrdom*, hapned upon a Rescue made, and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the Gentlemen which then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that Rescue, and he not only called the one of them *Bawd*, but also took *Tracy* by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such manner, that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the Church, so that upon this Fray, one of their company perceiving the same, strake him, and so in the Throng *Becket* was slain: and further, that this Canonization was made only by the Bishop of *Rome*, because he had been both a Champion to maintain his usurped Authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the Clergy.

The Becket a Rebel rather than a Saint.

For these, and for other great and urgent causes, long to recite, the Kings Majesty, by the advice of his Council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving Subjects, that notwithstanding the said Canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation, whereby he should be called a Saint, but rather esteemed to have been a Rebel and Traytor to his Prince.

Therefore his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said *Thomas Becket* shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a Saint, but Bishop *Becket*, and that his Images and Pictures thorow the whole Realm shall be plucked down and avoided out of all Churches, Chappels, and other places, and that from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the Service, Office, Antiphons, Collects, and Prayers in his name read, but raised and put out of all their Books; and that all their Festival-days already abrogated, shall be in no wise solemnized, but his Graces Ordinances and Injunctions thereupon observed, to the intent his Graces loving Subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit Idolatry, as they have done in times passed, upon pain of his Majesties Indignation, and imprisonment at his Graces pleasure.

The cancelation of Tho. Becket razed.

Finally, his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that his Subjects do keep and observe all and singular his Injunctions made by his Majesty, upon the pain therein contained.

Here followeth how Religion began to go backward.

The variable changes and mutations of Religion in King Henries days.

TO many which be yet alive, and can testifie these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of Religion stood in these days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth, what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the King was ruled and gave ear sometime to one, sometime to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backward again, and sometime clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevail which were about the King. So long as Queen *Anne* lived, the Gospel had indifferent success.

The course of the Gospel interrupted by ambitious Enemies.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the King, was made away, the course of the Gospel began again to decline, but that the Lord then stirred up the Lord *Cromwel*, opportunely to help in that behalf. Who, no doubt, did much avail, for the increase of Gods true Religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the pestilent Adversaries, maligning the prosperous glory of the Gospel, by contrary practising had not craftily undermined him and supplanted his vertuous proceedings. By the means of which Adversaries it came to pass after the taking away of the said *Cromwel*, that the state of Religion more and more decayed, during all the residue of the Reign of King *Henry*.

The malice of Queen Anne of Cleve.

Among these Adversaries above mentioned, the chief Captain was *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*; who with his Confederates and Adherents, disdaining at the state of the Lord *Cromwel*, and at the late marriage of the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* (who in the beginning of the year of our Lord, 1540, was married to the King) as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the Monasteries, and fearing the growing of the Gospel, fought all occasions how to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the King to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wily *Winchester* found out to work upon, ye shall hear in order as followeth.

{KING Hen. 8.

The occasion which Winchester did work by.

It happened the same time, that the Lord *Cromwel*, for the better establishing of sincere Religion in this Realm, devised a Marriage for the King, to be concluded between him and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, whose other Sister was already married unto the Duke of *Saxony*. By this Marriage it was supposed that a perpetual League, Amity and Alliance should be nourished between this Realm and the Princes of *Germany*, and so thereby godly Religion might be made more strong on both parts against the Bishop of *Rome*, and his tyrannical Religion. But the Devil, ever envying the Prosperity of the Gospel, laid a stumbling-block in that clear way for the King to stumble at. For when the Parents of the Noble Lady were communed withall for the furtherance of the said Marriage, among others of her Friends whose good will was required, the Duke of *Saxony* her Brother in law misliked the Marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed upon some Prince of *Germany* more nigh unto her Sister, and partly for other causes, which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followeth that the slackness of the Duke in that behalf being espied, crafty *Winchester*, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the Kings mind from the Amity that seemed now to begin and grow between the Duke and the King, that by the occasion thereof he brought the King at length clean out of credit with that Religion and Doctrine which the Duke had then maintained many years before.

This Lady Anne of Cleve was married to the King, An. 1540.

The King brought out of credit with the Doctrine of the German Princes.

This wily *Winchester* with his crafty fetches partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent persuasions creeping into the Kings ears, ceased not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow Religion, first bringing him in hatred with the *German* Princes, then putting him in fear of the Emperor, of the *French* King, of the Pope, of the King of *Scots*, and other foreign Powers to rise against him; but especially of civil Tumults and Commotions here within this Realm, which above all things he most dreaded by reason of Innovation of Religion, and dissolving of Abbeys, and for abolishing of Rites, and other customs of the Church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared left their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring moreover what a dangerous matter in a Commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of Religion. Which being so, he exhorted the King for his own safeguard, and publick quiet and tranquillity of his Realm, to see betime, how and by what policy these so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, than if he would shew himself sharp and severe against the new Sectaries, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries (as they called them) and would also set forth such Articles, confirming the ancient and Catholick Faith, as whereby he might recover again his Credence with Christian Princes, and whereby all the World besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect Catholick. By these and such like crafty Suggestions the King being too much deduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the Reformation of true Religion, supposing thereby to procure to himself more safety both in his own Realm, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen to other Princes, especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the general Council at *Vincence*, being thereto invited both by the Emperor, and other foreign Potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore although he had rejected the Pope out of this Realm, yet because he would declare himself nevertheless to be a good Catholick Son of the Mother-Church, and a Withstander of new Innovations and Heresies (as the blind opinion of the World then did esteem them) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of *Lambert*, then after he

The wicked counsel of Stephen Gardiner and other about the King.

The King abused by wicked Counsel.

{KING Hen. 8.

{An. 1540. The Popes crafty Fathers in England.

he gave out those Injunctions above prefixed; and now further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was of the Lord, 1540. through the device and practise of certain of the Popes Factors about him, he summoned a solemn Parliament to be holden at *Westminster* the eight and twentieth day of *April*, of all the States and Burgesses of the Realm: also a Synod or Convocation of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned of the Clergy of this Realm, to be in like manner assembled.

The Act of the Six Articles.

The six Articles.

In which Parliament, Synod, or Convocation, certain Articles, Matters, and Questions, touching Religion, were decreed by certain Prelates, to the number especially of six commonly called *The six Articles* (or *The Whip with six strings*) to be had and received among the Kings Subjects in pretence of Unity. But what Unity thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of divers both in the days of King *Henry*, and of Queen *Mary*, can so well declare, as I pray God never the like be felt hereafter.

The Doctrine of these wicked Articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst Christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet for that the office of History compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of Posterity to come, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the Church, as well one as another: this shall be briefly to recapitulate the sum and effect of the foresaid six Articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The first Article.

Transubstantiation.

The first Article in this present Parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this, That in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar by the strength and efficacy of Christs mighty word (it being spoken by the Priest) is present really, under the form of Bread and Wine, the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and that after the Consecration there remaineth no substance of Bread or Wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and Man.

The second Article.

The Sacrament in both kinds excluded.

Secondly, That the Communion in both kinds is not necessary ad salutem, by the Law of God, to all persons: and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the Flesh, under form of Bread, is the very Blood, and with the Blood, under form of Wine, is the very Flesh as well apart, as they were both together.

The third Article.

Thirdly, That Priests, after the Order of Priesthood received as afore, may not marry by the Law of God.

The fourth Article.

Adultery, that hapneth above the aged one and twenty years, Priests only excepted.

Fourthly, That the Vows of Chastity or Widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the Law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which without they might enjoy.

The fifth Article.

By their detaining of private Masses, in manner the helping of Souls in Purgatory.

Fifthly, That it is meet and necessary, that private Masses be continued and admitted in this English-*Church and Congregation; as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly Consolations and Benefits; And it is agreeable also to Gods Law.*

The sixth Article.

The sixth Article.

Sixthly, That Auricular Confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God.

After these Articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the Prelates of the Realm craftily perceiving that such a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail, unless strait and bloody Penalties were set upon them, they caused through their accustomed practise to be ordained and enacted by the King and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the said Parliament, as followeth.

The Penalties upon the six Articles.

The penalties upon the six Articles.

That if any person or persons within this Realm of *England*, or any other the Kings Dominions, after the twelfth day of *July* next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, cyphring, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold any Opinion, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine (after the Consecration thereof) there is not present really the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin *Mary*, or that after the said Consecration there remaineth any substance of the Bread or Wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man, or after the time above-said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue or hold Opinion, That in the Flesh, under the form of Bread is not the very Blood of Christ, or that with the Blood of Christ, under the form of Wine, is not the very Flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together: or by any of the means above-said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said Sacrament to be other substance than is above-said, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed Sacrament: that then every such person so offending, their Aiders, Consorters, Counsellors, Consenters and Abettors therein (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the Authority above said) should be deemed and adjudged Hereticks, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest Heresie, and that every such Offender and Offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any Abjuration, benefit of the Clergy, or Sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, or suffered; and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the Kings Highness, his Heirs and Successors, all his or their Honors, Manors, Castles, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Services, Possessions, and all other his or their Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels, Farms and Freeholds, whatsoever they were, through any such offence or offences committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of High Treason.

Transubstantiation.

Suffering without benefit of Abjuration.

Loss of goods.

Opinion against the Sacrament of the Altar made Treason.

The Penalty of the last five Articles.

The penalties of the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five Articles following, the Penalty devised for them was this, That every such person or persons that do preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth of *July* the said year, any thing contrary to the same: or if any being in Orders, or after a Vow advisedly made, did marry, or make Marriage, or contract Matrimony, in so doing should be adjudged as Felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of Felony, without any benefit of the Clergy, or Priviledge of the Church or of the Sanctuary, &c.

Item, That every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, cyphring, or otherwise did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five Articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attainted, for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his Goods and Chattels, and Possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the Kings pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convict should suffer as in case aforesaid of Felony.

Item, If any within Order of Priesthood, before the time of the said Parliament, had married or contracted Matrimony, or vowed Widowhood, the said Matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

Item,

Item, That the same danger that belonged to Priests marrying their Wives, should also redound to the Women married unto the Priests.

Inquisition upon the six Articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said Parliament, That full authority of Inquisition of all such Heresies, Felonies, and Contempts, should be committed and directed down into every Shire, to certain persons specially thereunto appointed; of which persons three at the least (provided always the Archbishop, or Bishop, or his Chancellor, or his Commissary to be one) should sit four times at least in the year, having full Power to take Information and Accusation, by the depositions of any two lawful persons at the least, as well as by the Oaths of twelve men, to examine and enquire of all and singular the Heresies, Felonies, and Contempts above remembred, having also as ample Power to make Process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the foresaid Heresies, Felonies, Contempts, and other Offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the Justices of Peace in their Sessions. And also that the said Justices in their Sessions, and every Steward or Under-Steward, or his Deputy, in their Law-days, should have power by the Oaths of twelve lawful men to enquire likewise of all and singular the Heresies, Felonies, Contempts, and other Offences, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present Act, &c.

A bloody Inquisition.

Provided withall that no person nor persons thereupon accused, indited or presented, should be admitted to challenge any that should be empanelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; which challenge should forthwith be tried in like manner, as in cases of Felony, &c.

Provided moreover that every person that should be named Commissioner in this Inquisition, should first take a corporal Oath, the tenor of which Oath here ensueth.

The Oath of the Commissioners.

YE *shall swear, that ye to your cunning, wit and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the Authority to you given by the Kings Commission, made for Correction of Hereticks and other Offenders mentioned in the same Commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread or malice, to be born to any person or persons, as God you help and all Saints.*

The Oath given to the Commissioners to inquire upon the Christian Faith.

Stat. An. 32 Reg. Hen. 8.

And thus much briefly collected out of the Act and Originals, which more largely are to be seen in the *Stat. Anno* 31. *Reg. Hen.* 8. concerning the six Articles, which otherwise for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called *The Whip with six strings*, set forth after the death of Queen *Anne*, and of good *John Lambert*, devised by the cruelty of the Bishops, but specially of the Bishop of *Winchester*, and at length also subscribed by King *Henry*. But herein as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of the Bishop appeared, who like a lurking Serpent, most slily watching his time, if he had not taken the King coming out upon a sudden, there where it was (I spare here to report as I heard it) it was thought and affirmed by certain, which then were pertaining to the King, that *Winchester* had not obtained the matter easily to be subscribed as he did.

These six Articles above specified, although they contained manifest Errors, Heresies, and Absurdities against all Scripture and Learning, (as all men having any judgment in Gods Word may plainly understand) yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of Truth and of Religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all Friends. For every man fearing the Kings mind to fully addict upon politick Respects, to have these Articles pass forward, few or none in all that Parliament would appear, which either could perceive what was to be defended, or durst defend what they understood to be true, save only *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who then being married (as is supposed) like a constant Patron of Gods cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the Truth, oppressed in the Parliament, three days together disputing against those six wicked Articles, bringing forth such Allegations and Authorities, as might easily have helped the cause, *Nisi* KING *pars major vicisset, ut sæpe solet, meliorem.* Who in the said Disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his Prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the Cause of Almighty God, that neither his Enterprise was misliked of the King; and again, his Reasons and Allegations were so strong, that well they could not be refuted. Wherefore the King (who ever bare special favour unto him) well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the Parliament-house into the Council-Chamber, for a time (for safeguard of his conscience) till the Act should pass and be granted: which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation refused to do.

Cranmer willed to depart out of the Parliament-house by the King.

Cranmer refused to go out of the Parliament against his conscience.

After the Parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the King considering the constant zeal of the Archbishop, in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many Authorities and Reasons whereby he had substantially confirmed the same; sent the Lord *Cromwel* (which within few days after was apprehended) the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and all the Lords of the Parliament, to dine with him at *Lambeth*: where they signified unto him, that it was the Kings pleasure, that they all should, in his Highness behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travel in that Parliament, had declared himself, both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that Parliament contrary to his Allegations.

Cranmer conforted again by the King.

He most humbly thanked first the Kings Highness, for his singular good affection towards him, and them for all their pains; adding moreover, that he so hoped in God, that hereafter his Allegations and Authorities should take place to the Glory of God, and Commodity of the Realm. Which Allegations and Authorities of his, I wish were among us extant to be seen and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious Articles aforesaid.

Allegations against the six Articles.

IN the mean while, forsomuch as the said heretical Articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous Doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times past, for lack of right instruction, and experience of the ancient state and course of times in our fore-Elders days; I thought therefore (the Lord thereunto assisting) so much as antiquity of stories may help to the restoring again of Truth and Doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto some Allegations out of ancient Records, which may give some light to the convincing of these new-fangled Articles and Heresies above touched.

Allegations against the six Articles.

And first, as touching the Article of *Transubstantion*, wherein this Parliament doth enact that the Sacrament of the Altar is the very natural Body of Christ, the self same which was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of Bread and Wine, after the Priests Consecration, but only the Body and Blood of Christ, under the outward forms of Bread and Wine: First here is to be noted, that this monstrous Article of theirs, in that form of words as it standeth, was never obtruded, received, or holden either in the *Greek* or *Latin*-Church, universally for a Catholick, that is, for a general Opinion or Article of Doctrine, before the time of the Lateran-Council at *Rome*, under Pope *Innocent* the Third, *Anno* 1216.

The Article of Transubstantiation.

And forsomuch as it hath been a common perswasion amongst the most sort of people, that this Article, in the form of words as here it standeth, is and hath been ever since Christ his time a true Catholick and general Doctrine, commonly received and taught in the Church, being approved by the Scriptures and Doctors, and consent of all Ages unto this present time; To the intent therefore that the contrary may appear, and the people may see how far they have herein been beguiled, we will here (Christ willing) make a little stay in our story, and examine this foresaid Article by true Antiquity and course of Histories, to try whether it be a Doctrine Old or New.

Now

Anno 1219. Cap. 3.

Now therefore for the better discussing of the matter, let us first orderly and distinctly advise the words of the Article. The contents of which Article consists in two parts or members. In the first whereof is noted to us a presence of a thing which there was not before. In the second is noted a privation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

The Article of the Sacrament condisteth in two parts.

The Presence is noted by these words of the Articles, where it is said, that in the blessed Sacrament, by the words pronounced, is present the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour under the forms of Bread and Wine: so that in these words, both the Sacrament and the natural Body is imported necessarily to be present. For else, how can the natural Body of Christ be present in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine, if the Sacrament there were not present it self? or how can a thing be said to be in that which is not there? wherefore by these words both the Sacrament, and also the Body must necessarily have their being and presence, the one being in the other. And this presence both of the Sacrament and of the Body may right well stand together; the Sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the Body of Christ to the inward eyes of faith and mouth of the Soul.

Two things present in the Sacrament, the thing that signifieth, and the thing represented.

And therefore touching these propositions in this Article (*In*) and (*Under*) it question be asked in what is the Body of Christ, it may be well answered, in the Sacrament to the eyes of our Faith, like as the outward Sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the Body. Again, if the question be asked under what is the Body of Christ? It may be well answered, under the forms of Bread and Wine, so as the Doctors did take the forms to mean the outward Elements and Natures of the Sacrament, and not the Accidents.

(*In*) (*Under*) The presence of the natural Body of Christ well expounded may be granted in the Sacrament.

Absence of Bread in the Sacrament.

And thus, to the first part of the Article, being well expounded, we do assent and confess the same to have been the true Catholick Opinion approved by the ancient Doctors and consent of all times, even from the first Institution of this Sacrament.

But as concerning the second member or part of the Article, which taketh away all presence and substance of Bread from the Sacrament; to that we say, that first it standeth not with their own Article. Secondly, that it standeth not with the Doctrine of Scripture. Thirdly, that it standeth not with Antiquity, but is meerly a late invention.

The Article of the Sacrament against not with itself.

And first, that it agreeth not with their own Article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their Article they say, that the natural Body of Christ is present in the blessed Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine, how can the natural Body of Christ be present in the Sacrament, if there remain no Sacrament? Or how can any of the Body remain, if there remain no substance of Bread which should make the Sacrament? For how can the Body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how can the Sacrament of the Body have any being, where the substance of Bread hath no being? For first, that the Body it self cannot be the Sacrament of the Body, evident of it self.

The Body of Christ cannot be in the Sacrament of his Body.

Secondly, that the accidents of Bread without the substance of Bread cannot be any Sacrament of Christs Body, certain it is, and demonstrable by this Argument.

The accidents of the Body cannot be in the Sacrament of Christs natural Body. Sacraments, if they had no similitude with the things which they represent, they were no Sacraments. Aug. ad Bonifac. Epist. 23.

Argumentum à definitione.

Ca- *A Sacrament is, that beareth a similitude of that*
thing whereof it is a Sacrament.
mest- *Accidents bear no similitude of that thing which*
is there signified.
res. Ergo, *Accidents can in no wise be a Sacrament.*

Wherefore upon this Argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow.

Argument.

Da- *In the Sacrament of the Lords Body, the thing that*
representeth must needs bear a similitude of the
thing represented.
ri- *The substance of Bread in the Sacrament, is only*
that which beareth the similitude of Christs
Body.
i. Ergo, *The substance of Bread must needs be in the*
Sacrament.

And therefore, by this demonstration it is apparent, that these two parts in the Article aforesaid are evil couched together, whereof the one must needs destroy the other. For if the first part of the Article be true, that the natural Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine, and seeing the Sacrament wherein the Body of Christ is present, must needs be the substance of Bread, and not the accidents only of Bread, as is above proved, then the substance of Bread cannot be evacuated from the Sacrament, and so the second member of the Article must needs be false.

The Presence of the Sacrament and the Substance of Bread cannot stand together.

Or if the second part be true, that there is no substance of Bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the Sacrament of the natural Body of Christ, but only the substance of Bread, forasmuch as the accidents of Bread can make no Sacrament of Christs Body, as is above shewed; then taking away the substance of Bread, the first part of the Article must needs be false, with which faith, that the natural Body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, forasmuch as the substance of Bread being evacuated, there remaineth no Sacrament, wherein the Body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before in the Treatise of *John Lambert* upon the Sacrament, as also in sundry other places in this Volume besides. Thirdly, that the said Article of Transubstantiation is no ancient or authentick Doctrine in the Church publickly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at most about the time of *Lanfrancus*, *Anno* 1070. It remains now to be proved.

The Article of Transubstantiation disagreeth from the Scripture.

The Doctrine of Transubstantiation is but a late Opinion, and Standeth with no Antiquity.

Wherein first may be joyned this issue, that this monstrous Paradox of Transubstantiation was never induced or received publickly in the Church, before the time of the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocentius* the third, *An.* 1216. or at most before the time of *Lanfrancus*, the *Italian*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* 1070.

Lanfrancus was an Italian and Bishop of *Canterbury* about the year of our Lord 1070.

In which time of *Lanfrancus*, I deny not but that this question of Transubstantiation began to come in controversie, and was reasoned upon, amongst certain Learned of the Clergy. But that this Article of Transubstantiation was publickly determined or prescribed in the Church for a general Law or Catholick Doctrine of all men, necessarily to be believed, before the time of the foresaid *Innocentius* the third, it may be doubted, and also by Histories of time proved to be false.

Innocentius the 3. was Bish. of *Rome*, An. 1215.

And though our Adversaries seem to alledge out of the old Doctors certain speeches and phrases; which they wrest and wring to their purposes; wherein they say, *That the Bread is called, is believed, and is the Body of Christ, that of Bread is made the Body of Christ, and that the Bread is changed, altered or converted to the Body of Christ, or is made to be his Body, that the Creatures be converted into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ, that the Bread and Wine do pass into the divine substance*, with such other like Sentences; and bear themselves brag upon the same, as though this Doctrine of Transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole Universal Church, of all Ages and Times, of Nations and People, and that the Judgment of the Church was never other than this: yet if the old Doctors Sayings be well weighed, and the discourse of Times by this History well examined, it will be found, that this prodigious Opinion of Transubstantiation hath no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any Heresie or Treason was made of denying of Transubstantiation before the time of *Innocentius* III, or at the furthest of *Lanfrancus*, as is aforesaid, about the which time Satan the old Dragon was prophesied by the *Apocalyps* to be let loose, to seduce the World.

Phrases of the Doctors speaking of the Sacrament.

The Papists fully prevented anticipatory for their Transubstantiation.

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of *Tertullian* and of *Augustine*, which both do teach the Sacrament to be a figure, a sign, a memorial, and representation of the Lords Body, and knew no such Transubstantiation, and yet were no Traytors nor Hereticks.

Doctors against Transubstantiation. *Tertullian, Augustine, Ambrose, Anno* 400.]

Neither was St. *Ambrose* any Heretick or Traytor, where he writeth these words, *Ut sint quæ erant, & in aliud convertantur, &c.* Which words *Lanfrancus* could not answer unto any other wise, but by denying them to be the words of *Ambrose*. *Gelasius* was Bishop of *Rome*, and lived about five hundred years after Christ, and speaketh of a transmutation of the Bread and Wine into

Gelasius lib contra Eutichen. Anno 500.

the Divine nature; but there expounding himſelf, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, ſo that he expreſly ſheweth the elements of Bread and Wine, notwithſtanding, to remain ſtill in their proper nature, with other words more, very plain to the ſame effect. Unto the which words *Contarenus* in the aſſembly at *Ratiſbone* could not well anſwer, but ſtood aſtonied.

Theodoretus ſecund. Dialog. contra Eutichen.

Theodoretus likewiſe, ſpeaking of the viſible Symbols, hath theſe words: *ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ὑσίας, ἡ τὰ φαινόμενα ἡ τὰ νοούμενα (ſay) After the ſanctification they remain in their former Subſtance, figure, and form.*

Irenæus.

Irenæus where he ſaith, *That the Bread broken, and the Cup mixt, after the vocation of God, ceaſe to be common Bread any more, but are the Euchariſt of the Body and Blood of Chriſt,* : And Explicating his words more plainly, addeth moreover, *That the Euchariſt conſiſteth in two things, one being earthly which is Bread and Wine; the other heavenly, which is the Body and Blood of Chriſt, &c.* declareth in theſe words both his own Opinion plainly, and alſo teacheth us what was then the Doctrin of his time.

Heſichius lib. 10. in Levit. c. 8.

Heſichius alſo, who was five hundred years after Chriſt, where he ſpeaketh of the ſaid myſtery, *Quod ſimul panis, & caro eſt (ſay)* Which he ſaith to be both Fleſh and Bread; declareth thereby two Subſtances to be in the Sacrament. By the which we have to underſtand, that Tranſubſtantiation in his age was not crept into the Church; and yet neither Hereſie nor Treaſon therefore was ever laid to his charge for ſo ſaying.

Anno 500. Emiſſenus de conſecra. diſt. 2. Quia corpus.

Emiſſenus, comparing a man converted unto Chriſt by regeneration, unto the holy myſteries converted into the Body and Blood of our Lord, expreſſeth plainly, *Quod in exteriori nihil additum eſt, & totum in interiori mutatum eſt*: That is; That outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c. Wherein (no doubt) he ſpake againſt this Article, and yet no man in all that age did accuſe him therefore to be either Hereticke or Traytor.

Here might be added the words of *Felgentius*, *Hic calix eſt novum Teſtamentum*; (*id eſt*) *hic calix quem vobis trado, novum Teſtamentum ſignificat.* (*i.*) This Cup is the New Teſtament; That is, this Cup which I deliver unto you ſignifieth the New Teſtament.

Bede alſo, who lived about the year, 730. writing upon the one and twentieth Pſalm, hath theſe words; *Edent pauperes, &c. pauperes, id eſt, mundi contemptores edent quidem realiter, ſi ad Sacramenta referantur, & ſaturabuntur æternaliter, qui intelligent in pane & vino viſibiliter ſibi propoſito, inviſibile ſcilicet corpus verum, & ſanguinem verum Domini, quæ verus cibus & verus potus ſunt, quo non venter diſtenditur, ſed mens ſagimatur, &c.* That is, Poor men, to wit, deſpiſers of the world, ſhall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the Sacraments, and ſhall be filled eternally, becauſe they ſhall underſtand in Bread and in Wine, being viſibly ſet before them, a thing inviſible, to wit, the true Body and true Blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nouriſhed.

And thus in theſe words of *Bede* likewiſe is to be underſtood, That no Tranſubſtantiation as yet in his time was received in the Church of *England*.

Long it were to ſtand upon all particulars; Briefly, to conclude; the farther the Church hath been from theſe our later days, the purer it was in all reſpects, and eſpecially touching this barbarous Article of Tranſubſtantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of *Bertrame* and of *Haimo*, who were about the year of our Lord, 810. under *Carolus Magnus*.

Haymo. Anno 180.

By whoſe writing it is evident, that the Church was infected as yet no ſuch fantaſie of Tranſubſtantiation, neither did any almoſt dream of taking away the Subſtance of Bread from the Sacrament. For although *Haymo*, *Remigius*, *Rabanus*, and other which lived in that age, do attribute to the Sacrament, that honourable name, and reverence (as we alſo do) of the Lords Body and Blood; they exclude not form thence all Subſtance of Meal and Bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholicks do, as by the words of *Haymo* do appear. Where he, following the words of *Bede*, ſheweth alſo the cauſe, why it is ſo called by the name of the Lords Body; *Quia* (ſaith he) *panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Chriſti conjuncter nuncupatur: Vinum autem quia ſanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad ſanguinem Chriſti refertur.* That is, becauſe Bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the Body of Chriſt, and becauſe Wine worketh Blood in the fleſh of man, therefore it is referred to the Blood of Chriſt. What can be more effectually ſpoken to prove the Subſtance of Bread there to remain? For take away the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm mans heart, or ingender Blood in the fleſh? And therefore ſeeing there muſt needs ſomething remain, that muſt be referred to Chriſts Body and Blood in that Sacrament, it either muſt be the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, or elſe it can be no Sacrament. And furthermore, ſpeaking of the viſible things which are ſanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he ſaith; that by the Holy Ghoſt they paſſed to a Sacrament of the Lords Body.

Anno 1219.

Haymo de Sermonum propoſitorum lib. 3. c. 11.

And likewiſe the ſame *Haymo* in another place, ſpeaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of Corn and Wine, declareth, *how our Saviour maketh of them an apt myſtery, converteth them to a Sacrament of his Body and Blood, &c. Lib. 7. in Eccleſiaſt. Chap. 8.*

Haym. lib. 7. in eccle. c. 8.

Bertramus likewiſe, as he lived in the ſame age, ſo in like ſort he ſhewed his opinion therein, to the like effect as *Haymo* did. For as *Haymo* writing in theſe words declareth, *quia aliud eſt Sacramentum, aliud virtus ſacramenti: Sacramentum enimvero percipitur, virtute ſacramenti interior homo ſatiatur*, That is, the Sacrament is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing: For the Sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the vertue of the Sacrament the inward man is ſatisfied.

Haym. ibid.

So after like manner, *Bertramus*, according to the ſame, thus writeth, *Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis miniſterium Chriſti corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humani ſenſibus oſtendit, & aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat, &c.* That is, the Bread, which by the miniſtry of the Prieſt is made the Body of Chriſt, doth import one thing outwardly to the ſenſes of man, and another thing it ſpeaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly it is Bread, the ſame it was before, the ſame form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the ſame taſte remaineth. But inwardly there is another matter far more pretious, and more excellent, becauſe it is heaven-ly, which is the Body of Chriſt, that is ſeen, not with the outward eyes of the fleſh, but with the ſight of a faithful mind, &c.

Anno 810. Bertram. lib. de corpore & ſang. Domini.

We will not now proceed to the Teſtimony of *Rabanus Maurus*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, and Scholar ſometime of *Alcuinus* in *Paris*, an Engliſh man; who living alſo in the ſame age with *Haymo* and *Bertram* (which was eight hundred years after Chriſt) giveth the like Teſtimony of this Doctrine in his Book of Inſtitutions: where he asking why the Lord would give the myſteries of his Body and Blood then under ſuch things as might be kept and reſerved whole with great honour? thus he anſwereth again; The Lord (ſaith he) would rather that the Sacraments of his Body and Blood ſhould be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, that by the viſible action the inviſible effect might be ſhewed: For like as material meat outwardly nouriſheth and quickeneth the Body, ſo alſo the Word of God inwardly nouriſheth and ſtrengtheneth the Soul. For man liveth not only by Bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Rabanus Maurus B. Mentz. anno 800. Rabanus de inſtitut. clericorum l. 1 chap. 31.

And after followeth; *For this Bread and drink ſignifieth the eternal Society of the Head and of the Members together.*

And again; *For the Sacraments is one thing, and the vertue of the Sacrament is another thing. The Sacrament is received with the mouth, with the vertue of the Sacrament the inward man is nouriſhed. For the Sacrament is turned to the nouriſhment of the Body, but by the vertue of the Sacrament the dignity of eternal life is gotten.*

Wherefore

Anno 1219.

Wherefore like as the ſame is turned into us when we eat of it; ſo alſo are we turned into the Body of Chriſt, when we live obediently and godly, &c.

Who ſeeth not by theſe words of this Biſhop, what form of Doctrine was then in the Church received concerning this Article of the Sacrament, much diverſe from this our groſs opinion of Tranſubſtantiation?

Chriſtian. Druthmarus monachus ordin. Benedict. in Matt.

With the ſame *Rabanus* alſo accordeth another of the like ſtanding and Doctrine alſo called *Chriſtianus Druthmarus*; who writing upon *Matthew*; *The Wine* (ſaith he) *doth cheer and cheriſh the Blood, and therefore not inconveniently the Blood of Chriſt is figured thereby; forwhatſoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladneſs, and increaſeth all goodneſs unto us.*

And a little before the ſaid *Druthmarus* ſaith, *The Lord gave to his Diſciples the Sacrament of his Body to the remiſſion of ſins, and keeping of charity, that they alway remembring his doing, might do that in figure which he ſhould do for them. This is my Body* (ſaith he) *that is, in Sacrament*, This *Druthmarus* lived alſo in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, as witneſſeth *Abbas Spanheimenſis*.

Joan. Scotus.

Anno 880.

Joan. Scot. lib. de corpore & ſanguine Domini.

After *Bertramus* was *Joannes Scotus*, or elſe, as ſome call him *Joannes Frigena*, a man well accepted with *Carolus Calvus*, and afterward with *Lodovicus Balbus*, about the year of our Lord, 880. He wrote a Book, *De corpore & ſanguine Domini*, ſo affirming therein, and teaching as he knew that *Bertramus* had taught a little before in *France*. The Book the Pope cauſed to be condemned in *Vercellenſi Sydono*, Of the life and converſation of this *Joannes Scotus*, and alſo of his death, read before.

Read afore.

Anno 950.

In the year of our Lord, 950. lived *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in whoſe time it appeareth, in the Catholicks own confeſſion, that many Prieſts then affirmed, that the Bread and Wine, after conſecration, did remain in their former Subſtance, and that the ſaid myſteries were only a figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, as we find it witneſſed by *Osberne* himſelf, who did write the lives of *Odo*, *Dunſtan* and *Elphege*, at the bidding of *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as reporteth *Edmerus*, *Anſelmus* Chaplain. The words of *Osberne* be theſe: *Hoc fere tempore, quidam Clericus, maligno errore ſeductus, aſſeverare conabantur, panem & vinum quæ in Altari ponuntur, poſt conſecrationem, in priori ſubſtantia manere & figuram tantummodo eſſe corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, &c.* That is, About this time (ſaith *Osberne*, writing in the days of *Lanfranke*) certain of the Clergy, being ſeduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that Bread and Wine, which are ſet upon the Aitar, after the Conſecration do remain in their former Subſtance, and are but only a figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of moſt of the Clergy was ſo, that the Sacrament was the Body and Blood of Chriſt, and that the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, notwithſtanding, were not Tranſubſtantiate, as the Romiſh Catholicks do now teach. But this is the guiſe of theſe men, that in their Writings and Stories, ſtill they diminiſh the better number, whereby their Fraction may ſeem ever to be the bigger, and therefore to extenuate the common Opinion then received in the Church, he inferreth mention of certain of the Clergy, &c.

The words of Osberne.

Osbernus in vita Odonis.

A lying miracle to prove Tranſubſtantiation.

And as he faileth in the number of theſe Clergy men, which then held againſt Tranſubſtantiation, ſo he upholdeth the ſame with as lying a miracle. Which miracle he feigned to be wrought the ſame time, for the converſion of the ſaid Clergy men by the Blood dropping out of the Hoſt at Maſs, as *Odo* was breaking the Hoſt over the Chalice. At the ſight whereof, firſt *Odo* himſelf (ſaith he) wept for joy, ſeeing his petition accompliſhed which he ſo earneſtly prayed for.

Secondarily, all thoſe Clergy men (ſaith he) which before believed not this Tranſubſtantiation, by and by were converted, and bleſſed the Archbiſhop that ever he was born, deſiring him to pray again, that the Blood might return to his former ſhape, and ſtraight it was done. And this was the miracle; which ſeemeth as true as that which *William Malmesbury* writeth of the ſaid *Odo*, how by his prayers he cauſed a Sword to come flying from Heaven into *Etheſſanes* Scabberd, when he had loſt his own, as he would fight againſt *Analanus*; or elſe, as that miracle where the ſaid *Odo* is ſaid to cover and defend the Church of *Canterbury*, that no drop of rain could touch it ſo long as the roof thereof was in making. *Ex Wil. Malm. vide ſupra.*

Ex Malmsb.

Read afore.

In the which ſo miraculous a miracle many things are to be marvelled. Firſt, I marvel, that at this great miracle of the Archbiſhop in the Cathedral Church, among ſo many ſinging men, we read of no *Te Deum* there to be ſung after the doing thereof.

Reaſons and proofs alledged againſt this miracle

Secondly, I marvel that thoſe Prieſts and Clerks which then denied Tranſubſtantiation, were ſuffered to be ſo near the Archbiſhop at his Maſs, and that they were not committed rather to ward like Hereticks and Traitors, if this Article of Tranſubſtantiation had been then ſuch a Catholick Doctrine, and ſo publickly received in the Church, as they ſay it was.

Thirdly, I marvel, ſeeing the time of miracles is expired, we having the Scriptures to guide us, why the Archbiſhop would ſeek to Miracles and Apparitions to convert men, rather than to the Law and Prophets, according as we are commanded, eſpecially having no ſuch examples of all the old Doctors, which in confutation of ſo many erroneous Opinions, yet never fought to ſuch miracles or blind means.

The Authors of this ridiculous miracle do not agree with themſelves.

Fourthly, I marvel much at the diſcrepance in telling this Tale, between *Osberne* and the other, which ſince have written Legends of *Odo*. For whereas *Osberne*, ſpeaking of certain Prieſts, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and ſpeaking abſolutely, *quidam Clerici*; all other which have ſince written the Legends of *Odo*, do tell this Tale againſt certain Prieſts of *Canterbury*; adding to the words of *Osberne*, *quidam Clerici Cantuarienſes*. But to convict the falſehood of them all, as well of *Osberne* as of the reſt, there is a Legend of the life of *Odo*, and of *Oſwald* together, more ancient than this of *Osberne*, written (as it may ſeem) in the time of *Elfricus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Elphege* then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another ſort than this of *Osberne*, and to another purpoſe than to diſſwade certain Prieſts, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: Which is only brought to ſhew the holineſs of *Odo*, as commonly the manner of Legends is to do. So that in this old Legend it is thus reported, that when this Miracle was done, *Odo* diſcloſed the matter not to many Prieſts of *England* that were in that errour, as *Osberne* would, *ſed vocat protinus fidelem Servum, qui cominus erat, & miraculum ſecretum demonſtrat, &c.* That is, but called unto him a certain faithful Servant which was near about him, and ſhewed unto him the miracle ſecretly; whereupon the Prieſt (ſaith the Legend) much rejoyced at the holineſs of *Odo*, and deſired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the Body might return again to the former ſhape, &c. Out of this old lying Legend of *Osberne*, and other likewiſe that followed him, ſeemeth to have taken this Tale, ſo that out of the errour of one (as the manner is) ſpringeth the errour of a number more.

Lying Legends.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not ſtoried in *Henry Huntington*, which profeſſedly writeth of ſuch miracles, nor in *Roger Hoveden*, and ſuch other; but only in ſuch blind Legends, which commonly have no Subſtance of Verity, nor certainty of time, or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the moſt part are ſtuffed with lying viſions, and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of *Osberne* were true, that for the converting of Prieſts of *England*, which would not believe Tranſubſtantiation, this Blood did drop out of the Hoſt (of which Blood peradventure came the Blood of *Hales*) and by the ſight thereof the Prieſts eſtſoon were all converted (as *Osberne* pretendeth) how then came it to paſs, that after the time of *Odo*, in the days of *Elfricus*, which was after him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the third from *Dunſtane*, and fourth from *Odo*, not only the Prieſts of *England*, but alſo the Archbiſhop himſelf, were not brought to the belief of this Tranſubſtantiation, but taught the very ſame Doctrine of the Sacrament then, which we do now: as moſt clearly appeareth both by the Epiſtles and Homilies of the foreſaid Archbiſhop *Elfricus*, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Chriſt willing) we will annex.

Elf. Arch. of Cant. Anno 996. Cæpgrave in vita Oswaldi, Ep. Wigorn.

This *Elfricus*, as faith *Capgrave*, in the life of *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, was first Abbot of St. *Albons*, and after made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the year of our Lord 996. in the time of King *Ethelred*, and of *Wulfsinus* Bishop of *Seyrburne*. *Elfricus* also (as witnesseth *William* of *Malmsbury*, *in vita Adelmi*) was Abbot of *Malmsbury*. Furthermore the said *William* of *Malmsbury*, writing of *Elfricus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saith, that he was before Bishop of *Wells*, and after Bishop of *Canterbury*. So that *Elfricus* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it is out of all ambiguity. But now whether *Elfricus* which was Abbot (of whom we do here entreat) were the same Archbishop or not, by this diversity of *Capgrave* and *Malmsbury*, it may be doubtful. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly material, forsomuch as the said *Elfricus* and *Elfricus*, although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one Age, and lived in one time together.

W. Malmsb. in vita Adelmi.

The Writings of *Elfricus* authentick.

Furthermore, the same *Elfricus* of whom now we speak, of what Calling soever he was, yet notwithstanding he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority and eloquence, his Writings were accepted and authorized among the Canons and Constitutions of the Church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the Bishops and Priests before the coming of *William* the *Conqueror* had collected a certain Book of Canons and Ordinances to govern the Clergy, gathered out of general and particular Councils, out of the Book of *Gildas*, out of the penitential Books of *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, out of the Writings of *Egbertus* Archbishop of *York*, out of the Epistles of *Alcuinus*, as also out of the Writings of the old Fathers of the Primitive Church, &c. among the same Canons and Constitutions be placed these two Epistles of the said *Elfricus* hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to *Wulfsinus* Bishop of *Seyrburne*, the other to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *York*, as yet are to be seen in two Books belonging to the Library of the Church of *Worcester*, the one written in the old *Saxons* Tongue, entituled *Bewreost Cinothe*, the other for the most part in Latin, with this Title, *Admonitio spiritualis Dilcirinæ*. Which Book of Saxon Canons and Constitutions sometime belonging to *Wulfstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, was given by him, as for a great Jewel to the Church of *Worcester*, as by the same Book appeareth.

A Book of Canons in the Saxons Tongue. Ex Archivis Eccles. Wigorn.

Moreover, besides this Book of *Worcester* above-touched, there is yet extant also another like Book of Canons belonging to the Church of *Exeter*, wherein the same two Epistles of *Elfricus* be contained in the old *Saxon* Tongue, and also in the *Latin*, and prescribed yearly to be read to the Clerks and Priests of the Church; which Book in like manner was given to the Church of *Exeter* by *Leofricus* the first and most famous Bishop of that See.

Ex Archivis Eccles. Exon.

The Book of Sermons translated out of Latin into the Saxons Speech.

Of this *Elfricus* further is to be underst ood, that he translated two Books of fourscore Sermons out of *Latin* into the *Saxon* Speech, used then orderly to be read in Churches on *Sundays* and other Festival-days of the year, as by his own words may appear, in the end of one of the said Books of Sermons, whose words be these:

FEla Fægere godfell we forlætath on thisum dihte, tha mæg awendan se the wile; Ne durre we thas boc na micle fwithor gelængan, thyles the heo ungemetegod fy. and mannum æthræt thurh hire micelnisse aftrige;

*We let pas*t (faith he) *many good Gospels which he that lift may translate. For we dare not enlarge this Book much further, lest it be over great, and so be a cause of lothsomnes to men, through the bigness thereof, &c.*

Also in another place he confesseth the same of himself; whose words in the Preface before his Grammar be these:

50. Sermons translated by *Elfricus* into the English or Saxon Tongue.

Ic *Ælfric* wolde thalisflan boc awendan to Englisc um gereorde of tham ftæf craefte the is gehaten Grammatica fyththan ic twa bec awende on hund cahtatigum spellum.

I Elfrick was desirous to turn into our English *Tongue, from the Art of Letters called Grammar, this little Book, after that I had translated the two Books of* 80 *Sermons, &c.*

Of his Epistles especially we read of four, which he wrote, one to the Monks of *Egnesham*, *De consuetudine Monachorum*. Another to *Wulfstane* Archbishop of *York*, wherein is touched the matter of the Sacrament. The third he wrote against Priests Marriage to one *Sygebert*, with whom there was a certain *Anker* abiding in which defended the Marriage of Priests, affirming it to be lawful. The fourth he wrote to *Wulfsinus* Bishop of *Seyrburne*, touching the matter of the Sacrament. In the which Epistle, he taking occasion by a certain abuse in his time, which was, that Priests on *Easter-day* filled their Housel-Box; and so kept it for the space of a whole year, till *Easter* came again, for sick persons, writeth upon that occasion in these words, as follow in their own *Saxon* Tongue.

Anno 1219.

4 Epistles written of *Elfricus* in the Saxon or English Tongue.

The Words of Ælfricus *written to* Wulfsine *Bishop of* Scyrburne, *against Transubstantiation.*

MAn fecal healden thæt halige hufel mid mycelre gymene ⁊ ac pophealdan hit. ac halgian other edniwe to ꝑceocum mannum. a. embe vii. niht. oththe embe xiv. niht ꝥ hit huru fynig ner�. fonthon the eal ꝩa halig bith ꝥ hufel the nu to dæg wæs gehalgod. ðwa. ꝥ he on Eaꝑtep-dæg wæs gehalgod; Đæt hufel is Cpiꝑtep lichama na lichamlice ac gaſtlice; Na ſe lichama the he on throwode. ac ꝑe lichama the he embe ꝑpæc. tha he blet ſod hlaf ⁊ win to hufel an re niht ær his thpowunge. ⁊ cwæth he tham ȝeblet rode hlaf. þis is min lichama. ⁊ epic be tham halgum wine. ðis is min blod ꝥ bith ꝑop manegum agoten on ſynna forgiveneſſe; Understandath nu ꝥ ſe drighten the mighte awendon thone hlaf ær his thpowunge to his lichaman. ⁊ ꝥ win to his blode gaſtlice. thæt ſe ylca dæghwamlice bletſath thurh ſacerda handa hlaf ⁊ win to his gaſtlican lichaman. ⁊ to his gaſtlican blode.

The same in English.

MEn ſhall reſerve more carefully that holy Houſel, and not reſerve it too long, but hallow other of new for ſick men always within a week or a fortnight, that it be not ſo much as hoary: for ſo holy is the Houſel which to day is hallowed, as that which on *Eaſter-day* was hallowed. That Houſel is Chriſts body not bodily, but ghoſtly. Not the Body which he ſuffered in, but of the Body of which he ſpake, when he bleſſed Bread and Wine to Houſel the Night before his ſuffering, and ſaid by the bleſſed Bread, *This is my Body*; and again by the holy Wine, *This is my Blood which is ſhed for many in the forgiveneſs of ſins.* Underſtand now the Lord, who could turn that Bread before his Suffering to his Body, and that Wine to his Blood ghoſtly, that the ſelf ſame Lord bleſſeth daily, thorow the Prieſts hands, Bread and Wine to his ghoſtly Body, and to his ghoſtly Blood.

An Epiſtle of *Elfricus* to Wulfine Biſhop.

The Sacrament is the Lords Body, not bodily but ghoſtly.

After this Epiſtle above-prefixed, written to *Wulfsinus* Biſhop of *Scyrburne*, concerning the Sacramental Bread, how it is not Chriſts Body, *lichamlice*, that is bodily; or (as we term it now) really; and alſo how the ſame ought not to be over-long kept in the Pix: here followeth further another Epiſtle of the ſaid *Elfricus* written to *Wulfſtane* Archbiſhop of *York*, both reprehending the ſaid abuſe above-touched, and alſo containing matter more at large againſt the Bodily preſence in the Sacramental Bread. The Copy of this Epiſtle, both in his own *Saxon* and our *Engliſh*, here followeth:

Another Epiſtle of Ælfricus *againſt the Bodily preſence, to* Wulfſtane *Archbiſhop of* York.

SUme Pꝑeoꝛeay ȝeſyllaþ heora hufel Box on Eaſtron. ⁊ healdaþ open tweip monaþ to untrumum mannum. ſwylce ꝥ hure iy aligne monnes þer. Ac hi doþ unwiſlice. for thi he hit wannaþ. oth ðe nub calle forrotath on ſwa langum ſyrſte. ⁊ he bith ðonne ſcyldig ſwa ſwa us ꝑægth ſeo boc; Se the hufel forhylt. oth ðe hit forlyſt. oth the mis eton. oth the othpe nyt-nu. ſceawa tha ꝑœnitentialem. hwæt he ſæȝþe thifum; Eal ſwa halig iy thæt hufel the bith ȝehalgob to dæȝ ſwa thæt the bip ȝehalgob on thā Dalȝan Caſtepdæȝe; Dealdath ſopthiȝ ic bidde thone halgan Cpiꝑtep ihcaman mid manan wiſdom to ſcocum mannum fram Sunnan dæge to Sunna dæge ꝥ with clænum box. oth the be tham mæſſan ſcower ȝyne night. ⁊ thic ȝath hit thonne. ⁊ lec gath ðær other; We habbath by ſene be tham on Moyſey bocum. Swa ſwa God ſyſſ bebead on Moyſey æ. thæt ſe ſacerd ſceolde on ælcum ſæternes dæge wetta. twelp hlafas on tham tabernaculo ealle niwe bacene. tha. wæron gehatene Panes propoſitionis. ⁊ hig ſceold on thær ſtandā on thā Gobey getælde oth owetne ſæteſnes dæg ⁊ etan hi thonne tha ſacerdas ſyſſe ⁊ ſettan dær othre; Sume Preoſtas nellath ȝiegan thæt hufel the hi hal giath; Nu pille we cow ſecgan. hu ſeo boc ſegth betham; Presbyter miſſam celebrans, & non audens ſumere ſacrificium acceſſante conſcientia ſua anathema eſt; Se Maeſſe preoſt the mæſſath. ⁊ ne dear thæt hufel thigan. wat bine ſcyldigne. ſe ir amanſumod; Læſſe pleoh ir to digenne thæt hufel thonne to halgienne. Se the tuwa halgath ane ofletā to hufle. Se bith tham ȝedwolan ȝelice. the an cild ſullath tuwa; Cpiſt ſyſſ ȝehalgob hufel ær hip throwunhe. he bletſode thone hlaf. ⁊ to bræc thur cwethend to hip halgum Apoſt. etath thiſne hlaf hit ir min lichama. ⁊ he eft bletſode æne calic mid wine. ⁊ cwæth heom thur to drincath ealle of thiſum. hit is min aȝen blob thær niwan ȝecydnyſſe. Se bith ſop manegum agoten on ſynna forgiveneſſe; Se drihten the halgode hufel ær his thropunge. ⁊ cwæth ꝥ ſehlaf wære hir agen lichama. and thær win wære witodlice his blob ſe halgath dæghwamlice thurgh his ſacerda handa hlaf to his lichaman. ⁊ win to his blob on gaſtlicere ȝeryne. ſwa ſwa we ꝑædath on bocum; Ne bith ſe liffica hlaf lichamlice ſwa theah ſe ylca lichama. the Cpiſt on throwode; Ne thet halige wyn nis thæs hælendes blod the for ur agoten pæs on lichamlice thing. ac on gaſtlicum anb ȝyde; ſegþæp bith fathlice ſe hlaf his lichama. and that win eac hir blod ſwa ſwa ſe heofonlica hlaf wæs. the we hatath manna. the feowertig geara afedde Gobey ſolce. and thæt hlutre wæter wæs witodlice his blob the arnof thā ſtand on tham wæſtene tha; Swa ſwa Paulus awræt on fumon his Piſtole; Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducaverunt, & omnes eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt, &c. Ealle ure fæderas æton on thā wæſtene thone ylcan gaſtlican mete, and thone gaſtlican drene druncon; Di druncon of tham ȝaſtlican ſtane. and ſe ſtane was Cpiſt; Se Apoſtol ſæde ſwa ſwa ge nu gehyrdon thæt hi ealle æton thone ylcan gaſtlican mete. and hi ealle druncon thone gaſtlican ȝdenc; Ne cwæth De na lichamlice. ac gaſtlice; Næs Cpiſt tha gyt geboren. ne his blod næs agoten. ða thæt Iſpahela folc geæt thone mete. and of tha ſtane dranc. and ſe ſtan næs lichamlice chiſt theah he ſwa ewæte; Dit wæron tha ylcā gerynu on thære ealdam æ. and hi gaſtlic ȝetecnodon thæt gaſtlic hufel ures hælendes lichaman. the we hal giath nu. *The ſame in Engliſh.*

An Epiſtle of *Elfrick*, to Wulffine touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

SOme Prieſts fill their Box for Houſel on *Eaſter-day*, and ſo reſerve it a whole year for ſick men, as though that Houſel were more holy than another. But they do unadvifedly, becauſe it waxeth hoary or altogether rotten, by keeping it ſo long ſpace; and thus are they become guilty, as the Book witneſſeth to us. If any do keep the Houſel ſo long, or loſe it, or Mice or other Beaſts do eat it, ſee what the Penitential Book ſaith by this; So holy is altogether that Houſel which is hallowed to day, as that which is hallowed on *Eaſter-day*. Wherefore I beſeech you to keep the holy Body of Chriſt with more adviſement, for ſick men, from *Sunday* to *Sunday*, in a very clean Box, or at the moſt not to keep it above a fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in *Moſes* Books, as God himſelf hath commanded in *Moſes* Law, how the Prieſts ſhould ſet every *Saturday*, twelve Loaves, all new baked, upon the Table, the which were called *Panes propoſitionis*: and thoſe ſhould ſtand there in Gods Tabernacle till the next *Saturday*, and then did the Prieſts themſelves eat them, and ſet other in the place. Some Prieſts will not eat the Houſel which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the Book ſpeaketh by them: *Preſbyter miſſam celebrans, & non audens ſumere ſacrificium, accuſante conſcientia, anathema eſt.* The Prieſt that doth ſay Maſs, and dare not eat the Houſel, his Conſcience accuſing him, is accurſed. It is leſs danger to receive the Houſel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one Hoſt to Houſel, is like unto thoſe Hereticks who do Chriſten twice one Child. Chriſt himſelf bleſſed Houſel before his ſuffering; he bleſſed the Bread and brake it, thus ſpeaking to his Apoſtles, *Eat this Bread, this is my Body.* And again, he bleſſed one Chalice with Wine, and thus alſo ſpake unto them, *Drink ye all of this, this is mine own Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the forgiveneſs of ſins.* The Lord which hallowed Houſel before his ſuffering, and faith, that the Bread was his own Body, and that the Wine was truly his Blood, halloweth daily by the hands of the Prieſt, Bread to his Body and Wine to his Blood, in ghoſtly myſtery, as we read in Books. And yet notwithſtanding that lively Bread is not bodily ſo, not the ſelf ſame Body that Chriſt ſuffered in, nor that holy Wine is the Saviours Blood which was ſhed for us in bodily thing, but in ghoſtly underſtanding. Both be truly, that Bread is his Body, and that Wine alſo is his Blood, as was the heavenly Bread which we call *Manna*, that fed forty years Gods People. And the clear Water which did then run from the Stone in the *Wilderneſs*, was truly his Blood, as St. *Paul* wrote in one of his Epiſtles, *Omnes patres noſtri eandem eſcam ſpiritualem manducaverunt, & omnes eundem potum ſpiritualem biberunt*, &c. All our Fathers did eat in the *Wilderneſs* the ſame ghoſtly meat, and they all did drink the ſame ghoſtly drink. And he ſaith not bodily, but ghoſtly. And Chriſt was not yet born, nor his Blood ſhed when that the People of *Iſrael* did eat that Meat, & drank of that Stone. And the Stone was not bodily Chriſt, though he ſo ſaid. It was the ſame ſmyftery in the old Law, and they did ghoſtly ſignifie that ghoſtly Houſel of our Saviours Body which we confecrate now.

* Bodily preſence denied.

† That is, a myſtery of the ſame thing that was in the old Law.

Beſides theſe Epiſtles above prefixed of *Elfricus* to *Wulfſinus* and *Wulfſtane*, which fight directly againſt Tranſubſtantiation, mention was touched alſo before of certain Sermons, to the number of 80, tranſlated by the ſaid *Elfricus* out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our Engliſh Tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of the which 80 Sermons, 24. were chiefly ſelected to be read, as inſtead of Homilies or Treatiſes unto the People: in ſuch order, as the firſt 12 Sermons or Treatiſes, intreating of general matters, (as, *De initio Creaturæ, de auguriis, de diſtinctione menſium, annus conſeſſoris, de ſcamilogniis et negligentia, de avaritia, de falſis diis*, &c.) were appointed to be read at pleaſure, and at the diſcretion of the Miniſter. The other 12 Sermons preſcribed of proper Feaſts, (as, *De Annunc. beat. Mariæ, de Nativ. Dom. de Circumcis. Dom. de Epiph. de Purif. S. Mariæ, Dom. 1a in Quadrageſima, Dom. Palm. die Paſcha*, &c.) Whereof this teſtimony remaineth in the ſame Book yet to be ſeen, both in the Saxon Tongue, and alſo in the Preface of the later 12 Sermons in Latin, in theſe words following, *In hoc codicillo continentur ſerm. Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris quos Abbas Anglicè tranſtulit*, &c.

80 Sermons tranſlated out of Latin into the Saxon Tongue.

A Book of 24 ſpecial Sermons ſelected out of the 80 Sermons tranſlated by *Elfricus*.

Furthermore, as touching theſe 80 Sermons aforeſaid, which *Elfricus* tranſlated into Engliſh, here is to be underſtood, that in the ſaid Sermons uſed then orderly to be recited to the People, there was one appointed to be read in *die Sanctæ Paſchæ*, that is, upon *Eaſter-day*: which Sermon being tranſlated by the ſaid *Elfricus*, we have here exhibited both in Saxon Speech and Engliſh, to the intent that the Chriſtian and indifferent Reader, peruſing the ſame, may judge thereby how the fantaſtical Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, in thoſe days of *Elfricus*, and before his time, was not yet received nor known in the Church of *England*; forſomuch as the ſaid Sermon, being in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident Declaration, what was the common opinion of the Sacrament in the Church received, before that *Elfricus* did ever ſet hand to tranſlate the ſame out of the Latin.

The Latin forefaid Sermons are not remaining in our Libraries, be Books written againſt Tranſubſtantiation, cruelly by the Prieſts all means how to prefer and further this their new-come doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, did abolish and raſe out of Libraries and Churches all ſuch Books which made to the contrary. And therefore becauſe *Lanfrancus*, and other Italian Prieſts here in *England*, underſtood not the Saxon Books as they did the Latin, all that which they underſtood they made away. The Saxon Books, becauſe they

knew them not, they let remain: and this is the cause why our Latin Copies are now to be found. Which to be true, by 3 Reasons conjectural it may be probably supposed.

Three conjectures proving that the Papists have made away of purpose the old Latin Books against their Transubstantiation.

First, for that these *Saxon* Sermons being translated out of the Latin (as ye have heard by the words of *Elfricus* already proved) only we see the *Saxon* Books reserved; of the Latin none doth appear.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an Epistle of *Elfricus* in the Library of *Worcester*. Wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of Transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin Epistle utterly rased out, so that no Letter nor piece of a Letter doth there appear. The words cut out were these; *Non est tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus, in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur & sanguis, sicut Manna quod de cælo pluit, & aqua quæ de petra fluxit.* *Sicut* Paulus, &c. i. e. *Notwithstanding this Sacrifice is not the same Body of his wherein he suffered for us, nor the same Blood of his which he shed for us; but spiritually it is made his Body and Blood; as that Manna which rained from Heaven, and the Water which did flow out of the Rock.* As *Paul*, &c. These words so rased out are to be restored again by another *Saxon* Book found in *Exceter*. By the rasing of which one place it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest.

The words craftily rased out by the Papists, and restored again by the Saxon Book of *Exeter*.

Thirdly, by one *Italian* trick of *Polydore Virgil* in our days, the properties and doings of all other *Italian* Papists of elder time may partly be conjectured: for so I am informed by such as precisely will affirm it to be true, that when *Polydore*, being licensed by the King to view and search all Libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such Books, as he had compiled out of Libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true Factor for the Popes own tooth, he piled his Books together and set them all on a light fire. For what cause he so did I cannot certainly pronounce; but whoso considereth well his Religion may shrewdly suspect him. For a probation whereof, this may serve for a sufficient trial; that whereas of all other Writers of Histories that have been in *England*, as of *Fabian*, *Lanquet*, *Rastal*, *More*, *Leland*, *Bale*, *Pall*, and such other, some of their Books which they then occupied yet remain in hands to be seen: only such Books as *Polydore* used, and which past his hands, what *English-men* is he that hath seen or can shew me one? Whereby it may well be thought the foresaid information to be true. As also by this one *Italian* trick of *Polydore* may other *Italians* likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin Books within this Land as made not for their purpose. But forsomuch as those Latin Books be now abolished, and cannot be had, let us return to our *Saxon* Tongue again, and see what this *Saxon* Sermon of *Elfricus*'s Translation doth say for Transubstantiation: the Copy whereof here ensueth.

An Italian trick of *Polydore Virgil*, to burn his Books which he had gotten into his hands.

A Sermon translated out of Latin *into the* Saxon *Tongue, by* Elfricus, *against Transubstantiation*, Anno 996.
In die Sanctæ Pascheæ.

The Alphabet of the Saxon *Tongue.*

a.	*b.*	*c.*	*d.*	*e.*	*f.*	*g.*	*h.*	*i.*	*l.*	*m.*	*n.*	*o.*	*p.*	*p.r.*	*r.*	*s.*	*t.*	*u.*	*p.*	*x.*	*y.*	*z.*
a.	b.	c.	ð.	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.	l.	m.	n.	o.	p.	p.r.	r.	s.	t.	u.	þ.	x.	y.	z.

Abbreviations.

Æ. Th. S. w. and th. th.
Æ. Þ. ð. þ. ȝ. ð. þ.

This Sermon was usual to be read in the Church, here in England *in the* Saxons *time*, Anno 366.

MEn ða leopoſtan. ȝelome eow ic ȝeſæd ymbe uper hælenðer æpiſte. hu he on þiſum anþpeardan dæȝe æfter hiȝ þrohpunge mihtiȝlice of deaþe aþaf; Nuwille we eow ȝeopenian ðurh Godeȝ ȝyre be þam halȝan huſle þegenu toȝan ſceolon. ȝ ȝeþiſſian eoper anð ȝyt ymbe ðære ȝenȝnu æȝhæp ȝe æfter ðære ealdan ȝecyþnyſſe. ȝe æfter ðæpe niþan. ðy læȝ. ðe æniȝ ȝþeonunge eoȝ ne þian mæȝe be þam liplicum ȝeþeorþe; ðe almihtiȝa God he bead þam hereȝoȝan on Eȝyþta lande. Þ heſcold bebeodan Iſpahela Folce. Þ hi namon æt ælcum heoþðe anȝ ȝearef lambe on þepe nighte þæ hiþrapdon of þan lande to ðam behaȝenan eardee. ȝ ſceolðon Þ lambe Godeȝ ȝeoffinan. ȝ ſyþðan ſniðhan. ȝ þ ȝþeam þaðe tacnon heora ȝedyrum. ȝ opæpſlegum mið ðæs Lambes blod. etan ſyþðan ðær Lambeȝ pleſc ȝebræd. ȝ ðe oþþe hlafaȝ mid pelbriche lactucan; God cwæð to Moyſen. ne ete ȝe of þam Lambe nan thing þpeaw. ne on wætere ȝeſoðhen ac ȝebſæð to fyre; Eraþ Þ heaſoð. ȝ tha fec. ȝ Þ inneweardne. ne hiþ nan thing ne belipeoth mengen. ȝif ðær hwæt to lafeſy þorbærneth Þ. thic gath hit on thæ wiſan; Beȝyrðath eowere lenðeow. anð beoth ȝeſceoðe. habath eow ſtap on hanðe. ȝ erath heardlice. ðoor vidit Godes þæreld; Anð weath tha on thære nihte oſſlegen on ælcum huſe ȝeonð eal Pharaoȝ rice. Þ þrumcennepe cild. ȝ was Þ Godes Folc Iſrahel abred þram tham therlicad deathe. ðurh thæȝ Lambeȝ oſſrunge. ȝ his blobes mearcunge; ȝ The cwæþ God to Moyſen. healdath Þſe nedæȝ on eowrum ȝenerðe. ȝ preoſliaith hine mærlice on eowrum cynrenum mid ecum bigenȝe ȝ erath ðeorne hlaf ſymble feorðan dagaȝar ðiſre þreoþ tide; ſ̄ter þiſſepe dæde lædde God Þ Iſrahela Folc oper þa readen ſee. mið þrium þorum. ȝ adræncte theat on Phapao. ȝ ealne hiȝ hepe ſamod the heora eliton. anð afedde ſyþðan Þ Iſpahela folc feowrtiȝ ȝeara mid heofonlicum bigleoſan. ȝ him þorgeaf weȝer oþ heardum ſtan clude. oth Þ hi comon to tham behatenum ethele; ſume haȝ pace we habbathfeſc þahtnod on othre ſtowefume we wyllath nu ȝeopenian. Þ the belimpth to tham halȝan huſle; Criſtene men nemeȝon healdan nu tha ealdan æ lichamlice. ac him ȝeðafenath Þ hi cumen hwæt heo ȝaſtlice tacnie; Þ uns cæþhie Lambe the þe ealde Iſpahela tha oþnath. hæſbe ȝetacnunge æfter ȝartlicum anð ȝyte Criſteȝ throwunge ſe the unȝ cæþhiȝ þor ure alyfedniſſe hiȝ halige blod ageaf; Be tham þingath Godeȝ theowaȝ æt ælcere mæſſan. *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſererere nobis*; Þ iȝ on urum ȝereorbe. tha Godeȝ Lam tha æȝretfæſt middan eaðeȝ ſynna ȝemiltſaþ; Þ Iſrahela Folc wearh ahred þram tham ſærlicum ðeath. ȝ þam Phapoes heowe thurh thæȝ Lambes oſſrunge. the hæſbe ȝetacnungo Chriſteȝ throwunge. thurh tha weſinð alyſſeð þram tham ecum ðeath. ȝ thæȝ rethan deoſles anwealde. ȝif we rightlice ȝelifath on thone ſothan alyſenð ealles miðsam eardeȝ hælenð. Criſt; Þ Lambe was ȝeoffrode on æſrunȝeanð ure hælenð threoðe on þere ſixtan ylde thiſſere þoruldeȝ; ſeo ilb iȝ geteald to æſrunge thiſeȝ a teori gelican middon eartes; ði mearcodan mið thæs lambes blode on heora ȝedyrum. anð overflegum Tau. Þ iȝ rode tacen ȝ þurdon ſpa ȝeſcil defram tham engle. the acwealde thæra. Eȝyptiȝ craþrumcennedan cild; And þe ſceolon mearcian ure þorpearde heafod. ȝ upne lichaman mið Cpiſtes robe tacue. Þ we beon ahredde fram forwyrde. thonne webeoth ȝemearcode æȝthær ge on foran heaſbe ge on heortan mid blobe thære dríh tenlican thropunge; Þ Iſrahela Folc æt ðær Lambeȝ flæſc on heora Eaſter tyde tha tha hi ahredde wopðon. ȝ we thiggath nu ȝaſtlice Criſteȝ lichaman. ȝ his blod drincaeth. Ðonne þe mid ſoþum ȝeleafan Þ halige huſel biȝcath; Done timan hi heoldon him to Eaſter tide þeofan ðagas mid mioclum wurthmynte the hi ahredde wurdon. with Pharao. ȝ of ðam eaðe þerdon ðwa eac Criſtene men healdath Criſtes æriſt uþ to Eaſter tide thæſſeofan ðagar. ſoþ than the we ſint thurh hiȝ throwunge anð æriſt alyſede. ȝ we beoth ȝeclænſode thurh thæs halȝan huſel ganges. Swa Criſt ſyſlf ſwæth on his Godſpell; ðoth ſothic cow ſeȝe. næbe ge liþ on cow. buton ȝe eten min flæſc. anð drincon min blod; ðe the et min flæſc. and min blod drinceth. he wunath on me. and ic on him. and he healſth that ece liþ. and ic hine arepe on thana endenextan dæȝe; Ic com ſe liſlica hlaf the of heofonum aſtah. na ſwa ſwa eowere forth ðædepas aton thone heofonlican hlaf on weſtene. ȝ ſyþðan ſwa lon; ðe the et thiſne hlaf. he leofath on eornyſſe; Þe halȝod hlafer his throwunge. ȝ todelde his diſciþulum thus cwethende; Eath thiſne hlaf hiȝ iȝ min lichama. ȝ both this on myn ȝemynbe; Eft he bletpode with ou anum calice. ȝ ſwæth; Drincath ealle of thiſum. this iȝ min blob that he bið for menegum a ȝoben on ſynna forgyfenyſſe; Da Apoſtoli dydon ſwa ſwa Crift her, Þ hi halȝodon hlaf ȝ win to huſle on hiȝ ȝemyndbe; Eac ſwylce heora æfter ȝencan. ȝ ealle ſæcerdas be Cpiſtes hæſe halȝiaþ hlaf ȝ

pin to huſle on his namá mið ðær Apoſtolican bletſunge; Nu fired on ȝehþlice men opr. Þ ȝit ȝelomlice fireaȝaþ. huſe half ðe bith of copne ȝeȝearcod. ȝ thurh þyres hætan abacen mage boen awend to Cpiſtes lichaman. oth þe Þ win the bith of manegum berium aurungen. peorhe awend ðurh ani ȝne bletſunge to drithnes blob; Nu ſecȝe we ȝehwilcum mannum Þ ſume thing ſind ȝecpedene be Cpiſt thurh getacunȝe ſume thurh ȝepiſſum thingeȝ; ſoth ðing iȝ anð ȝewis Þ Cpiſt þæs of mædene acenneð. and ſyſlf wilkeȝ thorowode ðeath. anð wæs beþyriged. anð on thiſum dæȝe of ðeath araȝ; ðe iȝ ȝecweden halaf thurh ȝetacnunge anð Lambe. ȝ Leo. anð ȝehuelles; ðe iȝ hlaf ȝehaten. forthan the he iȝ ure lif and engla; Þe iȝ Lambe ȝecpeden for his unſcæth thiniſſe; Leo þor thæt ſtrenethe. the he ofer ſwithe thone ſtran ȝan deoſol; Ac ſwa thea æpter ſothum ȝecynde iȝ Cpiſt nathor ne hlaf. ne lambe. ne Leo; Dwi iȝ thonne Þ halige huſel ȝecweden Cpiſtes lichama. ofthe his blob. ȝif hit niȝ ſothlice Þ that hit ȝehaten iȝ; Sothlice ſe hlaf. ȝ Þ win the beoth thurh ſacerda mæſſan ȝehal ȝobe other thinȝe he æteowath menniſcum and ȝitum with utan. and othep thinȝ hi clipiath with inangelaffullum modum; Wid utan hi beoth ȝeſepene hlaf ȝ win æȝthep ȝeon hipne ȝe on ſpræcce. ac hi beoth ſothlice æfter thæpe halȝunge Cpiſteȝ lichama. and hiȝ blod thurh ȝaſtliee ȝeryne; Dæ then cild bith ȝefullod. ac hit ne bræt na his hiw with utan theah the hit beo with innan awend; Eac bith ȝe broðor ſyſtull thurh Atamer popȝye ȝeðwyſe to tham ſant pate; Acchte bith ati pegen fram eallum ſynnum with innan deaþ the hit with utan hiȝ hiw ne awende; Eac ſwylce Þ halige ſant wætef the iȝ ȝehaten lifes wylſpring. iȝ gelic on hiwe othruni weterum. Þ is unbertheod broſniȝe. ac thes halȝan ȝaes tes mið ȝencalæcth tham broſnigendlicum pætere, thurh ſacerda bletȝunge. ȝ hit mæg ſuththan lichaman Þ ſawle athrean fram eallum ſynnum thurh ȝaſtlice miht; Eſne nu we ge ſeoth twa þing on thiȝum anum ȝeſceafte; ſ̄ȝrpep ſothum ȝecynðe. Þ pætef iȝ broſniendlic wæte. Þ æfter ȝaſtlicre ȝerynu hæfth halwende mighte; Swa eac ȝif we ſceawiath Þ halige huſel æfter lichamlicum and ȝyte. thonne ȝeſeo we Þ hit iȝ ȝeſceſt broðendlic and awendeſc; Gif we tha ȝaſtlican miht thær on ſocnawaw thonne under ȝite we Þ hit þa iȝ lif on. ȝ forȝiſth undeadlicn ÿſſe. tham the hit mid ȝeleafan thiȝeath; Micel iȝ betwux thære ungeſewenlicam mihte thæs halȝan huſles. and tham ȝeſſewenlicam hiwe agenes ȝecyndes; Þ is on ȝecynde broſniendlic hlaf. ȝ broſniendlic win. and iȝ æfter mihte Godcundes Worder. Sothlice Cpiſtes lichama ȝ his blod. nafatheah lichamlice ac ȝaſtlice; Micel iȝ betwux tham lichaman the Chpiſt on throwode. and tham lichaman þe to huſle bith ȝehalȝeb; Se lichama ſothlice the Cpiſt on throwode wæȝ ȝeboten of Mariam flæſc. mid blod and mid baaum. mid felle and mid ſinum. on menis cum limum. mid ȝeſceadwiſne ſawle ȝeliffeſt and hiȝ ȝaſtlica lichama. the we huſel hatath iȝ of manegum cornum ȝeȝaderod. buȝ on blob and bane. limleaf. and ſawullean. anð nis forthinan thinȝ thær on to underſtandenne; Spa hwæt ſwa on tham huſle iȝ the uȝ lipes edwiſt forgifth. Þ iȝ of thære ȝaſtlican mihte, and un ȝeſewedlicre fremincge: Forthi iȝ Þ halige huſel ȝeaten ȝerynu. forthá the other ðing iȝ thæron ȝeſewen. anoþer thinȝ underȝiten; That Þ dæp ȝeſewen iȝ hæfth lichamlic hiw and that Þ we ther on underſtandath hæfth ȝaſtlice mihte; wetodlice Cpiſtes lichama the death throwode. and oþ deaþ aras. ne ſwylt næfie heonon forth. ac iȝ ece and unthrowiendlic; That huſel iȝ hwilwendlic na ece; Broſniendlic. and bith ſticc mælum todæled; Betwux topum tocowen. and into tham buce ȝefnd. ac hit bith theah hwa thereæfter ȝaſtlicre mihte on ælcum dæle ealle. Mune ȝa underſoth thone halȝan lichaman. anð be bith ſwa theah on ælcum dæle eall æfter ȝaſtlicre ȝerynu; theah ſume men ȝeſceote læſſe dæl ne bith ſpa theah namare miht on tham maran dæle thonne on tham læſan. ſop than the hit bith on ælcum men anſuad æfter thære ungeſewenlican mighte; Theos ȝerynu iȝ wedd. and hiw; Cpiſtes lichama iȝ ſothfæſtnyſſe; Dis wedd we ealdath ȝewyrnelice. oth Þ we becumon to thære ſothfæſtnyſſe. anð thonne bith this wedd ȝeendeb; Sothlice hit iȝ ſwa ſwa we ær cræbon Cpiſtes lichama. and his blob na licamlice ac ȝaſtlice; Uton nu ȝehȳran thæs Apoſtoleȝ worde embe thæȝ ȝerinu; Paulus ſe Apoſtol cwæth be thamealdan Folce Iſpahela. thus writende on hiȝ Piſtole to Ȝeleaffullum mannum; Ealle ure forth fæderas wepon ȝefillude on wolcne and on ſæ. and ealle hi æton thone ylcan ȝaſtlican mete. and ealle hi druncon thone ylcan ȝaſtlican drenc; Ði druncon ſothlice of æfter ſiligendan ſtane. Þ ſe ſtan wæs Cpiſt; Næȝ þeſtan that Þ wader of ſlow lichamlice æpiſt ac he ȝetacnode Cpiſt. the clypode thuȝ to eallum ȝeleafullum mannum ſwa hwam ſwa thyrſte come to meard drince; Þ of his innote fleowth liſlic wæter; thiȝ hiſede be tham halȝan ȝaſte the tha unȝep fengon. the on hine gelyſdon; ðe Apoſtol Paulus cræþ that Þ Iſpahela Folc æte thone ylcan ȝaſtlican mete. and drunce thone ylcan ȝaſtlican drenc. Forthan the ſe ylca heofonlica mete theihiafedde xl. ȝeara. Þ wæter the of than ſtane fleow. hæfde ȝetahunge Cpiſtes lichaman. Þ hiȝ blodes. the un beoth ȝeoffrode tæȝhwamlice on Godeȝ cyrcan; Ðiz werontha ylcan the we ou offpiath. na lichamlice. ac ȝaſtlice; We ſæðon eow hwæne æp that Criſt halȝode hlaf and win ær hiȝ throwunge to huſle. Þ ȝwæth. thiȝ is min lichama Þ min blod;

Ne throwade he Þ ac ſwa theah he awende thurh unȝeſewenlice mihte thone hlaf do hiȝ agenum lichama. and that win to his blod; Swa ſwa he ær. dyde. on tha weſtene æritham the he to men ȝeboren wurde. tha tha he awende throne heofonlica mete to hiȝ Fæfe. Þ that ſlowende wætep of tham ſtane to hiȝ agenum blode; Fæla Manna æton of tham heofonlican mete on tham weſtene. Þ druncon thone ȝaſtlican drenc. And wurdon ſwa theah dede. ſwa ſwa Þ ſalt ſæde; Ne mænde Cpiſt thon death the nan man forbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde thon ecan death the ſume op tham folc for heora ȝeleafleſte ȝearneðon; Moyſeȝ and Aapon. and manega othre of tham folce the Ȝoð ȝelicodon æton thon heofonlican hlaf. ac hi mæron beade tham ecum deaþ. Theah ðe hi ȝemænum death foþth ferdon; Þi ȝeſawon Þ ſe heofonlica mete wæȝ ȝeſewenlic. and broſniend lic. ac hiunderſtodon ȝaſtlice be tham ȝeſewenlicum thinge. Þ hic ȝaſtlice thiȝdon; ðe hælend cwæth. Se the æt min flæſc. Þ drincth min blod. he hæfth ece lif; Ne het he na etan thone lichaman. ðe he mid hiſen ȝen wæs. ne that blod drincan. he hetor us ȝeȝet. ac he mænde mid tham worde Þ halige huſel. the ȝaſtlicr hiȝ lichama Þ his blod. Þ ſe the thæs onbyriȝth mid ȝeleafulre heortan. he hæfth Þ ece lif; On thære ealdan æ ȝeleaffulle men offrodon Ȝode miſtlice lac. the hæfdon to weardæ ȝetacnunge Cpiſtes lichama. the ſÿlf forurum ſynnum fyþthá ȝeoffrode hiȝ heofonlicon ſæder to onfeȝedn ÿſſe; Witodlice thiȝ huſel the nubith ȝehalgode æt ȝodes weofode. is ȝemynd Cpiſtes lichaman the he þor uȝ ȝeoffrode. Þ hiȝ blodes. þe he for uȝ ageat. ſwa ſwa he ſÿlf het doth thiȝ on minum ȝeminde; Æne throwode Cpiſt thurh hine ſÿlfne ac ſwa thea dæȝhwomlice bith thiȝ throwunge ȝeedniwod thurh ȝerynu thæs halȝan huſles ær thære halȝan mæſſan; Uȝ iȝ eac ȝermes ȝenne. Þ Þ halige huſelis æȝthiȝ ge Cpiſtes lichama. ȝe ealles ȝeleaffulles folces æfter ȝaſtlice ȝerynu; Swa ſpa ſe piſa Auguſtinus be þam. cwæth; Giȝ ge ſillath underſtandan be Cpiſtes lichaman ȝeehirath thone Apoſtol Paulum thuȝ cwethende; Ge ſothlice ſindon Cpiſtes lichama. Ȝ leomu; Nu is eowr ȝerynu ȝeledon ȝobeȝ myſad and ge undeſtoth eoper ȝerynu to tham the ge ſylfe ſind; Beoth that Þ ȝeȝeſeoh on tham weofode. and underfoth that Þ ȝeſylfe ſind; Ept cwæth ſe Apoſtol Paulus be thiſum. we manega ſyndon an hlaf Þ an lichama; Underſtandath nu. Þ bliſſiah. feala ſindan hlaf. Þ an lichama on Cpiſt; Þe iȝ ure heafod. Þ we ſind his lima; Ne bith ſe hlaf of anum corne. ac of manegum; Ne thet win of anre berian. ac of maȝegum. Swa we ȝeolon eac habban anny ſſe on urum drihtne. ſwa ſwa hit aw awriten is be tham ȝeleaffullan weorode. that hi wæron on ſwa micelre anny ſſe. ſwilce him eallum wære on ſawul. Þ on heorte; Cpiſt ȝehalgode on his becðe tha ȝerÿnæ ure ſibbe. and ure anniſſe. ſe we underfeth thære annyſſe ȝerynu. and ne hilt the ne bend thære ſothan ſibbe. ne underfenth he na ȝerynu ſop him ſylfum. ac ȝecydnyſſe to ȝeanes him ſylfum; Micel Ȝod bith Criſtenum mannum. Þ hi ȝelome to huſel ȝan. ȝif hi unȝ cæthhiȝnyſſe on heora heortan berath to tham weofode. ȝif hi ne beoh mid leahtrum opſette; Ðam yſelan men ne becymth to manum

num gode. ac to forthwyrde. gif he thæs halgan huſles
umwurthe onbyrigth; Þalige bec beodath that man ge-
mænce gewærdes to tham wine the to huſle ſceal. Fon-
than the that waſtep hæfth thæs folcer getacnumge.
Swa swa Þ win Criſtes blodes; and forthi ne ſceal na-
thor butum ecþaſum beon gedruncen. æt thære halgan
mæſſan. that Criſt beo midus. Ꝛ we mid Criſt that heafod
mid waem leonum. and tha leomu mid tham. heafod; we
woldon gefyrn trahtnian be tham la be Se ſe ealde If-
þahel & heora Earzep tyde. geoffrodon. ac we woldon
ærift eow geræccan ymbe thæs gerynu. and fyththan hu
hic man thicgan ſceal; that getacniendlice lamb wæs ge-
offrode at heora Earzep tyde. and ſe Apoſtol Paulus
cwæth on thiſum dæg therlicum Piſtole. that Criſt iſ
ure Earzep tyde. ſe the þor uſ wæs geaffrod. and on
thiſum dæg or teaeth arar; Iſpahel thigde thæs lambes
flæſc. ſwa ſwa God bebead. mid theorſum hlafum. and
feldlicum lacteucum. and we ſcolon thicgan that halige
huſel Criſtes licaman. and his blod buton beorman yfel-
niſſe and manfulnyſſe; Swa ſwa ſe beorma awent tha
geſlaſta of heora gecynde. ſwa apendaþ eac lealtraþ Þar
mannes gæcynde fram unſcæþhigniſſe to gepemmen-
dyſſe; Se Apoſtol tæhte Þ þe ſceolden gepeſtfullian na
on yfelniſſe beormā. ac on theorſnyſſum ſiferniſſe. Ꝛ foth-
fæſtnyſſe; Lacteca hætre ſceo wyſt the hi eta ſceolden
midtha theorſum hlafum. he is biter on thicgen; and ſe
ſcealon mid biterniſſe fothre behreowſunge ure mod ge-
clænſian. gif we willath Criſtes licaman thicgan; Næs
that Iſpahela pole gewunod. to hreawum flæſc. theah þe
God him bebude. that hi hit hrewa ne eton. ne on waeter
gepoben. ac gebræd to fire; Se pile thicgan Godes li-
chaman hreawne. ſe the buton ġeceaſade wenþ that he
þære anfeald man uf gelice. and næpe God; and ſe the
æfter menis eum þiloom pyle ſmeagan ymbe tha gerynu
Cpiſter ſtelfcliczyſſe. he deþ ſpylce he ſceothe thæs lambes
flæſc on þæter. forthan the þæter ġetacnath on thiſſere
ſtope menif cin ġehid; Ac we ſcealon pitan Þ ealle tha
gerynu Criſtes menifcnyſſe þæron ġefadobe thurh mihte
thæs halgan gaſtes thonne thicge þe his lichaman gebræd-
ne to fire. forthan þe ſe halga gaſt comon fire hipe to
tham Apoſtolum on myſtlic gereordum; Iſrahel ſceold
etan thæs lambes heofod. and ðafet. Ꝛ Þ innewearde. and
ðærnan thing belifan ne morte ofer niht; Gif thær hwæt
belife. forbærnan that on fire. and ne tobræcan þa baan;
Æfter gaſtlicum and gyte þe etath thæs lambes heafod
ðonne we underſtoth Criſtes ġodcundyſſe on urum gele-
aſan; Eyre thonne we his menifnyſſe mid luſe underforth.
ðonne ece we thæs lambes fet. forthan the the Criſt is angin
Ꝛ ende. Godes ealle þorulda. and man on ðiffere þorulð
ġeendunge; Þæt is thæs lambes innewearde buton Criſtes
degelan bebodu tha þe etath thonne þe liper word mid
grædigniſſe underfoth; Nan thing ne moſte thæs lamber
belifan oth merigen. forthan the godes ewy das find to
ſmeġenne mid ſpa mycelre carfulnyſſe. ſwa that ealle his
beboda mid angite Ꝛ þeorce beon afmeade on nihte þiſes
and wearden liper. ærthan the ſe endenexta dæg thæs ge-
mænelicæ æriſtes æteopige; Gif þe thonne ealle tha geri-
nu Criſtes flæſliczyſſe thurh ſmeagan ne magon. thonne
ſceole þe tha lafe betæcan thæs halgan gaſtes mihte mid
fothre eadmonyſſe. and na to dyrſtfelice ymbe tha deopan
digelnyſſe ofer ures and gites mæthe ſmeagan; Þi æron that
lambe mid begyrdū lendenum. On lendenū is ſeo galniſſe
thæs lichaman Ꝛ ſe the pile that huſel thicgan he ſceal ġep-
rythan the galnyſſe. Ꝛ mid clenyſſe þa halgā thigene onfon;
Þi þæron eac ġeſceode; Þ þat find geſcy butun deadra
nytenehyda; þe beoth þopli eġeſceode. Ġiþ þe efenlæcath.
mid urum fereld and þeorce forthfarenra manna lip. thæra
the Gobe gethugon thurh gehealdſumnyſſe hiþ beboda;
Þi Þæſdon him ſtæf on handa æt thæra thi gene; Se ſtæf
getac nath gymene. and hyrdnyſſe; tha the bet cunnon
and magon. ſcealon gyman othra manna. and mid heora
fultume underþwrithan; Than gemettum þær beboden
that hi ſcoldon cafflice eżan. þorthā the God ons cunath
tha fleacnyſſe on his thegnum. and tha he luſath the mid
modes eafneſſe thæs ecan liper mirthe ſecathe; Þit iſ a-
writen. Ne elea thu to gecyrranne to God. thylæs the ſe
tima loſie thurh tha fleacan elcunge; Tha ġemettan ne
moſton thæs lamber þan fcænam. ne tha campan the Criſt
ahengon ne moſton tobræcan his halgan ſcancan. ſwa
ſpa hi dydon þæra thegra ſceathena the him on ſpa heal-
fa hangodon. ac driht araf of þeath ġeſond buton ælcere
þorro todnyſſe; and hi ſcealon geſcon æt than miccla
dome hþænc gepundodon þælhreofige on rode; theos rid
is gehaten on ebreis cum gereorde Parca. that is on leden
Tranſitus. and on engliſc þereld. fortha the on thiſum dæge
þerde ġeder þole fram Ægypta landa ofer tha Reden þæ-
fram theote to than behatenan eardeżure driht þerde eac
on thiſne timan. Spa ſpa ſe ġodſpellere Johns cwæth fram
thiſum middan carde to his heofonlicum fæderiże ſceolon
fylian urun heafde. and þaram fram deodle to Criſt. fram
hiſſere uns cæththigan worulð. to his ſta thelfæſtan rice.
ac we ſcealon æreſt on urum and þeardā liże faram fram
leahtrum to halgum mægnum fram ungeæpum to godum
theapum. gig þe pillath æfter thiſum ſænam hiż faram to
tha ecan. and æfter urum æriſt to hæland Criſt; he us
ġelæd to his liffigendam fæder. to hine faldi fet urum
linum to ċeath; Si him þuldor and lof there þeldæda on
ælra þorulda. A M E N.

The ſame in Engliſh.

MEn beloved, it hath been often ſaid unto you about our Saviours Reſurrection, how he on this preſent day after his ſuffering mightily roſe from death. Now will we open unto you, through Gods Grace, of the holy huſel, which ye ſhould now go unto, and inſtruct your underſtanding about this myſtery, both after the old Covenant, and alſo after the new, that no doubting may trouble you about this lively food. The Almighty God bad *Moſes* his Captain in the Land of *Egypt* to command the people of *Iſrael* to take to every Family a Lamb of one year old, the night they departed out of the Countrey to the Land of promiſe, and to offer that Lamb to God, and after to eat it, and to make the ſign of the Croſs with the Lambs Blood upon the ſide Poſts and the upper Poſts of their Door, and afterward to Eat the Lambs Fleſh, roſted, and unleavened Bread with wild Lettice. God ſaith unto *Moſes*, *Eat of the Lamb nothing raw, nor ſodden in water, but roaſted at the fire.* here we muſt beat *Eat the Head, the Feet, and the inwards, and let nothing of it be left until the Morning, if any thing there-* with the *of remain, that you ſhall burn with fire. Eat it in this* time. *wiſe. Gird your loyns, and do your ſhoos on your Feet, have your Staves in your Hands, and Eat it in haſt. The time is the Lords Paſſover.* And there was ſlain on that night, in every Houſe throughout all *Pharaohs Dominions*, the firſt Born Child: and Gods people of *Iſrael* were delivered from that ſudden Death through the Lambs offering and his Bloods marking. Then ſaid God unto *Moſes*, *Keep this day in your Remembrance, and hold it a great Feaſt in your Kindreds, with a perpetual obſervation, and Eaſt unleavened Bread always 7. days at this Feaſt.* After this deed, God led the people of *Iſrael* over the Red Sea with dry Foot, and drowned therein *Pharaoh* and all his Army together with their Poſſeſſions, and fed afterward the *Iſraelites* forty years with heavenly food, and gave them water out of the hard Rock, until they came to the promiſed Land. Part of this Story we have treated of in another place, and part we ſhall now declare, to wit, that which belongeth to the holy Houſel; Chriſtian Men may not now keep that old Law Bodily, but it behoveth them to know what it ſignifieth. That Innocent Lamb which the old *Iſraelites* did then kill, had ſignification after ghoſtly underſtanding of Chriſts ſuffering, who unguilty ſhed his holy Blood for our redemption. Hereof ſing Gods Servants at every Maſs, *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis*, That is in our ſpeech, *Thou Lamb of God that takeſt away the ſins of the world, have mercy upon us.* Thoſe *Iſraelites* were delivered from that ſudden Death, and from *Pharaohs* Bondage by the Lambs offering, which ſignified Chriſts ſuffering; through which Lambs Blood the Angel paſſed over the whole world, Chriſt the Saviour. That Lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour ſuffered in the ſixth age of this world. This age of this curruption the world is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the Lambs Blood upon the Doors and the upper Poſts, *Thou*, that is, the ſign of the Croſs, and were ſo defended from the Angels that killed the *Egyptians* firſt Born Child. And in like manner we ought to mark our Foreheads and our Bodies with the token of Chriſts Croſs of Rood, that we may be alſo delivered from deſtruction, when

A Sermon on *Eaſter-day* in the old Saxon Tongue. tranſlated into Engliſh.

Matth. 26. Luke 22. Mark 14. 1 Cor. 11.

Note how Chriſts Words were taken by ſignification before Transubſtantiation.

The ſign of the Croſs is beſt to the Text. but ignorance of this

Exod. 12.

Exod. 14.

Why is the Houſel called Chriſts Body, when it is not ſo truly?

This Meſs was not then like to the Maſs of our Popiſh and blaſphemous Maſſe now.

The water in Baptiſm, and Bread and Wine is the Lords Supper compared.

No tranſubſtantiation.

Difference betwixt Chriſts natural body and the Sacrament thereof.

Anno 1210 Chriſt reconciled both to God in one Body through his Croſs.

John 6.

when we ſhall be marked both on forehead, and alſo in heart with the Blood of our Lords ſuffering. Thoſe *Iſraelites* did eat the Lambs Fleſh at their *Eaſter* time, when they were delivered, and we receive ghoſtly Chriſts Body, and drink his Blood, when we receive with true belief that holy Houſel. That time they kept with them at *Eaſter* ſeven days with great worſhip, when they were delivered from *Pharaoh*, and went from that Land. So alſo Chriſtian Men keep Chriſts Reſurrection at the time of *Eaſter* theſe ſeven days, becauſe through his ſuffering and riſing we be delivered and be made clean by going to this holy Houſel, as Chriſt ſaith in his Goſpel, *Verily, verily I ſay unto you, ye have no life in you except ye Eat my Fleſh, and Drink my Blood. He that Eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlaſting life, and I ſhall raiſe him up in the laſt day. I am the lively Bread that came down from Heaven: not ſo as your Forefathers did Eat that Heavenly Bread in the Wilderneſs, and afterward died. He that Eateth this Bread liveth for ever,* He bleſſed Bread before his ſuffering, and divided it to his Diſciples, thus ſaying, *Eat of this Bread, it is my Body, and do this in my Remembrance.* Alſo he bleſſed Wine in one Cup and ſaid, *Drink ye all of this. This is my Blood that is ſhed for many, in forgiveneſs of Sins.* The Apoſtles did as Chriſt commanded, that is, they bleſſed Bread and Wine to Houſel again afterward in his remembrance. Even ſo alſo their Succeſſours and all Prieſts by Chriſts Commandment do bleſs Bread and Wine to Houſel in his name with the Apoſtolick bleſſing. Now men have often ſearched and do yet often ſearch, how Bread that is gatherced of Corn, and through fires heat baked, may be turned to Chriſts Body; or how Wine that is preſſed out of many grapes is turned through one bleſſing to the Lords Blood. Now ſay we to ſuch Men, ſome things be ſpoken of Chriſt by ſignification, and ſome be things certain. True this is and certain that Chriſt was born of a Maid, and ſuffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on this day aroſe from Death. He is faid to be Bread by ſignification, and a Lamb, and a Lyon, and a Mountain. He is called Bread, becauſe he is our life, and Angels life. He is faid to be a Lamb for his Innocency; and a Lyon for ſtrength, wherewith he overcame the ſtrong Devil. But Chriſt is not ſo notwithſtanding after true nature, neither Bread, nor a Lamb, nor a Lion. Why is then the holy Houſel called Chriſts Body, or his Blood, if it be not truly that it is called? Truly the Bread and the Wine which in the Supper by the Prieſt is hallowed, ſhew one thing without to human underſtanding, and another thing within to believing minds. Without they be ſeen Bread and Wine both in figure and in taſt, and they be truly after their hallowing Chriſts Body and his Blood, through ghoſtly myſtery. An heathen Child is Chriſtened, yet he altereth not his ſhape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the Fontſtone ſinful through *Adams* diſobedience, howbeit he is waſhed from all ſin within, though he hath not changed his ſhape without. Even ſo the Holy Font Water that is called the Welſpring of life, is like in ſhape to other waters, and is ſubject to corruption, but the Holy Ghoſts might cometh to the corruptible water through the Prieſts bleſſing, and it may after waſh the Body and Soul from all ſin, through ghoſtly might. Behold now we ſee two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moiſture; and after ghoſtly myſtery, hath wholeſome vertue. So alſo if we behold the holy Houſel after Bodily underſtanding, then we ſee that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we knowledg therein ghoſtly might, then underſtand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that Eat with belief. Much is betwixt the inviſible might of the holy Houſel, and the viſible ſhape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible Bread, and corruptible Wine, and is by might of Gods Word truly Chriſts Body and Blood, not ſo notwithſtanding bodily, but ghoſtly. Much is betwixt the Body of Chriſt which he ſuffered in, and the Body that is hallowed to Houſel. The Body truly that Chriſt ſuffered in, was born of the Fleſh of *Mary*, with Blood and with bone, with ſkin and with ſinews, in human limbs, with a reaſonable Soul living: and his ghoſtly Body, which we call the Houſel, is gathered of many Corns, without Blood and bone, without limb, without Soul, and therefore nothing is to be underſtood therein bodily, but all is ghoſtly to be underſtood. What ſoever is in that Houſel, which giveth ſubſtance of life, that is of the ghoſtly might, and invifible doing. Therefore is that holy Houſel called a myſtery, becauſe there is one thing in it ſeen, and another thing underſtood. That which is there ſeen, hath bodily ſhape: and that we do there underſtand hath ghoſtly might. Certainly Chriſts Body, which ſuffered Death and roſe from Death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and unpaſſible. That Houſel is temporal, not eternal, corruptible and dealed into ſundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and ſent into the Belly: howbeit, nevertheleſs after ghoſtly might it is all in every part. Many receive that holy Body, and yet notwithſtanding it is ſo all in every part after ghoſtly myſtery. Though ſome chew the leſs, yet is there no more might notwithſtanding in the more part, than in the leſs, becauſe it is whole in all men after the inviſible might. This myſtery is a pledge and a figure: Chriſts Body is truth it ſelf. This pledge we do keep myſtically, until that we be come to the truth it ſelf, and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, ſo as we before have ſaid, Chriſts Body and his Blood; not bodily, but ghoſtly. But now hear the Apoſtles words about this myſtery. *Paul* the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of the old *Iſraelites*, thus writing in his Epiſtle to faithful Men. *All our forefathers were Baptiſed in the cloud, and in the Sea, and all they did Eat the ſame ghoſtly meat, and drank the ſame ghoſtly drink. They drank truly of the ſtone that followed them, and that ſtone was Chriſt.* Neither was that ſtone then from which the water ran, bodily Chriſt, but it ſignified Chriſt, that called thus to all believing and faithful Men. *Whoſoever thirſteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his bowels ſhall flow lively water.* This he ſaid of the holy Ghoſt, which they received who believed on him. The Apoſtle *Paul* ſaith, *That the Iſraelites did eat the ſame ghoſtly meat, and drank the ſame ghoſtly drink*, becauſe that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the ſtone did flow, had ſignification of Chriſts Body, and his Blood, that now bee offered daily in Gods Church. It was the ſame which we now offer, not bodily, but ghoſtly.

3 Difference. Not the Body that ſuffered is in the Houſel.

3 Difference.

3 Difference. 4 Difference Matth. 14.

1 Cor. 10.

John 6.

We ſaid unto you ere while, that Chriſt hallowed Bread and Wine to Houſel before his ſuffering, and ſaid, *This is my Body and my Blood.* Yet he had not then ſuffered; but ſo notwithſtanding he turned through inviſible might the Bread to his own Body, and that Wine to his Blood as hee before did in the Wilderneſs, before that he was born to be a Man, when he turned that heavenly meat to his fleſh, and the flowing water from that ſtone to his own Blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the Wilderneſs, and drank the ghoſtly drink; and were nevertheleſs dead, as Chriſt ſaid. And Chriſt meant not that death which none can eſcape, but that everlaſting death which ſome of that folk deſerved for their unbelief. *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and many other of that people which pleaſed God, did Eat that heavenly Bread, and they dyed not the everlaſting death, but though they dyed not the everlaſting death, yet they dyed the common death. They ſaw that the heavenly meat was viſible and corruptible, and they ghoſtly underſtood by that viſible thing, and ghoſtly received it. The Saviour ſaith, *He that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath ever laſting life.* And he bad them not eat that Body whereof with hee was incloſed, nor to drink that Blood which was ſhed for us; but he meant with thoſe words that holy Houſel, which ghoſtly is his Body and his Blood, and he that taſteth it with believing heart, hath that eternal life. In the old Law faithful men offered to God divers Sacrifices, that had fore-ſignification of Chriſts Body, which for our ſins he himſelf to his heavenly Father hath ſince offered to Sacrifice. Certainly this Houſel which we do now hallow at Gods Altar, is a Remembrance of Chriſts Body which hee offered for us, and of his Blood which he ſhed for us. So he himſelf commanded, *Do this in my remembrance.* Once ſuffered Chriſt himſelf, but yet nevertheleſs his ſuffering is daily renewed at this Supper, through myſtery of the holy Houſel. Therefore we ought to conſider diligently, how that this holy Houſel is both Chriſts Body, and the Body of all faithful men, after a ghoſtly,

John 6. What Body the faithful do now eat.

A ſignification before Chriſt: A Sacrifice in Chriſts time

A remembrance of Chriſt. Matth. 26. Heb. 10.

The Houel is alsoche Body of all Faithful men.

ghostly mystery. As wise *Augustine* saith of it, If ye will understand of Christs Body, hear the Apostle *Paul* thus speaking, *Ye truly be Christs Body and his Members.* Now is your Mystery set on Gods Table, and ye receive your Mystery, which Mystery ye your selves be. Be that which ye see on the Altar, and receive that which ye your selves be. Again, the Apostle *Paul* saith by it, *We many be one Bread and one Body.* Understand now and rejoyce, many be one Bread and one Body in Christ. He is our Head and we be his Limbs; and the Bread is not of one Corn, but of many; nor the Wine of one Grape, but of many. So also we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful Army, how that they were in so great an unity, as though all of them were one Soul and one Heart. Christ hallowed on his Table the Mystery of our Peace and of our Unity. He that receiveth that mystery of Unity, and keepeth not the bond of true Peace, receiveth no mystery for himself, but a witness against himself. It is very good for Christian men, that they so often to Housel, if they bring with them to the Altar ungultinesse and innocency of heart; if they be not oppressed with sin. To an evil man it turneth to no good, but to destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy Housel. Holy Books

No Scripture inforceth the mixture of Water with the Wine. The Wine signifieth Christs Blood.

command that Water be mingled to that Wine which shall be for Housel, because the Water signifieth the People, and the Wine Christs Blood, and therefore shall neither the one without the other be offered at the holy Mass, that Christ may be with us and we with Christ. the Head with the Limbs, and the Limbs with the Head. We should before have intreated of the Lamb which the old *Israelites* offered at their *Easter* time, but that we defired first to declare unto you of this mystery, and after, how we should receive it. That signifying Lamb was offered at the *Easter*. And the Apostle *Paul* saith in the Epistle of this present day, that Christ is our *Easter*, who was offered for us, and on this day rose from death.

How we should come to the heavenly Communion.

The *Israelites* did eat the Lambs flesh as God commanded, with unleavened Bread and wild Lettice; so we should receive that holy Housel of Christs Body and Blood without the Leaven of Sin and Iniquity. As Leaven turneth the Creatures from their nature; so doth sin also change the nature of man from innocency to uncleanness. The Apostle hath taught how we should feast, not in the Leaven of the evilness, but in the sweet Dough of purity and truth. The Herb which they should eat with the unleavened Bread is called *Lettice*, and is bitter in taste: so we should with bitternesse of unfained Repentance purifie our mind, if we will eat Christs Body. Those *Israelites* were not wont to eat raw flesh, and therefore God bad them to eat it neither raw nor sodden in Water, but rosted with fire. He shall receive the Body of God raw, that shall think without reason, that Christ was only Man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will after mans wisdom search the mystery of Christs Incarnation, doth like unto him that doth seeth Lambs flesh in Water, because that Water in this same place signifieth mans Understanding: but we should understand, that all the mystery of Christs Humanity was ordered by the power of the Holy Ghost: and then eat we his Body rosted with fire, because the Holy Ghost came in fiery likenesse to the Apostles in divers Tongues. The *Israelites* should eat the Lambs head, and the feet, and the purtenance, and nothing thereof must be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly understanding we do eat the Lambs head, when we take hold of Christ Divinity in our Belief. Again when we take hold of his Humanity with love, then eat we the Lambs feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God before all world, and Man in the end of this world. What be the Lambs purtenance, but Christs secret Precepts? And these we eat when we receive with greedinesse the Word of life. There must nothing of the Lamb be left unto the morning, because that all Gods Sayings are to be searched with great carefulnesse; so that all his Precepts may be known in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universal Resurrection do appear. If we cannot search out throughly all the mystery of Christs Incarnation, then ought we to betake the rest unto the might of the Holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deep secretnesse above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the Lambs flesh with their loyns girt. In the Loyns is the lust of the Body, and he which will receive that Housel shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receit. They were also shod. What be Shoes, but of the Hides of dead Beasts? We be truly shod, if we match in our steps and deeds the life of men departed this life, which pleased God with keeping of his Commandments. They had Staves in their hands when they did eat. This Staff signifieth a carefulnesse and diligent overseeing. And all they that best know and can, should take care of other men, and stay them up with their help. It was enjoyned to the Eaters, that they should eat the Lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulnesse in his Servants and those that he loveth, that seek the joy of everlasting life with quicknesse and hafte of mind. It is written, Prolong not to turn unto God, lest the time pass away through thy slow tarrying. The Eaters might not break the Lambs bones. No more might the Souldiers, that did hang Christ, break his holy Legs, as they did of the two Thieves that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death sound without all corruption: And at the last Judgment they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the Cross. This time is called in the Hebrew Tongue, *Pascha*, and in Latin, *Transitus*, and in English a *Passover*, because that as on this day the People of *Israel* passed from the Land of *Egypt* over the *Red Sea*, from bondage to the Land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith *John* the Evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the Devil to Christ: from this unstable world to his stable Kingdom. Howbeit we should first in this present life depart from vice to holy vertue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will after this our Lent life go to the eternal life; and after our Resurrection to Christ. He bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave himself to death for our sins, to him be honour and praise of well doing, world without end, *Amen.*

Exod. 12.

Anno 1219.

And thus I supposse it standeth clear and evidently proved by course of all these Ages afore-recited from the time of *Tertullian* and *Austin*, unto the days of this *Elfricus* above-mentioned, and after him, that this now miracle of Transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any Doctrine in the Church, at least for any general Doctrine of all men to be received, till a 1000 years compleat after Christ, that is, till that Satan began to be set at large, *Apoc.* 20. For whoever heard in all the Primitive Church, or ever read in the Works of the old ancient Doctors this question once to be asked or disputed, whether any substance of Bread and Wine remained in the Lords Supper? Or what man was ever so doltish to believe any such thing, or ever called Heretick for not believing the same, before the time of seduction, that is, before the 1000 years aforesaid were expired.

Satan let at large. The matter of Transubstantiation never called in question before the 1000 year after Christ.

Wherefore they that stand so much upon the antiquity of this Article, as a Doctrine which hath ever since Christs time been received in the Church, taught by the Apostles, believed of all Catholicks, and confirmed by consent of all Ages, of Councils, of Nations and People unto this present day; these, say, do shew themselves very ignorant in Histories and in all state of Antiquity, or else most impudently they do abuse the simple credulity of the People.

think Transubstantiation to be otherwise then a new Doctrine, ignorant of Histories and Antiquity.

To proceed now further in this discussion of Antiquity, it followed, that after the time of *Elfricus* aforesaid, this matter of Transubstantiation began first to be talked of, and to come in question among a few superstitious Monks; so that as blindnesse and superstition began more and more to increase, so the said grosse Opinion still more and more, both in number and authority prevailed, insomuch that about the year of our Lord 1060. the denying of Transubstantiation began to be counted Heresie.

Transubstantiation when it first came in question.

And

Anno 1219.

And in this number first was one *Berengarius* a Frenchman and Archdeacon of *Angeou*, which of all Christian men, which we read of, was first called and counted an Heretick for denying of Transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall hear.

This *Berengarius* lived in the time of Pope *Leo* the ninth, *Victor* and *Nicho.* the second, which was about the year of our Lord 1060. Albeit I do find our Writers here in some discrepance. For the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under Pope *Leo* the Ninth, in the Council of *Vercellense*, and afterward again under Pope *Nicholas* the second, about the year, 1062. as it is to be gathered of *Gratian*, *De consecrat.* 2. *Ego* Berengarius, where he saith that Pope *Nicholas* did sent about to Bps. and Archbishops the Copy of his Recantation.

Vid Bulling. De origine erroris, & Chronic. Bibliandri. Acta Concilii Romani habiti contra Berengarium.

Again by the Acts of the Council of *Rome*, it there appeared that the said *Berengarius* made this his said last Recantation under Pope *Hildebran*, called *Gregory* the seventh. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The Truth of the Story is this; that when *Berengarius* had professed the truth of the Sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the antient verity of the Doctrin received in the Church before, he was so handled with certain malignant and superstitious Monks, that what by evil intreaty, and what for fear of death death (such is the weak frailty of man) he began to shrink, and afterward did indeed recant the truth.

Lanfrank, a professour of Berengarius.

Of these Malicious Enemies against *Berengarius*, the chiefest troubler was *Lanfrank*, *Abbot* of *Codune*, afterward Archbish. of *Canterbury*; *Guimund* Monk, likewise first of the Abbey of *Lyre*, and afterward Archb. of *Averſane*, *Algerius* also Monk of *Corbein*: *Fulbertus* also Monk and Bishop; and *Hildebran* somtime Monk of *Cluniacke*, and than Archdeacon of *Turon*, and afterward Bp. of *Rome*,

By these and such other Monks of the like Fraternity, the Error and Heresie of Transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts publickly in writing to be taken about the matter. Of the which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that Faction by writing seemeth to be

Paschasius the first begetter of the fashion of Transubstantiation.

Paschasius, who was a little before *Berengarius* about the time of *Bertrame*, and likewise *Lanfrank* the first that brought it into *England*.

On the contrary side again, the first that was openly impugned and troubled for denying Transubstantiation, was this *Berengarius*; with whom *Lanfrank* also was supposed at the first beginning to hold and take part, but afterward to clear himself he stood openly against him in the Council, and wrote against him.

It followeth then in the Act of the Council, when the Synod of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story) did hold that the Bread and Wine were turned substantially into the Body and Blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, saith he, divers there were in the said Council which held the contrary with *Berengarius*, but at last were driven to give over. *Berengarius* among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, Confessing his Error where none was, and defired pardon of the Council. And this was (as seemeth to *William Malmesbury*) his first giving over. Who afterward returning to himself again after the death of Pope *Leo*, and prickt with the sting of Conscience, was driven again to recognize the truth, which he before had denied.

Ex W. Malmsb.

The fiery and recantation of Berengarius declared by W. Malmsb. De gestis Anglorum. lib. 3.

The Pope (saith *Malmesb.*) perceiving this, would not leave him so, but sent into *France*, *Hildebrand* his Cardinal Chaplain (as meet a Mate for such a feat, as was in all Satans Court) and made him with a wany to come again *Coram nobis*; who so handled *Berengarius*, bringing him before the Face of the Council holden at *Turon*, that hee made him to say, *Erravi*, once against; against whom stood up in that Council *Lanfrankus*, and *Guimundus* aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of *W. Malmesbury*. But by the Acts of Council of *Rome* appeareth another declaration, which is, that this later recantation of *Berengarius* should be at *Rome* under *Hildebrand* being then Pope, in the year of our Lord 1076. and in the Month of *February*, and that in the same Council holden in *Ecclesia Salvatoris*, this recantation of, *Ego Berengarius*, was made, and he enjoyned by the said Pope *Hildebrand*, upon his Oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of that Sacrament there holden, &c.

Again, *Henry Bullinger* in his Book, *De Origine Erroris*, following belick some other Author, expresseth the order of the aforesaid Recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of *Leo* the ninth, *Anno* 1051. there was a Roman Council, holden at *Vercellense*. In the which Council *Lanfrank* being then present, the Book of *John Scotus* was openly read, and there condemned. Also *Berengarius* was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that Council, refused himself to come, but sent two Clerks, which openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto Prison with Prisons and violence to defend their Verities. Against the doings of this Council notwithstanding the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at *Angeou*, and *Turon*, joyning and consenting with *Berengarius*.

Bullinger. De origine erroris. declared. Ex actis Romani Concilii. The order of the said recantation reported out of Hen. Bullinger. De origine erroris ca. 10. Concilium Vercellense.

Not long after this died Pope *Leo*: and after him succeed Pope *Victory*, by whom another Synod was kept at *Florence*, where the Acts and doings of the foresaid Council of *Vercellense* were confirmed, and a Legate also appointed to be sent to *Turon* in *France*. This Legat was *Hildebrand* above mentioned, who, calling the Clergie of *France* together in a Synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the Sacrament. *Berengarius*, not being ignorant of these Roman Councels, to kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and consented with the Faith of the Catholick Church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the Council, rather deluding the pretenses of his Enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Concilium Florentinum

Concilium Turonense.

Again after *Victory*, came Pope *Nicholas* the second, who congregating another Councel at *Rome*, *Anno*, 1058. sent for *Berengarius* there to appear, who being present argued what he could for the justnes of his cause, but all would not serve: In the Popes general Councels such a stroke and mastership beareth Authority above Verity, *Berengarius* being thus born down on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again (for the Law of relapse was not right yet in season) he desired to know what other Confession of the Sacrament the Pope would desire of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then Pope *Nich. Leo* committed that charge to *Humbert* a Monk of *Lotharing* and after a Cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his Recantation, after the perscription of *Rome*, which he should read and publish likely profess before the people. The form of which words is registred in the Decrees, *De consecrat. Dist.* 2. *Ego Berengarius*. The effect whereof is this, *That he pretendeth with Heart and Mouth to profess, that he acknowledging the True, Catholick, and Apostolical Faith, doth execrate all Heresie, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the Bread and Wine upon the Altar, after the consecration of the Priest remain only a Sacrament, and are not the very substance of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken with the Priests Hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by signification. That the Bread and Wine upon the Altar after Consecration are not only a Sacrament, but also are the very true and self Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are sensibly felt and broken with the Hands, and chewed with teeth: Swearing by the holy Evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed, and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, hee shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the Canons, &c.*

Concilium Romanum 3 to Nicolao 2.

Might be reproved by the Law of relapse.

The last recantation of Berengarius.

Author of Errors.

The effect of Berengarius recantation.

This Cowardly Recantation of *Berengarius*, as it offended a great number of the godly sort; so it gave to the contrary part no little Triumph, whereby it ever since they

they have taken the greater Courage to tread down the truth.

It happened shortly after this, that *Hildebrand*, the Popes grand Captain in the behalf of his Master Pope *Nicholas*, went in warfare against the *Normans*. Which Voyage to fight for Pope *Alexander*, against *Cadolus*; which victory being also atchieved, it was not long, but he put the new Pope *Alexander* beside the Cushion, and was made Pope himself: so that during the busie stir of these warrs, the Popes Holiness had no leisure to attend the debating of this Controversie of the Sacrament.

At length when all was quieted, and Pope *Hildebrand* now was where he would be, his restless brain could not be unoccupied, but set soon summoneth a new Councel at *Rome* in the Church of *Lateran*, to revive again the old disceptaion of *Berengarius* about the year, as some hold, 1079.

Concilium Romanum 3.

Thus *Berengarius*, being tossed by these Monks and *Pharisees*, was so confounded, and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grief of Conscience that he had now twise denied the truth on the other side, the man (as is of him reported) after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his Hands for living, all the residue of his life.

The true opinion and judgement of Berengarius of the Sacrament. Ex lib. Lanfranci Archiepisc. contra Bereng.

To the opinion which *Berengarius* maintained touching the Sacrament (as by his own words in *Lanfranks* Book may appear) was this: *The Sacrifice of the Church consisteth of two things: The one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the Sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the Sacrament. Which thing (which is to mean, the Body of Christ) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seen: but being lift up into heaven, and sitting on the Right Hand of his Father, to the time of restoring of all things (as St. Peter saith) it cannot be called down from thence. For the Person of Christ consisteth of God and Man; the Sacrament of the Lords Table, consisteth of Bread and Wine; which being consecrate are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude of these things, whereof they be Sacraments, &c. Ex lib. Lanfranci.*

By these words of *Berengarius* Doctrin, all indifferent Readers may see and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy Scripture, believing with Saint *Augustine*, and all other ancient Elders of the Church, that in the holy Supper all faithful believers be refreshed spiritually with the Body and Blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life. Wherefore most impudently they do mis-report him (as they do many other besides) which falsely lay to his charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred Supper of the Lord nothing else were received of the faithful, besides only the bare signs, which is the Bread and the Wine.

The Doctrin of Berengarius falsely slandered.

And now that you have seen the Doctrin of *Berengarius*, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of *Lanfrancus* and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side with the institution of the other, to mark and consider which of them foundeth nearer to the truth of the Scriptures. The words of *Lanfrank* be these:

The gross opinion of Lanfrancus and the Papists, concerning the Sacrament.

I believe the earthly substances, which upon the Lords Table are divinely sanctified through the ministration of the Priest, to be converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously by the operation of Gods mighty power, into the essence of the Lords Body, the outward forms remedy of the things themselves and certain qualities reserved, and that for two respects: The one, lest the sight of the raw and bloody Flesh might otherwise make men to abhorr from eating thereof; the other, for that they which believe the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lords Body notwithstanding, yet is the selfe-same Body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath his essential being at the Right Hand of his Father immortal, invielate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted: so that truly it may be affirmed, the self-same Body both to be received of us, and yet not the self-same. The selfe-same, I mean, as touching the essence, property, and vertue of his true nature: and yet not the self-same as touching the forms of Bread and Wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses, &c. And thus have ye the Confession of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Anno 1219.

The impious and gross opinion of Guimundus of Transubstantiation.

From this Confession of *Lanfrank*, the opinion and affection also of *Guimundus* Archbishop of *Averſan* doth nothing differ in grossenes and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending, *That the Body of Christ is pressed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the Hands of* Thomas.

And moreover, the said *Guimundus* (if his Book be not rather counterfeited at *Lovain*) in the same place answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Christ to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce that whether we take tearing for hard biting, or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the Body of Christ may be touched with Hands, bitten with Mouth, crushed, yea, and divided in pieces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that as he was bruised upon the Cross, according to the Prophet, saying; He was bruised for our iniquities, &c. So the same Body, for the health of the faithful may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c. *Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol.* 30. Judge now all good studious Readers, what is to be thought of this kind of Doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of Gods Word, saying, *Exod. And of him ye shall not break a bone, &c.*

Esay 53.

This rude and misshapen Doctrin of these Monks concerning Transubstantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached: so if you would now know by what learning and Scriptures they did confirm and establish the same, ye must here think and understand, how their chiefest ground and substance to perswade the people, was at this time certain miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the same of *Odo* above recited, which *Osberne*, or some other Monkish Legend invented of him, how he stouid shew unto certain the Hoast turned into the likeness of Flesh and Blood dropping into the Chalice for the conversion of these Clerks, which before would not believe it.

The great confirmation of this Doctrine of Transubstantiation was by miracles.

A miracle to prove Transubstantiation.

And another like Miracle is also told by the said *Osbern* of *Dunstan* in this order, how the said *Dunstan* appeared to a certain Lame Cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again restored. Which Cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said *Dunstan* appearing again by the way, asked from whence he came, and whither he would. The Cripple answering declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said *Dunstan*; I am, saith he, *Dunstan* the fellow servant of all Gods servants, and have been occupied with certain necessary businesses, for the which I could not be present there with my Children. For *Elfrick*, said he, otherwise firnamed *Bata*, hath attempted to disherit my Church, but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevail.

Ex Osberno, lib. 2. de vita Dun. stani.

Another miracle to prove Transubstantiation.

By this it appeareth that Elfrid the usurper of the Lands belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rife in popish stories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names, some referred to *Gregory*, some, to *Paschasius*, and to other more, which to recite all would fill a whole Sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of *Paschasius*. There was a Priest of *Alaman*, saith he, named *Plegildus*, who did see and handle with his Hands visibly the shape of a Child upon the Altar, and so after he had imbraced and kissed him, it returned again to the likeness of Bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof. This miracle when it was objected against *Berengarius*, he merily deriding the blind fable, answered in these words, *Speciosa, inquit pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præberet basium, ei dentium inferres exitium.* That is, *A goodly peace, quoth he, of a false varlet, that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth.*

Another Monkish miracle to prove Transubstantiation.

Another

Another miracle is reported of a Jew-Boy, who, upon a time entring into the Church, with another Christian Lad which was his play-fellow, saw upon the Altar a little Child broken and torn in pieces, and afterward by portions to be distributed among the People. Which sight when the young Jew coming home and told unto his Father to be true and certain, he was for the same condemned to be burned. Thus he being inclosed in a house, and the door fast were he should be burned, he was found and taken out from thence by the Christians, not only alive, but also having not one hair of his head blemished with the flames about him. Who then being of the Christians demanded, how he was so preserved from the burning fire: there appeared, said he, to me a beautiful Woman sitting on a Chair, whose Son the Child was, which was before divided and distributed in the Church among the People, who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her Gown Skirts kept the flame from me, so that I was preserved thereby from perishing, &c. Belike these Monks lacked Miracles among the Christians, when they were fain to borrow such figments of the Jews to prove their fained Transubstantiation.

And these commonly were then the Arguments of those Monks, wherewith they perswaded the People to believe their Transubstantiation. But to leave these Monks fictions, and to return again to *Berengarius*, thus *Malmesbury* of him reporteth, that after he had once or twice recanted (as is aforesaid;) yet notwithstanding this Doctrin of the Sacrament still remained in the mind of his hearers. And how soever the Tyranny of the Pope did drive him through fear to deny his Opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet notwithstanding, after his death he lacked not his well willers. In the number of whom was *Hilbertus* Bishop *Cenomanensis*: Whose verses in commendation of his Master I thought here not unworthy to be preserved, being otherwise rare peradventure to be found in our Story Writers.

Ex Will. Malmsb.

Verses in praise of Berengarius.

Verses in commendation of Berengarius.

Quem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,
Ille Berengarius *non obiturus obit:*
Quem sacræ fidei fastigia summa tenentem,
Tandem extrema dies abstulit, ausa nefas.
Illa dies damnosa dies & perfida mundo:
Qua dolor & rerum summa ruina fuit.
Qua status ecclesiæ, qua spes, qua gloria clevi,
Qua cultor sanctæ jure fuerat fidei.
Quicquid Philosophi, quicquid cecinere Poetæ,
Ingenio cessit eloquioque suo.
Sanctior & major sapientia, majus adorta,
Implevit sacrum pectus & ora Deo.
Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit:
Singula factori sic redinere suo.
Vir sacer & sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas:
Quo minor est quisquis maximus est hominum.
Qui census peperit pauces, servavit honores:
Cui potior pauper divite, jusque lucro.
Cui nec defidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:
Nec tumidum fecit multus & altus honos.
Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit:
Sed dolud quoties, cui datur hæc, aberat.
Qui non efficacis ingenium fulcire manus,
Donec inops dando pauper & iple fuit.
Cujus cura legni naturam, legibus uti,
Et mentem vitiis, ora negare dolis;
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falso,
Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere.
Ladere nec quicquam, cunctis prodesse, favorem:
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui vestis textura rudis, cui non fuit unquam,
Ante sitem potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem pudor hospitium statuit sibi, quamq; libido,
Incestos superat, tam superavit eam.
Quos materna parens cum mundo contulit, inquit.
Degenerant alii, nascitur ipse mihi.
Quæque negabatur & pene reliquerat orbem,
Ineluit sacro pectore spes itiam.

Virtacer à puero, qui quantum præminet orbi,
Fama, adeo sanæ præminet ipse suæ.
Fama minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
Cum semper crescat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque gravis, vir sic in utroque modestus,
Ut livor nentro rodere posse queat.
Livor enim defert, quem carpserat antea, nec tam,
Carpsit & odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat.
Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
Et queritur celeres hujus abisse dies.
Vir vere sapiens & parte beatus ab omni,
Qui cælos animâ, corpore ditat hmmum.
Post obitum secum vivam precor ac requiescam,
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua.

Although in this time of *Berengarius*, which was about the year of our Lord, 1060. (as ye have heard) this errour of Transubstantiation began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certain Popish Monks above rehearsed, as *Lanfrancus*, *Guimundus*, *Algerius Hugo*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Fulbertus*, of whom it is said in Stories, that our Lady gave him suck being sick with her own breasts) and such other: yet notwithstanding all this while the said Transubstantiation was decreed for no publick law, nor Doctrine to be holden by any general consent, either of the Church of *Rome*, or any other Councel, before the Councel of *Laterane*, under Pope *Innocent* the third, who in the year of our Lord, 1215. celebrating in the Church of *Laterane* a general Councel of 1300. Bishops enacted there divers Constitutions, as of yearly Confession, and the Communion to be used of the whole multitude once a year through every Parish Church.

Transubstantiation decreed for a general law by Pope Innocent the third. The general Councel of Lateran.

Item, for the recovery of the Holy Land, with Subsidy also to be levied for the same.

Item, for the establishing of the Books and Writings of *Joachim Abbas*, and also the Opinions of *Almaricus* afore mentioned; notwithstanding that the said *Joachim* did subscribe with his own hand, that he held the same Doctrine which was in the Church of *Rome*, and also submitted his Books to be presented to the See of *Rome*, there to be corrected or approved. And yet he was judged though not an Heretick, yet to be erroneous, and especially in those Books which he wrote against *Peter Lombard*, called afterward the Master of Sentences.

Ex Antonini pars. 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

In the said Councel, besides divers other Constitutions and the Articles of the Creed there in order repeated, as appeareth, *Extr. De Summa Trinit. & Fide Catholica, Chap.* 1. there was enacted, decreed, and established the Faith and Belief of Transubstantiation, in these words following.

Extran. De Sum Trin. & fi. dem. firmiter credimus.

There is one universal Church of the faithful, without which none can be saved, in the which Church the selfesame Jesus Christ is both Priest and also the Sacrifice, whose Body and Blood are truely contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, the Bread being transubstantiated in the Body, and Wine into the Blood, by the power and working of God. So that to the accomplishing of this Mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And this Sacrament none can make or consecrate, but he that is a Priest lawfully ordained, according to the Keyes of the Church, which Jesus Christ hath left to his Apostles, and to their Successors, &c.

The words of the Councel whereby Transubstantiation was first established.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of Transubstantiation, upon the consent of these foresaid 1300. Bishops in the year of our Lord above specified, under Pope *Innocentius*, and the Doctrine thereof intruded for an Article of Faith into the Church, necessarily to be believed of all men under pain of Heresie.

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the Substance of Bread and Wine was now banished out of the Sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the Substance of Christs very Body and Blood; yet was not this Body elevated over the Priests head, nor adored of the People till the days of Pope *Honorius* the third, succeeding after *Innocentius*, who by his Councel likewise commanded Adoration and Elevation to be joyned with Transubstantiation, as one Idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

Elevation and Adoration brought in by Pope Honorius the third.

Anno 1129.

Again, the Sacraments of the Lords Supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, adored, yet it was not offered up for a Sacrifice propitiatory for the sins and the dead, nor for a remedy of the Souls in Purgatory, nor for a merit *operis operati, sive bono motu*, &c. before that other Popes coming after added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

Consecration. Transubstantiation. Elevation. Adoration. Oblation.

And thus have you the whole order and origine of the Idolatrous parts of the Mass described by their times and ages, which first began with Consecration, and the form thereof, which were words of the Canon. Then came Transubstantiation by *Innocentius*, and after Elevation and Adoration by *Honorius*, and last of all came the Oblation meritorious and propitiatory for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *Ex opere operato*.

Which things being thus constituted by the too much usurped authority of the Church of *Rome*, shortly after followed Persecution, Tyranny and Burning among the Christians, first beginning with the *Albingenses*, and the faithful Congregation of *Tholouse*, near about the time of the said *Innocentius*, as is afore remembred.

Persecution first beginning in these later days. Read before.

And thus much for the first Article of Transubstantiation which (as you have heard) was not admitted into the Church for any general Doctrine of Faith, before the year and time above affigned of Pope *Innocent* the third: and therefore if any have been otherwise perswaded, or yet do remain in the same perswasion still of this Doctrin, as though it had been of a longer continuance then for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of Histories he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own Catholick sort, *J. Duns* I mean, who in his fourth Book writing of Transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: *These words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without Transubstantiation; but the Church did chuse this sense, which is harder, being thereto moved, as seemeth, chiefly because men should hold of the Sacraments, the same which the Church of* Rome *doth hold*, &c. And further in the same place the said *Duns* expounding himself what he meaneth by the Church of *Rome*, maketh there express mention of the said *Innocentius* the third, and of this Councel of *Laterane* &c.

John Duns, in 4. lib. Sentent. Read before.

And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the Truth may be more amply satisfied in this behalf, that this Transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention: I will also adjoyn to this Testimony of *Joannes Scotus*, the judgment and verdict of *Erasm lib. Annot.* where he writeth in these words, *In Synaxi Transubstantiationem sero definivit Ecclesia. Din satis erat credere sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunq; modo adesse verum corpus Christi*, &c. That is, In the Sacrament of the Communion, the Church concluded Transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true Body of Christ to be present either under Bread, or else by some other manner, &c.

Erasm. lib. Annot. in 1. Cor. cap. 7. Ser 6.

The second Article.

The second Article of both kinds.

As touching the second Article, which debarreth from the Lay-People the one half of the Sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forsomuch as the world well knoweth that this Article is but young, invented, decreed and concluded no longer since, than at the Councel of *Constance*, not past 200. years ago: I shall not need to make any long standing upon that matter, especially for that sufficient hath been said thereof before in our long discourse of the *Bohemians* Story.

Read before

The reason and objections of the Papists against both Kinds.

First let us see the Reasons and Objections of the Adversaries in restraining the Laity from the one kind of this Sacrament. The use, say they, hath been of so long continuance in the Church. Whereunto we answer, that they have no evident nor authentick example of any antient custom in the Church which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alledged the place of St. *Luke* where Christ was known in breaking of Bread, &c, citing moreover many ot her places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of Bread: to answer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of these places may be understood of the Sacrament: yet that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the Sacrament was only ministred to the People without the other, when as by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that Bread was broken among the Brethren, therefore the Cup was not distributed unto them. For so we find by the words of St. *Paul*, that the use of the *Corinthians* was to communicate not only in breaking of Bread, but in participating the Cup also, *The Cup*, saith he, *which we participate*, &c.

Luke 24.

1. Cor. 10.

Also after the Apostles, in the time of *Cyprian*, of *Hierome*, of *Gelasius* and other successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the Church. First *Cyprian* in divers places declareth that the Sacrament of the blood was also distributed. How *do we*, saith he, *provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their Blood, if we deny unto them the Blood of Christ when they prepare themselves to the conflict?*

Cypria. lib. 2. Delalcis Martyrib. Scribirin.

The words of *Jerome* are plain. *Priests*, saith he, *which Minister the Eucharist, and divide the Blood unto the People.*

Hieronymus in Sophon. cap. 3.

In historia tripartita, it was said to the Emperor *Theodosius, How will you receive the Body of the Lord with such bloody hands, or the Cup of his precious Blood with that mouth, which have spoiled so much innocent Blood?*

In hist. tri. Eccles. parti. lib. 3.

In the Canon of *Gelasius*, and in the Popes own Decrees, these words we read, We understand that be some which receiving only the portion of the Lords Body, do abstain from the Cup of his sacred Blood: to whom we enjoyn, that either they receive the whole Sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither; for the dividing of the whole and one Sacrament cannot be done without great sacrilege, &c. So that this Decree of *P. Gelasius* being contradictory to the Council of *Constance*, it must follow, that either the Pope did err, or else the Council of *Constance*, must needs be a sacrilegious Council, as no doubt it was.

Deconsecrat.

The Council of Constance a Sacrilegious Council.

The like Testimony also appeareth in the Council of *Toletane*, that the Laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old Presidents, remaining yet in the Churches both of *Germany* and also of *France*, declaring likewise the same.

The forbidding of both Kinds of the Sacrament hath no ground of ancient custom.

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable by manifold probations, how far this new found custome differeth from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. Again, although the custome thereof were never so antient, yet no custome may be of that strength to gainstand or countermand the open and expres commandment of God, which saith to all men, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drink ye all of this, &c.

No custome may derogate from the Lords expres commandment.

Again, seeing the Cup is called the Blood of the New Testament, who is he that dare or can alter the Testament of the Lord, whon none may be so hardy to alter the Testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

Heb.

Further, as concerning those Places of Scripture before alledged, *De fractione panis*; That is, *Of breaking of Bread*, whereupon they think themselves so sure that the Sacrament was then administred but in one kind: to answer thereunto, first we say it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture *de fractione panis*, are to be referred to the Sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full Sacrament therefore was not ministred. The common manner of the Hebrew Phrase is, under breaking of Bread to signifie generally the whole Feast or Supper: as in the Prophet *Esay*, these words *Frange esurienti panem tuum*, do signifie as well giving Drink as Bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, *De fractione panis*, be taken yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For if the Sacrament were administred among them, *in fractione panis (id est)* in breaking of Bread, then must they needs grant, that if Bread was there broken, *Ergo* there

In fractione panis.

there was Bread, forsomuch as neither the accidents of Bread without Bread can be broken, neither can the natural Body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which saith, *And ye shall break no bone of him* &c. Wherefore take away the Substance of Bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a Sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the Substance of Christs Body, neither yet the accidents without their Substance can be broken, neither again will they admit any Bread there remaining to be broken? and what then was it in this their *fractione panis*, that they did break, if it were not *Panis (i.) Substantia panis quæ frangebatur*? To conclude, if they say that this fraction of Bread was a Sacramental breaking of Christs Body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christs natural Body in the Sacrament is a Sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Eual. 12. The natural Body of Christ may not be broken. Accidents no man can break. No Bread is there to be broken, for, there is nothing in the Sacrament broken.

Another objection against both kinds. Answer.

Item, *They object furtherand say, That the Church upon due consideration may alter as they see cause, in Rites, Ceremonies and Sacraments.*

1 Order.

Answer. The institution of this Sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order he took: first he divided the Bread severally from the Cup, and afterward the Cup severally from the Bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death to the worlds end. Thirdly, beside this order taken, and example left, he added also an expres commandment, *Hoc facite, Do this: Bibite ex hoc omnes, Drink ye all of this*, &c. Against this order, example, and commandment of the Gospel no Church nor Councel of men nor Angel in Heaven hath any power or authority to change or alter, according as we are warned; *If any bring unto you any other Gospel beside that ye have received, hold him accursed, etc.*

2 Example

3 Commandment.

Galat. 1.

Another objection against both kinds. Answ.

Item *another objection*: *And why may not the Church (say they) as well alter the form of this Sacrament, as the Apostles did the form of Baptism? where in the* Acts *Saint* Peter *saith, Let every one be baptised in the name of Jesus Christ*, &c.

Answer. The Apostles changed not the form of Baptism.

Answer. This Text saith not that the Apostles used this form of baptising; *I baptise thee in the name of Christ*, &c. but they used many times, his manner of speech, to be baptized in the name of Christ, not as expressing thereby the formal words of baptising, but as meaning this, that they would have them to become Members of Christ, and to be baptized as Christians, entring into his Baptism, and not only to the Baptism of *John*: and therefore although the Apostles thus spake to the People, yet notwithstanding when they baptized any themselves, they used (no doubt) the form of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Mass curiosity in magnifying his own devises above Gods.

Item, *Among many other objections, they alledge certain Perils and causes of weight and importance, as spilling, shedding, or shaking the Blood out of the Cup, or scouring, or else sticking upon mens Beards, &c. For the which they say it is well provided the half Communion to suffice.*

Whereunto it is soon answered, That as these causes were no let to Christ, to the Apostles, to the *Corinthians*, and to the Brethren of the Primitive Church, but that in the publick Assemblies they received all the whole Communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes so important now, to admit and evacuate the necessary commandment of the Gospel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnifie our own devises, to strain at gnats to stumble at straws, and to seek knots in Rushes, which rather are in our own fantasies growing, than there where they are sought.

In summa. Divers other objections and cavillations are in Popish Books to be found, as in *Gabriel* the difference made between the Laity and Priests, also the distinction used to be made between the priests Communion and the laical Communion. Where is to be understood, that when Priests were bid to use the laical Communion, thereby was meant not receiving under one kind, as Lay-men do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the Lay-men then did. Some also alledge certain special or particular examples, as of the Cup only serving for the Bread, or of the Bread only sent to certain sick folk for the Cup. And here they do infer the Story of *Saxomenes*, touching the Woman in whose mouth the Sacrament of Bread, which the only received without the Cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Other alledge other private examples likewise of Infants, aged men, sick Persons, men excommunicate, *Fibrenziches*, or mad men, or men dwelling far off from Churches, in Mountains or Wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any instance against the antient custom of publick Congregations frequented from the Apostles time, and much less ought they to derogate from the expres and necessary Precept of the Gospel, which saith to all men without exception, *Hoc facite, &c. Bibite ex hoc omnes, &c.*

Objections of private example make no instance against Publick usages and Doctrin of the Church: Communio Sacerdotum: Communio Laicalis. Hist. Eccle. lib. Cap. 5.

All respects must give place to the obedience of the word.

The third Article.

Private Masses, Trental Masses, and Dirige Masses, as they were never used before the time of *Gregory*, six hundred years after Christ; so the same do fight directly against our Christian Doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The Mass is a work or action of the Priest, applied unto men for meriting of grace, *Ex opere operato*, in the which action the Sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a Sacrifice for remission of Sins, *à pœna et culpa*, for the quick and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part, but it agreeth with their own teaching; so there is no part thereof which disagreeth not from the rules of Christian Doctrine, especially these, as follow.

The 3. Article.

Definition of the Mass.

1 The first Rule is; Sacraments be instituted for some principal end and use, out of the which use they are no Sacraments. As the Sacrament of Baptism is a Sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of Sins to the Person that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and shewed to other, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no Sacrament.

The first Rule in Christian Doctrine.

2 No Sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce, but them only which take and use the same.

The 2. Rule.

3 Only the death of Christ, and the work of his Sacrifice upon the Cross is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his Soul. Beside this work alone, to apply any action or work of Priest or any other Person, as meritorious of it self, and conducible to Salvation, to Souls health, or to remission of Sins, it is Idolatry, and derogatory to the Testament of God, and to the Blood of Christ prejudicial.

The 3. Rule;

4. To make Idols of Sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is Idolatry; *Fugite Idola*, &c. 1. *Cor.* 10.

The 4. Rule; 1 Cor. 10.

5. Every good work whatsoever it be that a man doth, profiteth only himself, and cannot bee applied to other men, *Ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remissions, only the actions of Christ except.

The 5. Rule:

6 No man can apply to another the Sacrifice of Christs death by any work doing, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing. *Justus ex fide sua vivet*, Habacuc. 2.

The 6. Rule;

7 The Sacrifice of Christs Death doth save us freely by it self, and not by the means of any mans working for us.

The 7. Rule;

8 The Passion of Christ once done and no more is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the Sins of the whole world, both original and actual: by the vertue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified toward mankind for ever, *Amen*.

The 8 Rule;

9 The passion of Christ once done is only the object of that Faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore whosoever setteth up any other object, beside that passion once done, for our Faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable Doctrine, and leadeth to Idolatry.

The 9. Rule.

Againſt all theſe rules private Maſs directly do repugne For firſt, beſide that they tranſgreſs the order, example, and commandment of Chriſt (which divided the Bread and Cup to them all) they alſo bring the Sacrament out of the right uſe whereunto principally it was ordained. For whereas the uſe of that Sacrament is principally inſtituted for a teſtimonial and remembrance of Chriſts Death, the private Maſs tranſferreth the ſame to another purpoſe, either to make of it a gazing Idol, or a work of application meritorious, or a Sacrifice propitiatory for remiſſion of ſins, or a commemoration for Souls departed in Purgatory, according as it is written in their Maſs Book, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Chriſti ſumitur. Pro quorum memoria ſanguis Chriſti ſumitur, &c.* Whereas Chriſt ſaith contrary, *Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem.*

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper put out of his right uſe by private Maſſes.

Furthermore, the inſtitution of Chriſt is broken in this, that where the Communion was given in common, the private Maſs ſuffereth the Prieſt alone to eat and drink up all, and when he hath done, to bleſs the people with the empty Cup.

Chriſts memory put out in diuers Maſſes.

Secondly, whereas Sacraments properly proſit none but them that uſe the ſame, in the private Maſs the Sacrament is received in the behoof not onely of him that executeth, but of them alſo which be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

An application.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for Remiſſion of our ſins, but onely the Death of Chriſt, cometh in the private Maſs as a work meritorious done of the Prieſt, which being applied to other, is available *Ex opere operato*, both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done *ad remiſſionem peccatorum.*

Adoration.

Fourthly, private Maſſes and all other Maſſes now uſed of the Sacrament make an Idol, of commemoration make adoration, in ſtead of a receiving make a deceiving, in place of ſhewing forth Chriſts Death make new oblations of his death, and of a Communion make a ſingle ſole ſupping, &c.

Oblation.

Fifthly, whereas in this general frailty of mans nature, no man can merit by any worthineſs of working for himſelf, the Prieſt in his private Maſs taketh upon him to merit both for himſelf, and for many other.

Meriting for other.

Sixthly, it ſtandeth againſt Scripture; that the Sacrifice and Death of Chriſt can be applied any otherwiſe to our benefit and juſtification, than by Faith. Wherefore it is falſe that the action of the Maſs can apply the benefit of Chriſts Death unto us, *Ex opere operato, ſive bono motu utentis vel ſacrificantis.*

Opus operatum. Private Maſſes againſt the free Grace of God.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our Salvation and juſtifying ſtandeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our Faith in Chriſt; contrarily, the application of theſe Popiſh Maſſes ſtoppeth the freeneſs of Gods Grace, and maketh that this benefit muſt firſt come through the Prieſts Hands, and his *opus operatum*, unto us.

Heb. 10.

The eighth contrariety between private Maſs and Gods Word is in this; That where the Scripture ſaith, *Vnica oblatione conſummavit eos, qui ſanctificantur in perpetuum*, with one oblation he hath made perfect them that be ſanctified for ever: againſt this rule the private Maſs proceedeth in a contrary Doctrine, maketh of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finiſhed now to be done again: And finally, that which was inſtituted onely for eating and for a remembrance of that oblation of Chriſt once done, the Popiſh Maſs maketh an oblation and a new ſatisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead:

Private Maſſes turn purſuith from Chriſts Body crucified, to Chriſt ſacrificed in their Maſſes.

To conclude, theſe both private and publick Maſſes of Prieſts turn away the object of our Faith from the Body of Chriſt crucified, to the Body of Chriſt crucified in their Maſſes. And where God annexeth the promiſes of juſtification but onely to our Faith in the Body of Chriſt crucified; they do annex promiſe of remiſſion *à pœna & culpa*, to the Body in their Maſſes Sacrificed, by their application; beſides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which ſpring of their private and publick Maſſes, which here I leave to other at their leaſure further to conceive and to conſider. Now let us proceed to the other Articles following.

The fourth and fifth Articles of Vows and Prieſts Marriage.

The 4. and 5. Articles of Vowes and Prieſts marriage.

As we have diſcourſed before by ſtories and order of time the antiquity of the 3 former Artlcles above mentioned, to wit, of Tranſubſtatiation, of both Communion, and of private Maſſes: ſo now coming to the Article of Vows, and of Prieſts marriage, the Reader will like perchance to be ſatisfied in this likewiſe, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time theſe Vows and unmarried life of Prieſts have continued. Wherein, although ſufficient hath been ſaid before in the former proceſs of this hiſtory, as in the life of *Anſelmus*, alſo of Pope *Hildebrand*, &c. Yet for the better eſtabliſhing of the Readers mind againſt this wicked Article of Prieſts marriage, it ſhall be no great labour loſt, here briefly to recapitulat in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been ſaid, or what is more to be added. And to the intent that the world may ſee and judge the ſaid Law and Decree of Prieſts ſingle ſole life, to be a Doctrine of no antient ſtanding here within this Realm, but onely ſince the time of *Anſelmus*, I will firſt alledge for me the words of *Henry Huntington, lib. 7. de hiſtoria Angl*orum here following.

Read afore.

Eodem anno ad feſtum Michaelis tenuit Anſelmus Archiepiſcopus Concilium apud Londonias: In quo prohibuit ſacerdotibus Anglorum uxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibuſdam mundaſſimum viſum eſt, quibuſdam periculoſum: ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in immundicias horribiles ad Chriſtiani nominis dedecus inciderent, &c. That is, The ſame year at the Feaſt of St. *Michael, Anſelme* the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* held a *Synod* at *London*: in the which *Synod*, he forefended Prieſts here in *England* to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have. Which conſtitution ſeemed to ſome perſons very pure and chaſte. To otherſom again it ſeemed very dangerous, leſt while that men ſhould ſeem to take upon them ſuch chaſtity more than they ſhould be able to bear, by that occaſion they might happily fall into horrible filthineſs, which ſhould redound to the exceeding ſlander of Chriſtian profeſſion, &c.

Ex Hen. Huntingt. lib. 7. de hiſtoria Anglorum.

Prieſts marriage firſt forbidden by Anſelme in England.

The words of Huntingdon.

Albeit I deny not but before the time alſo of *Anſelmus*, both *Odo*, and after him *Dunſtane* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwold* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Woreceſter* in the days of King *Edgar*, *Anno* 963. as they were all Monks themſelves, ſo were they great Doers againſt the marriage of Prieſts, placing in Monks in Churches, and Colledges, and putting out the married Prieſts, as ye may read before. Yet notwithſtanding neither was that in many Churches, and alſo the Prieſts then married were not conſtrained to leave their Wives, or their Rooms, but only at their own choice. For ſo writeth *Malmeſbury in vita Dunſtani*: *Itaque Clerici multarum Eccleſiarum, data optione ut aut amicum mutarent aut locis valederent, &c.* That is, Therefore divers and ſundry Clerks of many Churches being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways, &c. So alſo *Elfricus* after them (of whom mention was made before) was ſomewhat buſie in ſtirring forward the ſingle life of Prieſts, and *Lanfrancus* likewiſe. But yet this reſtraint of Prieſts lawful marriage was never publikly eſtabliſhed for a Law here in the Church of *England*, before the coming of *Anſelme* in the days of *William Rufus*, and King *Henry* the firſt, writing in theſe words Boldly I command by the Authority which I have by my Archbiſhopprick, not onely within my Archbiſhoprick, but alſo throughout *England*, that all Prieſts that keep Women, ſhall be deprived of their Churches, and all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, &c. as ye may read more at large before. Which was much about the ſame time, when as *Hildebrand* alſo at *Rome* began to attempt the ſame matter, as before hath been ſhewed, and alſo beſids him were other Popes more, as Innocent the third, Pope *Nicholas* the ſecond, and *Calixtus* the ſecond, by whom the Act againſt Prieſts Marriage was brought at length to his full perfection, and ſo hath continued ever ſince.

Malmeſb. in vita Dunſtani.

Prieſts firſt reſtrained from their wives generally in Eng. land.

Read after.

Long

Long it were and tedious to recite here all ſuch conſtitutions of Councels provincial and general, namely, of the Council of *Carthage* and of *Toledo*, which ſeemed to work ſomething in that behalf againſt the Matrimony of Prieſts.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all ſuch Biſhops and Prieſts, which notwithſtanding have been married ſince that time in divers Countries, as more amply ſhall bee ſhewed (the Lord willing) in the ſequel hereof. In the mean ſeaſon, as touching the age and time of this deviliſh prohibition for Prieſts to have their Wives, this is to be found by credible proofs, and conferring of Hiſtories, that in the year of our Saviour, 1067. at what time Pope *Hildebrand* began firſt to occupy the Papal Chair, this Oath began firſt to be taken of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, that they ſhould ſuffer none to enter into the Miniſtery, or into any Eccleſiaſtical Function having a Wife; and likewiſe the Clergy to be bound to promiſe the ſame.

Ex actis Syn. Meliorlan.

And this was, as I ſaid, about the year of our Lord, 1067. well approved and teſtified by courſe of Hiſtories. Whereby appeareth the Propheſie of Saint *Paul* truely to be verified, ſpeaking of theſe latter times, the firſt of *Timothy* the fourth, Where he writeth in theſe words, The Spirit ſpeaketh plainly, that in the latter times there ſhall ſome depart from the Faith, harkening unto Spirits of Errour, and to Doctrines of Divels, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thankſgiving, &c.

St. Paul propheſieth forbidding of Marriage.

In this Propheſy of St. *Paul* two things are to be obſerved; Firſt the matter which he propheſieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of Meats, which God generally hath left free to all Men. The ſecond thing in this Propheſy to be noted is the time when this Propheſy ſhall fall, that is, in the latter times of the World. So that this concurreth right well with theſe years of Pope *Hildebrand* aforeſaid, being a thouſand years complete after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, ſo that they may well be called the latter times.

St. Paul propheſieth found true in the comm of times.

This Propheſy of Saint *Paul* thus ſtanding, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage muſt happen in the latter times of the world, then muſt it needs conſequently follow thereby, that the married life of Prieſts is more ancient in the Church than is the ſingle life, thna the law Iman commanding the ſingle life of Prieſts. Which may ſoon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and ſearch of Hiſtories.

The married life of Prieſts more antient in the Church than the ſingle life of Prieſts.

1. For firſt at the Councel of *Nice*, it is notorious that this deviliſh law of marriage to be reſtrained was ſtopped by *Paphnutius*.

Read afore.

2. Before this Councel of *Nice*, in the year of our Lord 180. we read of *Polycrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*, who diſſenting from Pope *Victor* about a certain controverſie of *Eaſter* day, alledgeth for himſelf how his progenitors before him ſeven together, one after another, ſucceeded in that Seet, and he now the eighth after them was placed in the ſame, uſing this his Deſcent of his Parents not onely as a defence of his cauſe, but alſo as a glory to himſelf.

Polycrates Biſhop of Epheſus.

3. Pope *Syricius* about the year of our Lord 390. wrote to the Prieſts of *Spain* about the ſame matter of putting their Wives from them, if his Epiſtle be not counterfeit. Theſe *Spaniſh* Prieſts had then with them a Biſhop of *Terragon*; who anſwering to *Syricius* in this behalf, alledged the Teſtimonies of Saint *Paul*, that Prieſts might lawfully retain their Wives, &c. To this *Syricius* replyed again, (if his writing be not forged) moſt arrogantly, and no leſs ignorantly, reproving the Prieſt that were married, and for the defence of his cauſe, alledged this ſentence of Saint *Paul*, *Si ſecundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini*, That is, *If ye ſhall live after the Fleſh, ye ſhall die, &c.* Whereby may appear not onely how they in *Spain* then had Wives, but alſo how blind theſe Men were in the Scriptures; which ſhewed themſelves ſuch and ſo great Adverſaries againſt Prieſts Marriages.

Syricius epiſtola ad Priſcum.

Rom. 4.

4. To be ſhort, the further that we go, and the nearer that we come to the antient and Primitive time of the Church, the leſs antient wee ſhall finde the deprivation of lawful Matrimony amongſt Chriſtian Miniſters, beginning, if ye will, with the Apoſtles, their examples and Canons, who although they were not alſo married, yet divers of them were, and the reſt had power and liberty to have and keep their Wives, witneſſing Saint *Paul*, where he writeth of himſelf; *Non habemus poteſtatem ſororem mulierem circumducendi ſicut & reliqui Apoſtoli?* That is to ſay, *Have we not power to lead about a Siſter to Wife, as alſo the other Apoſtles have?* Whereby is to be ſeen, both what he might do, and what the other Apoſtles did. Alſo *Clemens Alexandrinus*, which was two hundred years after Chriſt, *Lib. Strom. 7.* denieth not, but that *Paul* was married being an Apoſtle, as well *as Peter* and *Philip*. And as the ſaid Apoſtles in their Doctrine admoniſh all men to marry that cannot otherwiſe do, ſaying unto every one being in danger of temptation, *Vnuſquiſque ſuam uxorem habeat, ne tentet vos Satanas, &c.* That is, *Let every Man have his own Wife, leſt Satan tempt you, &c.* So likewiſe the ſame Apoſtles in their Canons (as in the Popes Decrees is cited) do preciſely charge, that no Biſhop nor Prieſt ſhould ſequeſter from him his Wife for any matter or pretence of Religion, ſaying, *If any ſhall teach that aPrieſt for Religion ſake ought to contemn his own Wife, let him bee accurſed &c.*

Divers of the Apoſtles were married.

Clemens Alexandrinus lib. Strom. 7.

Diſtinct. 28.

Canons of the Apoſtles.

As for the Gloſs there in the margent, which expounded this word contemning for exhibiting things neceſſary for her ſuſtenance, all the world may ſee that to be a Gloſs of meer Sophiſtry. And becauſe I have here made mention of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, it ſhall not be bee to our purpoſe impertinent, to infer the words of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend Prieſts lawful matrimony, againſt certain vain boaſters of Virginity, in his time. *Dicunt glorioſi iſti jactatores, ſe imitari Dominum, qui neque uxorem duxit, neque immundo aliquid poſſedit, ſe magis quam alios Evangelium intelleziſſe gloriantes.* That is, Theſe glorious braggers do vaunt themſelves to bee the followers of the Lord, who neither had Wife, nor yet poſſeſſed any thing here in the world, &c. And it followeth, *Eis autem dicit Scriptura, Deus ſuperbis reſiſtit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde neſcimus cauſam cur Dominus uxorem non duxerit. Primum quidem, propriam Sponſam habuit Eccleſiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, ut opus haberet etiam adjutore aliquo ſecundum carnem, &c.* To theſe proude, and giveth grace to the humble. Again they conſider not the cauſe why the Lord took no Wife. Firſt, he had his own peculiar Spouſe, which is the Church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he ſhould ſtand in ſuch need of a helper after the Fleſh, &c. And in the ſame Book a little after alledging againſt them that abhor Matrimony, he inferreth the words of Saint *Paul*, how that in the latter days, *Some ſhall fall from the Faith, attending to ſpirits of Errour, and to Doctrin of Devils, forbidding to marry, and to abſtain from meats, &c.*

Clemens Alexandrinus.

The cauſe why Chriſt had no wife

1. Tim. 4.

Which place of Saint *Paul*, *Clement* here applieth not againſt the *Novatians*, and them that condemn Matrimony in general in all men, as naught; but he applieth it onely againſt ſuch, as forbid marriage in part, and namely in Prieſts, &c.

This *Clement* wrote after Chriſt two hundred years, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we ſhall find both by the Councel of *Gangren* three hundred years, and alſo by the Councel of *Nice* four hundred years after Chriſt, the ſame liberty, Prieſts marriage eſtabliſhed and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the *Gangren* Councel theſe, *Si quis diſcernit Presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occaſione nephtiarum, quod offerre non debeat, & ab eius oblatione ideo abſtinet, anathema ſit, &c.* That is, If any do judge that a Prieſt for his marriage ſake ought not to miniſter, and therefore doth abſtain from the ſame, let him be accurſed.

Concilium Gangrenſe.

Diſtinct. 28.

Moreover proceeding yet in times and *Chronicles* of the Church, we ſhall come to the ſixth Councel called *Synodus Conſtantinopolitana*, almoſt ſeven hundred years after Chriſt: the words of the which Councel be alledged in the Decres, and be theſe in Latine. *Quemiam in Romani ordine canonis eſſe cognovimus traditum, eos qui ordinati ſunt Diaconi vel Presbyteri, conſiteri*

Concilium Conſtantinopolitanum. 3. Diſtinct. 3. ca. Quoniam.

confiteri quod non suis jam copulentur uxoribus, tanquam, sequentes Canonem Apostolicæ diligentiæ, & Constitutiones sacrorum virorum, legales nuptias a modo violare volumus, nullo modo cum Uxoribus suis eorum connubia dissolventes, aut privantes eas familiaritate adinvicem, in tempore opportuno, &c. That is, Because in the order of the Roman Canon, we know it so to be received, that such as be Deacons and Priests shall profess themselves to have no more copulation with their Wives, we following the ancient Canon of the diligent Apostles and Constitutions of holy men, enact that such lawful Marriage from henceforth shall stand in force, in no case dissolving their conjunction with their Wives, neither depriving them of their mutual society and familiarity together, insuch time as they shall think convenient, &c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree; hear now the penalty in the same decree and distinction contained. *Si quis igitur præsumpserit contra Apostolicos Canones aliquas Presbyterorum & Diaconorum privare a contubio & communione legalis Uxoris suæ, deponatur, &c.* That is, if any man therefore shall presume against the Canons of the Apostles, to deprive either Priest or Deacon from the touching and Company of his lawful Wife, let him be deprived. And likewise this Priest and Deacon, whosoever for Religion sake shall put away his Wife, let him be excommunicate, &c. and the Counsel of *Gangren* saith: *Let him be accursed.* By these Words of the Counsel recited, six things are to be noted.

Ibid.

Six things in this Counsel to be noted.

1 First, how this Council calleth the Marriage of Priests lawful, contrary to these six Articles, and to a certain late English writer of our Country, entituling his Book against the unlawful Marriage of Priests.

2. In that this Counsel so followeth the Canons of the Apostles, and Constitutions of holy men; we have to understand what the censures both of the Apostles and determination of other holy men were therein.

3. If the Injunction of this Council, agreeing thus with the Apostles and holy men, stood with Truth, the contrary Canon of the Romans, and also of these six English Articles, must needs be condemned of errour.

4 By this Council appeareth, that so long time, almost seven hundred years after Christ, this prohibition of Priests Marriage was not yet entred into the Orient Church but very stoutly was holden out.

5. By the Roman Canon here mentioned, which began with *Gregorius* six hundred years after Christ, a little before this Council, it cannot be denied, but the Church of *Rome* began then to differ, not only from the verity, but also from the unity of all other Churches following the Apostolick Doctrin, albeit the said Roman Canon at that time stood not long, but was shortly disannulled by the said *Gregorius* again, by the occasion of Infants Heads found in the fish Pond; whereof (Christ willing) more shall be spoken hereafter.

The crafty packing of the Romans in suppressing and counterfeiting the Canons of Councels.

6. Sixthly here is to be noted and remembred the crafty false packing, and fraud of the Romans, which in the Latin Book of Councels, in divers new impressions have suppressed this Canon, because belike it maketh little with their purpose: playing much like with this, as Pope *Sosimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celestinus* played with the sixth Councel at *Carthage*, which for their supremacy would have forged a false Canon of *Nice* had not the Councel sent to *Constantinople* for the true exemplar thereof, and so proved them open lyers to their faces. So likewise this Canon above mentioned, although it be omitted in some Books,, yet being found in the antient and true written Copies, being alledged of *Nilus* a Greek Bishop of *Thessalonica* two hundred years before; and moreover being found and alledged in the Popes own Book of Decrees, *Distinct.* 31. must needs convince them of manifest theft and falsehood.

Dist. 31.

Thus it may stand sufficiently proved, that the deprivation of Priests lawful Marriage all this space was not entred into the Church, neither Greek nor Latin, at least took no full possession before Pope *Hildebrands* time, *Anno Domini* 1070. and especially Pope *Calixtus* time, *Anno Domini* 1120. which were the first open Extorters of Priests Marriage.

Hildebrand and Calixtus first extorters of Priests lawful Marriage.

Aventinus, a faithful Writer of his time, writing of the Councel of *Hildebrand*, hath these words; *Sacerdotes illa tempestate publice uxores, sicut cæteri Christiani, habebant, filios procreabant, sicuti instrumentis donationum quæ illi Templis, Abbatiis, & Monachis fecere, ubi hæ nominatim cum conjugibus testes citantur & honestis vocabulo Presbyteriſſæ nuncupantur, invenio. Cæsar tumi &c.* That is, in those days Priests commonly had Wives, as other Christian men had, and had Children also, as may appear by antient Instruments and Deeds of gift, which were then given to Churches, to the Clergy, and to Religious Houses: In the which Instruments both the Priests and their Wives also with them (which there be called *Presbyteriſſæ*) I find to be alledged for witnesses. It happened moreover the same time (saith *Aventine*) that the Emperour, had the investing of divers Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbeys, and Nunneries within his Dominions. Pope *Hildebrand* disdaining against both these sorts aforesaid, that is, both against them that were invested by the Emperour, and also against all thos Priests that had Wives, provided so in his Councel at *Rome* that they which were promoted by the Emperour, into Livings of the Church, were counted to come in by *Simony*; the other, which were Married Priests, were counted for *Nicolaitans* Whereupon Pope *Hildebrand* writing his Letters to the Emperour, to Dukes, Princes, and other great Prelates and Potentates, namely to *Bertholdus*, *Zaringer*, to *Rodulphus* of *Suevia*, to *Welphon* of *Bavaria*, to *Adalberon*, and to their Ladies, and to divers other to whom he thought good, also to Bishops, namely to *Otto* Bishop of *Constance*, with other Priests and Lay People, willed them in his Letters to refuse and to keep no Company with those *Simoniacks* and those *Nicolaitan* Priests (for so were they termed then) which had either any Ecclesiastical living by the Emperor, or else which had wives, to avoid their Masses, neither to talk, neither to eat nor drink with them, nor once to speak to them, nor to salute them, but utterly to thun them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwise than they would eschew the Plague or Pestilence.

Aventinus in histor. Boiorum.

Simoniack Priests, Nicolaitan Priests.

Ex Aventino Annal Boior lib. 5.

By reason whereof ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the Flock of Christ, such as lightly the like hath not been seen: For the Priests went against their Bishops, the People against the Priests, the Laity against the Clergy: Briefly, all ran together in heaps and in confusion. Men and Women, as every one was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, took thereby occasion, upon every light suspition, to resist their Minister, to spoyl the goods of the Church. The vulgar People contemned the Priests which had married Wives, despised their Religion, and all things that they did, yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had been, with holy Water, and brent their Tithes. Also such was the mischief of them, that they would take the holy Mysteries which those married Priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet: For so then had *Hildebrand* taught them, that those were no Priests, neither that they were Sacraments which they did consecrate. So that by this occasion many false Prophets rose, seducing the People from the Truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and fained glosses, wresting the Scriptures as served best for their own purposes. Of whom few there were that kept any true chastity. Many could make glorious boasts and brags thereof; but the greatest part under the shew and pretence of honesty and pureness of life committed Incest, Fornication, Adultery, every where almost, and no punishment was for the same, &c Thus much out of *Aventinus. lib. 5. Annal.*

To this Testimony of *Aventinus* above mentioned we will also adjoyn the record of *Gebuilerus* a writer of this our later time, and one also of their own crew, who doth testifie that in the time of the Emperor *Henricus* the fourth, *Anno.* 1057. the number of twenty four Bishops, both in *Germany*, *Spain*, and in *France*, were married, with the Clergy also of their Dioceis.

Gebuilerus.

Of

Of the which Spanish Bishops we read also in *Isidorus*, which wrote more then six hundred years after Christ (and the place also cited in the Popes Distinctions) in his Book *De Clericorum vita*, how they ought either to lead an honest chast life, or else to keep themselves within the band of Matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of Priests either to be then voluntary or else their marriage not to be restrained as yet by any law.

Isidorus de vita clericorum. Dist. 23 cap. Jus igitur.

Moreover, such *Calixtian* Priests as be now a days, counting Priests marriage as a new devise, and not standing with ancient times, let them look upon the decree of Pope *Symmachus*, and answer thereof to the Gloss *Dist.* 81. where it is written: Let Priests be all restrained from the conversation of all Women, except it be their Mother, Sister, or their own Wife, &c. Where the Gloss in the margent giveth a Note, saying, *Hic loquitur secundum antiqua tempora.*

Calixtian Priests, that is, of Calixtus 6th, who chiefly forbad Priests marriage.

Thus if either the voice of Scripture might take place with these men that be so rigorous against Priests marriage: or if the examples of the Apostles might move them (whom Saint *Ambrose* witnesseth to have been all married, except only *Paul* and *John*) or else if the multitude of married Bishops and Priests might prevail with them, here might be rehearsed.

All the Apostles were married except John & Paul.

Ex Ambros. 2. Cor. 11.

That, *Tertullian* was a married Priest, as witnesseth *Hierome.*

Ex Epist. Hilarii ad Abram filiam.

Spiridion Bishop of *Cyprus* had Wife and Children.

Ex Ruffino: lib. 1. cap. 9.

Hilarie Bishop of *Poytiers* was also married.

Ex Nazianzeno.

Gregory Bishop of *Nyssa.*

Ex Novel constit. 31. Finally.

Gregory Bishop of *Nazianzum.*

Ex Hieron. adversus Jovinian. lib. 1 Ruffinch. 36. Rufin.

Prosper Bishop of *Rhegium.*

Cheremon Bishop of *Nilus.*

All these were married Bishops.

Of *Polycrates* and his seven Ancestors Bishops, and married Men, we spake before.

Epiphanius, Bishop of *Constaminople* in *Justinians* time, was the more commended, because his Father and Ancestors before him were Priests and Bishops married.

Hierome saith, That in his time, *Plurimi Sacerdotes habebant matrimonia*; That is, Many Priests were then married Men.

Pope *Damasus* reciteth up a great number of Bishops of *Rome* which were *Priests* Sons; as.

Ex Victito de sacrificio mistæ.

Silverius, *Anno* 544.

Deus dedit, about the year 622.

Adrianus the second, about the year 873.

Felix the third, about the year 474.

Hosius.

Agapetus, *Anno* 534.

Gelasius, 484.

Bonifacius.

Theodorus, whose Father was Bishop of *Hierusalem* about the year 634.

Johannes the tenth, *Anno Domini* 924.

Johannes the fifteenth, the Son of *Leo* a Priest, about the year 984.

Richard Archdeacon of *Coventry.*

Henry Archdeacon of *Huntington.*

Volusianus Bishop of *Carthage.*

Thomas Archbishop of *York*, Son of *Sampson* Bishop of *Worcester.*

And how many other Bishops and Priests in other Countries, besides these Bishops of *Rome*, might be annexed to this Catalogue, if our leasure were such to make a whole beaderol of them all?

In the mean time the words of *Sylvius* Cardinal, and afterward Bishop of *Rome*, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain Friend of his, which after his Orders taken was disposed to marriage. To whom the foresaid *Sylvius* answereth again in these words following; *Credimus te uti non infelso consilio, si, cum neque as continere, conjugium quæris: quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antea quam initiaveris sacris ordinibus. Sed non sumus Dij omnes qui futura prospicere valeamus. Quando hoc venturum est, ut legirefistere nequeas, melius est nubere quàm uri, &c.* That is, We believe that you in so doing follow no finister Counsel, in that you chuse to be married; when otherwise you are not able to live chaste, Albeit this Counsel should have come into your Head before that you entred into Ecclesiastical Orders. But we are not all Gods to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now forsomuch as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the Law, better it is to marry than to burn, &c.

Ex Æneas Silvio. Epist. 221.

All the premisses well considered, it shall suffice I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this general Law and prohibition of Priests marriage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time nor long continuance of years as they make it, but rather to be a late devised Doctrin, gendered by the Monks, and grounded upon no Reason, Law, nor Scripture, but that certain, which be repiners against the Truth, do wrack and wrest a few places out of the Doctors, and two or three Councels for their pretensed purpose. Whose objections and blind Cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories, referr to the further discussion of Divines, in whose Books this matter is more at large to be sought and searched. In the mean season, so much as appertaineth to the searching of times and antiquity, and to the conservation of such Acts and Mounments as are behoveable for the Church, I thought hereunto not unprofitable to be adjoyned a certain Epistle learned and antient, of *Volusianus* Bishop sometime of *Carthage*, tending to the defence of Priests lawful wedlock, which *Æneas Sylvius in descriptione Germaniæ*, also *Illyricus in Catal.* and *Melanchthon*, *Lib. de Conjugio*, do father upon *Huldericus* Bishop of *Augusta*, in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the second: but as I find it in an old written example sent by *John Bale* to *Matthew* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as it is joyned in the same Book, so it beareth also the same title and name of *Volusianus* Bishop of *Carthage*; joyning also withal another Latine Epistle, which perhaps hath not been seen in Print before. The Copies of both which Epistles, as being pertinent to the purpose present, hereunder ensue in form as followeth.

Volusianus, Bishop of Carthage.

Huldericus Bishop of Augusta about the year of our Lord, 900.

The Epistle in Latin of Volusianus, *or as some think of* Huldericus *Bishop of* Augusta, *to Pope* Nicholas, *against the forbidding of Priests Marriage.*

Epistola *Volusiani* Carthaginensis Episcopi ad *Nicolaum* Romanorum Episcopum.

Hæc est rescriptio *Volusiani Carthaginensis* Episcopi, in qua Papæ *Nicolao* de continentia Clericorum, non iuste, sed impiè nec canonicè sed indiscretè tractanti, ita respondit.

Nicolao Domino & Patri pervigili, sanctæ *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ Provisori, *Volusianus* tolo nomine Episcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut servus.

The Epistle of Volusianus, or as some say, of Huldericus the Pope, in defence of Priests marriage.

Cum tua, ô Pater & Domine, decreta super Clericorum continentia nuper mihi transmissa à discretione in-venirem aliena, timor me turbavit cum trisitia. Timor quidem propter hoc, quod dicitur Pastoris sententia, sive justa sive injusta, timenda est. Timebam enim infirmis Scripturæ auditoribus, qui vel justæ vix obedient sententiæ, ne injustam conculcantes liberè, onerosa, imo importabili Pastoræ præveracitione præcepti, se obligarent. Tristitia verò vel compassio, dum considerabam, qua ratione membra cavere possent, capite suo tam gravi morbo laborante. Quid enim gravius, quid istius Ecclesiæ compassione dignius, quam te summæ Sedis Pontificem, ad quem totius Ecclesiæ spectat examen, à sanctæ disceptione vel minimum exorbitare? Non parum quippe ab hac deviasti, cum Clericos, quos ad abstinentiam conjugij monere debebas, ad hanc imperiosa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim merito communi omnium sapientum judicio hæc est violentia, cum contra Evangelicam institutionem, ac sancti Spiritus dictationem, ad privatas aliquas decreta cogitur exequenda?

Mat. 19.

Cum Ergo plurima veteris ac novi testamenti suppeant exempla, sanctam (ut nosti) discretionem docentia, tuæ rogo ne grave sit Paternitati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginæ interseri. Dominus quidem in veteri lege Sacerdotis conjugium constituit, quod illis postmodum interdixisse non legitur. Sed idem in Evangelio loquitur: Sunt Eunuchi, qui se castraverunt propter regnum cælorum,

1 Cor. 7.

exlerunt, sed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui potest capere, capiat: Quatropter Apostolus quoque ait; De virginibus præceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do. Qui etiam juxta prædictum Domini, Non omnes hoc consilium capere posse confiderant, sed multos ejusdem consilii assentatores, hominibus, non Deo, pro falsa specie continentiæ placere volentes, graviora vides committere, patrum scilicet uxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere; ne morbi hujus aspersione ad usque postilentiam convalescente, nimium status labefactetur Ecclesiæ totius: Propter fornicationem, dixit, unusquisque suam uxorem habeat. Quod specialiter ad Laicos pertinere iidem mentiuntur hypocritæ: qui licet in quovis sanctissimo Ordine constituti, alienis tamen uxoribus non dubitant abuti. Et quod flendo cernimus, omnes in supradictis fœcvissunt fœleribus: hi nimirum non recte Scripturam intellexerunt, cujus membrillam quia duritis pressere, sanguinem pro lacte biberunt. Num illud Apostolicum, unusquisque suam habeat uxorem, nullum excipit vere, nisi professionem continentiæ, vel cum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate profitit.

Scripturam perperam intellectam. Pudui pretendendi sanguis elicatur.

Quod nihilominus in tuam, Pater venerande, condecet strenuitatem, ut omnem, qui tibi manu vel ore votum faciens continentiæ posteà voluerit apostatare, aut ad votum exequendum ex debito constringas, aut ab omni Ordine Canonica Authoritate deponas; & ut hoc viriliter implere sufficias, me omnesque mei ordinis viros adjutores habebis non pigros. Verum ut hujus voti nescios omninò scias non esse cogendos, audi Apostolum docentem ad Timotheum: Oportet (inquit) Episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, unius uxoris virum. *Quam sententiam ne quis ad solam Ecclesiam verteret, subjunxit, Qui autem domui suæ præesse nescit, quomodo Ecclesiæ Dei diligentiam habebit? Similiter, inquit, Diaconi sint unius uxoris viri, qui filiis suis bene præsint, & suis domibus. Hanc autem uxorem à sacerdote benedicendam esse, Sancti* Sylvestri Papæ *decretis scio te sufficienter docuisse. His & hujusmodi Sanctæ Scripturæ sententiis, regulæ Clericorum scriptor non immeritò concordans ait; Clericus sit pudicus, aut certè unius matrimonii vinculo fœderatus. Ex quibus omnibus veraciter colligi quod Episcopus & Diaconus reprehensibiles non tantur, si in mulieribus multis dividuntur. Si verò*

Can. Apost. 5. If this Rule of S. *Anacletus* be true, heterric is for the Papists to admit the marriage of Priests, then that Adultery, Sodomitry, and other like inconveniences should follow, as they do.

unam sub obtentu religionis abjicunt, utrunque, scilicet Episcopum & Diaccoum sine gradurum differentia, hæc Canonica damnat sententia: Episcopus aut Presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abjiciat, si verò rejecerit, excommunicetur; & si perseveraverit, dejiciatur. Sanctus quoque Augustinus, *sanctæ discretionis non insciis; Nullum (inquit) est enim grave faciunt est, quin admittendum sit, ut decipiatur populus.*

Legimus præterea in secundo Tripartitæ Ecclesiasticæ libro historiæ, quòd cum Synodus Nicæna *hæc eadem vellet sanxire decreta, ut videlicet Episcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, post consecrationem à propriis uxoribus vel cœmino abstinerent, vel gradum deponerent; surgens in medio* Paphnutius (ex illis *Martyribus* quos Maximus *Imperator, oculis cruin dextris evulsis & sinistris juris incisis, damnavit*) *contradixit, honorabiles confessus nuptias, ac castitatem esse, dicens, connubium cum propria uxore; perfuasitque Concilio, ne talem ponerent legem, gravem asserens esse causam, quæ aut ipsis, aut eorum conjugibus occasio fornicationis existeret. Et hæc quidem* Paphnutius, *licet imperitarum expers, exposuit; Synodique ejus sententiam laudavit, & nihil ex hac parte sanxivit, sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate, non in necessitate dimisit.*

Sunt verò aliqui qui S.Gregorium *suæ fœtæ summi adjutorem; quorum quidem temeritatem video, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quòd periculosum hujus hæresis decretum à* S. Gregorio *factum, condigno pœnitentiæ fructu postmodum ab eodem sit purgatum. Quippe*

6000 Infants slain found in Gregories Ponds.

cum die quadam in vivarium suum propter pisces mitteret, & allata inde plus quam sex millia Infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus pœnitentia ingemuit, & factum à se de abstinentia decretum tantæ cædis causam confessus, condigno illud, ut dixi, pœnitentiæ fructu purgavit: postea decreto prorsus damnato, Apostolicum illud laudavit consilium; Melius est nubere, quam uri: addens ex sua parte, melius est nubere,

quàm mortis occasionem præbere. Hunc forsitan rei eventum si illi mecum legissent, non tam temere, credo, judicarent, Dominicum silentes timentes præceptum; Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini. Inde Paulus *dicit Tu quis es?, qui judicas alienum servum? suo Domino stat, aut cadit. Stabit autem; potens est enim Dominus statuere illum. Cesset ergo Sanctitas tua ergo, quos tantum deberet admonere; ne privato (quod absit) præcepto tam veteri quàm novo contrarius inveniaris testamento. Nam, ut ait* Sanctus Augustinus *ad* Donatum, *solum est quod in tua justitia pertimescimus, ne non pro lenitatis Christianæ consideratione, sed pro immaniate facinorum censeas coercendum. Quod se per ipsum Christum ne facias obsecramus, sic enim peccata compescenda sunt, ut superstiti quos peccasse pæniteat. Illud etiam* Augustini *volumus te recordari, quod ait, Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consilendi charitate: & nihil sit tam immaniter, nihil inhumaniter. Idem de eodem, in timore Christi, in nomine Christi exhortor, quicunque non habetis temporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicunque habetis, in eis non præsumatis. Dico autem, non si ista habetis, damnamini; sed si in istis præsumatis, damnamini: si propter talia magni vobis videamini, si generir humani conditionem communem propter excellentem unitatem oblivisceamini. Quod nimirum poculum discretionis ex illo fonte Apostolicæ hauseras prædicationis; Solutus es ab uxore, noli quærere uxorem; alligatus es uxori, noli quærere solutionem? Ubi & jubditur, Qui habent uxores, sint tanquam non habentes; & qui utuntur mundo, tanquam non utantur. Idem dicit de vidua, Cui vult nubat, tantum in Domino. Nubere in Domino est, nihil in contrahendo connubio quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare.* Jeremias *quoque* Hieronymus *ait, Nolite confidere in verbis mendacii, dicentes, Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Domini est. Quod* Hieronymus *exponens, Potest (inquit) & hoc illis virginibus convenire, quæ factant pudicitiam suam impudenti vultui: præferunt castitatem, cum aliud habeat conscientia, & nesciunt illam Apostoli definitionem de virgine, ut sit sancta corpore & spiritu. Quid enim prodest corporis pudicitia, animo conspurcato, sit cæteras virtutes, quas Propheticus Sermo describit, non habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videmus, & quia discretionem, licet in hac re neglectam, in aliis tamen vitæ tuæ constitutionibus eam bonestè conservatam non ignoramus: hujus intentionis præsitatem te citò correctirum non desperamus. Et ideo non quanta pessimus gravitate, ista licèt gravissimam negligentiam corripimus vel judicamus. Quanqam enim secundum vocabula quæ usus imposuit, sit Episcopatus Presbyterio major: tamen* Augustinus Hieronymo minor *est, & à minori quilibet non est refugiendæ correptio: præsertim cum is qui corripitur, & contra veritatem, & pro hominibus nisi inventur. Neque enim (ut ait Sanctus* Augustinus *ad* Bonifacium,) *quorumlibet disputationes quamvis Catholicorum & laudatorum virgum, velut Scripturas Canonicas habere debemus: ut non liceat nobis, salva honorificentia qua illis debetur, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare atque respuere, si forte invenirimus quod aliter senserint quàm veritas habeat, divino adjutorio vel ab aliis intellecta vel à nobis. Quid autem veritati magis contrarium, quam hoc, quod cum ipsa veritas de continentia loquens, non unius hominis, sed omnium planè (non excepto numero professorum continentiæ) dicat; qui potest capere, capiat; sibi (inquit) unde intligati) dicant, Qui non potest capere, feriatur anathemate.*

1 Cor. 7.

Matth. 7; Rom. 14.

Matth. 7.

John. 8. Christus legem non fecit, sed competentes legis ministros exigit.

Augustinus.

Gregorius.

Ex celibatu Sacerdotum qui inclus coeuntur.

Psal. 69.

Quid vero per homines fieri potest Iholidius? quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui, vel Episcopi videlicet, vel Archidiaconi, ita præcipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum (proh pudor!) turpissimos amplexus sciant abhorrere? casta Clericorum conjugia sibi dicant fœtere, & ab eis non vera justitiæ compassione, sed falsæ justitiæ dedignatione, non ut conservos rogent continere, sed ut servos jubeant ac cogant abstinere? Ad cujus imperii, ne dicam Consilii, tam futuum, tamque turpem addunt (suggestionem, ut dicant) bonefinis est pluribus occulte implicari, quàm aperte in hominum vultu & conscientia cum una lugari. Quod profectò non dicerent, si ex illo, & in illo essent qui dicit, Væ vobis Pharisæi, qui

quia omnia facitis propter homines. Et per Psalmistam, Qui hominibus placent, confusi sunt, quoniam Dominus sprevit eos. Hi sunt, qui prius deberent nobis persuadere, ut in confectu ejus, cui omnia nuda & aperta sunt, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum mundi esse. Licet ergo meritis suæ provitatis, nullius confilium mereantur pietatis, nos tamen memores humanitatis, divinæ eis consilium authoritatis nunquam à pietate vacantis, per viscera ministramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe, Eisce primum hypocrita trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc perspicies ut ejicias festucam de oculo fratris tui.

Matth. 7.

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod dominus dicit de muliere; Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in eam lapidem mittat, quasi dicevet; Si lex jubet, si Moses jubet, jubeo & ego, sed competentes legis ministros exigo. Attendentes quid adducitis, attendite quæso & quid essi: quia, si te ipsum, ut ait Scriptura, perspexeris, nulli unquam detraxeris. Significatum est autem nobis de quibusdam coram quod tanta apud se intumescant elatione, ut gregem Domini, pro quo boni pastores animas non dubitant ponere, isti verberibus etiam absque ratione præsumant laniare. Quorum sententiam Sanc. Gregorius *nimium deplorans ait. Quid fiet de ovibus, quando pastores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, nisi qui sævit? Quis verò per secutorem judicabit, nisi qui dorsum suum ad flagella patienter ministravit? Operæ precium est ante, ut audiatur, quo fructu tantum ecclesiæ Dei inducebant scandalum, tantum clerus despectum, & ab ipsis Episcopis, & ab eorum infidelibus patiatur. Nec enim eos infideles decere dubitaverim, de quibus Paulus Apostolus dicit ad* Timotheum *; Quia in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam à fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris, & Doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, & cauteriatam habentium conscientiam, prohibentium nubere.*

1. Tim. 4.

Hic est autem, si diligenter inspiciatur totius eorum manipulus vitiamis, totius eventus insaniæ, ut dum clerici licitas unius mulieris consortia, Pharisaico devitili, quod absit, furore, relinquere cogantur, fornicatores, & adulteri, & aliorum pravitatum turpissimi ministri cum ipsis effician ur. Qui hanc in ecclesia Dei hæresim sicut cæci duces cæcæorum machinantur, ut videlicet illud impleatur quod Psalmista ait, ut pote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur; Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, &c. Quis ergo nemo, ò Apostolice, ignorat, quod si tu per tui decreti sententiam, tantam futuram esse pestilentiam solite discretionis claritate perspexisses, nunquam quorumlibet disceptationis cavitate perfexisses, nunquam quorumlibet tam pravis suggestionibus consensisses: debita tibi libet tam pravis suggestionibus consensisses: debita tibi omnium tamen gratia Domina et Magistra ei quasi præpotens imperatrix et Regina est, ad cujus nutum cætera pendent et ab ea vim et efficaciam expectant, et sine illa nihil prævalent, sed quasi stolida et mortua, sicut materia sine forma, jacent et subjacent. Loco enim materia, secundum proportionem aliquam, liberum arbitrium possumus accipere non incongruè; Gratiam verò, loco formæ, mandatum autem, quod medium est quasi instrumentum, ad utrumque vescitur, quo summus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quasi stolidam materiam movet et promoveat, et formam gratiæ illi componat. Et sicut materia sine forma est horrida et deformis: ita liberum arbitrium est horridum et deforme sine gratia superveniente, se movente et promovente, mandato medio quasi instrumentò (ut diximus) interveniente. Quod ergò forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam similitudinem est gratia: et quod materia sub forma, hoc idem est libera voluntas sub gratia. Et item quod est instrumentum ipsorum, hoc est mandatum ad utrumque istorum. Instrumentum namque sordidam materiam, et sordidam atque asperam, obscuram, et quasi cæcam emaculat et expolit, et claram, planam, ac lucidam, forma superveniente, reddit. Sic et mandatum, liberum arbitrium fordidum et horridum, asperum et inculum, obscuum et cæcum, nitidum, cemit, levit, et excolit, lucidat, et illuminat; sicut propheta dicit; præceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, splendore gratiæ superveniente. Et sicut materia sine forma et instrumentum sine forma nihil valent, ita liberæ voluntas et mandatum sine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum sine gratia præveniente et subsequente potest? Gratia namque ad

Psal. 69.

Liberum arbitrium.

Gratia.

Mandatum.

Liberum arbitrium locum Materiæ tenet.

Gratia loco Formæ cum Forma

Mandatum loco instrumenti.

Liberum arbitrium & Mandatum sine Gratia nihil Valent.

Psalm. 19.

Read before.

Another Epistle of the said *Volusianus*, concerning Marriage not to be restrained from Priests and Ministers of the Church.

Rom. 2.

Cum sub liberi arbitrij potestate creati sumus, & non sub lege fed sub gratia, qualiter creati sumus vivamus. Vos qui continentiæ legem nobis invitis imponitis, liberi arbitrij nos potestate privatis. Quod nolumus velle, & quod volumus nolle cogendo imperati & imperando cogitis: & legis vinculo, à quo ipsa gratia nos in libertatem liberati sumus, alligare, & spiritum servitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipsamque gratiam, sine qua nihil facere possumus, omnino evacuare satagitis ita ut (sicut ait Apostolus) ipsa gratia jam non sit gratia, et Dei donum non sit Dei donum; Et non ex Deo, fed ex homine, nec ex vocante, fed ex operante; cum idem Apostolus dicat, Quia non est volentis neque currentis, fed Dei miserentis.

Rom 11: Rom. 9.

Nam cum sint tria principalia & quasi effectiva, per quæ omnis anima humana capax et compos rationis, quicquid spiritualis boni apprehendere et percipere potest, agere prehendit et percipit, et sine quibus nihil prorsus capere possit; liberum arbitrium videlicet, Mandatum, et gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona a malis decernimus atque eligimus; mandato ad omnia facienda provocamur ac incitamur; gratia promovemur et adjuvamur) horum omnium tamen gratia Domina et Magistra ei quasi præpotens imperatrix et Regina est, ad cujus nutum cætera pendent et ab ea vim et efficaciam expectant, et sine illa nihil prævalent, sed quasi stolida et mortua, sicut materia sine forma, jacent et subjacent. Loco enim materia, secundum proportionem aliquam, liberum arbitrium possumus accipere non incongruè; Gratiam verò, loco formæ, mandatum autem, quod medium est quasi instrumentum, ad utrumque vescitur, quo summus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quasi stolidam materiam movet et promoveat, et formam gratiæ illi componat. Et sicut materia sine forma est horrida et deformis: ita liberum arbitrium est horridum et deforme sine gratia superveniente, se movente et promovente, mandato medio quasi instrumentò (ut diximus) interveniente. Quod ergò forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam similitudinem est gratia: et quod materia sub forma, hoc idem est libera voluntas sub gratia. Et item quod est instrumentum ipsorum, hoc est mandatum ad utrumque istorum. Instrumentum namque sordidam materiam, et sordidam atque asperam, obscuram, et quasi cæcam emaculat et expolit, et claram, planam, ac lucidam, forma superveniente, reddit. Sic et mandatum, liberum arbitrium fordidum et horridum, asperum et inculum, obscuum et cæcum, nitidum, cemit, levit, et excolit, lucidat, et illuminat; sicut propheta dicit; præceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, splendore gratiæ superveniente. Et sicut materia sine forma et instrumentum sine forma nihil valent, ita liberæ voluntas et mandatum sine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum sine gratia præveniente et subsequente potest? Gratia namque ad

ad liberum arbitrium mandatum quasi nuntium ac famulum mittit : mandatum liberum arbitrium provocat atque quasi sopitum excitat, ut ad bona facienda evigilet & exurgat, viamque ei, quam peragere debeat, quasi caco deducendo demonstrat. Quorum utrumque si à gratia defertur, nihil omninò per se potest. Quod si conatur, desit, non proficit, neque etiam efficit, vel perficit. Si præsumit, non assumit, sed potius totam operam & laborem frustra consumit. Cùm enim mandatum, seu per hominem sive per Angelum mittitur, & etiam liberum arbitrium seu humano seu Angelico mandati nuntio commovetur, provocatur, & instruitur, nisi divina gratia comitetur, præveniat, & subsequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè homini in paradiso posito mandatum quod audivit ; Ex omni ligno Paradisi comede, de ligno vero scientiæ boni & mali ne comedas ? Nihil prorsus ad salutem, sed potius ad condemnationem. Quare ? Quia gratia salvatrix & auxiliatrix defuit, quam ille, injuste sua viribus fisus, contempsit. Aut quid valuit Israelitico populo in Exemo constituto, mandatum Legi quod per Mosem accepit, cui obedire neglexit ? Aut quid profuit illi qui Dominum sequi suo arbitrio, & non illius vocatione præsumit dicens ; Domine, sequar te quocunque ieris. Ex multis aliis divinæ Scripturæ locis novi & veteris Testamenti demonstrari potest quòd neque mandatum, neque liberum arbitrium per se quicquam valet, nisi divina gratia præveniendo & subsequendo adjuvet, Cùm igitur continentiæ bonum, imò omne bonum sit soliùs divinæ gratiæ donum, nec per mandatum, nec per liberum arbitrium comprehendatur, errant & frustra laborant qui se suis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc invitis & nolentibus imperant, & non spontaneè sed coactè in Sacrarium Dei ilona offerre jubent, nescientes aut obliti ejusdem quod Dominus Moysi & Moses à Domino præcepit dicens ; Separate apud vos primitias Domino, quisque voluntarius ; ut bono animo offerat eas Domino. Quid est separare apud vos primitias Domino, nisi studiosa cogitatione & meditatione in cordibus nostris tractare, & cum discretione deponere & dividere, quid Domino de thesauro cordis nostri valeamus offerre ? Si enim rectè offeras & non rectè dividas, peccasti. Et quid est prono animo offerre, nisi quod ait Psalmista ; Voluntariè sacrificabo tibi ? Et Apostolus, Non ex tristitia aut necessitate ; Hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon ; Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, & in omni dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, & in exultatione sanctifica decimas tuas, & in bono oculo sacito ad inventionem manuum tuarum. Et Apostolus Iacobus ; Non amat Dominus (inquit) coactæ servitæ. Et maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligenter ; (id est) non curiosè, neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus invitos aliquid offerre non jubet : ita nos invitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere prohibet per eundem Mosen ubi ait ; Ne facias Calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniam proximo facere, est eum non compatiendo & miserando corrigere de peccato ; sed dedignando & exprobrando & detrahendo arguere & accusare, & non in spiritu lenitatis instruere, sed in spiritu asperitatis & austeritatis destruere, cum Apostolus dicat ; si præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui spirituales estis instruite hujusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerans teipsum ne & tu tenteris. Vi opprimere proximum, est ultra vires suas aliquid exigere, & onus quod portare non potest imponere, imponentibus fortasis insportabile, cum Dominus de Pharisæis ad Discipulos inquens, hoc eis prohibeat dicens : Super Cathedram Moysi sedent Scribæ et Pharisæi, &c. Et Apostolus Petrus, Pascite (inquit) qui in vobis est, gregem Domini, providentes, non coactè sed spontaneè, secundum Dominum ; neque turpis lucri gratia sed voluntariè ; neque dominantes in Clero, sed forma estote gregi ex animo. Hic Pastor Pastorum, Princeps Apostolorum, quid cætori Pastores vel Apostoli debeant facere, quomodo gregem Domini sibi creditum tractare, aperiè, et pè demonstrat atque insinuat, et quantam solicitudinem et compassionem erga subditos habere oporteat, eis inculcat : et omnem potestatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitionem cupiditatis, quam quidam in subditos sibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliminat, et eos non dominos sed patres subditorum debere esse pronuncit : neque eis aliud typo potentiæ imperare, sed zelo pietatis admonere et obsecrare juxta vires uniuscujusque secundum Dominum, non secundum suæ voluntatis arbitrium vel potestatis imperium : et illis formam esse gregi debere, ut quid aliji imperant, ipsi priores faciant, & non minus exemplis, quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo (inquit) non ex imperio ; ex voluntate, non coactione ; ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plerique qui zelo cupiditatis, non charitatis accesci aliis imperant quod implere non valent ; et dum lucrum animarum quærere se simulant, lucrum potius terrenum captant. Quod benè Baalam Propheta exprimit, qui Prophetiæ donum et benedicendi gratiam, quam Divinitus acceperat, non ad utilitatem aliorum, sed ad usum suæ cupiditatis vertit ; et sicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere se ostentant, et dum meliores alijs se videri volunt, hoc præsumptione quadam et temeritate agunt, et ideo in ipso præsumptionis loco et temeritatis sua corruunt. De quibus dicit Apostolus : Qui zelum Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam. Zelum Dei secundum est scientiam habere, provide et consulte in divinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profectò Ozæ similitudinem gerit, Qui dum Arcam Domini, calcitrantibus bubus qui eam portabant, inclinatam parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mortuus cecidit. Arcam Domini calcitrantibus bubus inclinari, est legem Domini quam ipsi sacerdotes portare et tenere debent, ab eis non observando contradici, et quasi à recto statu in diversam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adjutor Dei interpretatur, exigere tentat : quia sunt quidam Prælati, qui dum sacerdotalem ordinem, ipsam legem divinam maligno excessu vel leviter à sita rectitudinis via quasi inclinare et in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem castigare et corrigere magis studentes quàm ostentatione quàm divina æmulatione præsumunt ; et quia hoc inconsulte agunt, dum adjutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumq; mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt et alij qui nullam infirmitatis humanæ considerationem, nec ullum misericordiæ respectum et compassionis affectum habent, et cum Apostolo dicere nesciences : Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor ? Dum se subditis, non conditione qua pares, sed authoritate qua superiores sunt, conferunt, atq; magistri videri, et plus præesse quàm prodesse cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, et eos sibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur ; quod de Simone Cyreneo in Evangelio legitur, quem angariaverunt persecutores Domini ut tolleret crucem ejus. Cujus etiam nomen huic figuræ convenienter aptatur. Simon namq; interpretatur obediens. Simon verò, id est, obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur, cum subjecti quiq; à suis magistris in dominationis vel authoritatis, vel Anathematis pressi, et ei obedire compulsi, crucem continentiæ patiuntur inviti : ipsam crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipsam plus ad perniciem suam, quàm ad salutem portant, nec ipsa cruce peccato moriuntur, sed potius ipsi peccato vivificantur : nam et alia peccata graviora exindè oriuntur. Inhibito enim naturali usinus mulieris conjugio, surrepit non naturalis, sed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio : furrepit illicita et damnabilis, non legitima sed contra legem alienæ uxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam et meretricabilis nefanda pollutio : quin etiam abhominabilis ὁmnibus parentalis incestatio vel altarum multarum immunditiarum vel libidinum à Diabolo inventarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Vnde Loth de Sodomitico incendio angelo Domini educente ereptus, et Uxoris consortio viduatus, dum sua infirmitatis conscius ad montana non ausus est Angelo monente ascendere, ipse in Segor, parvæ civitate quæ juxta erat, elegit habitare, ipso Angelo præcipiente et sic ad eum loquente, Salva animam tuam ; nolì respicere post tergum, sed in monte salvum te fac, ne et tu simul pereas. Cui dixit Loth, Quæso Domine mi, quia invenit servus tuus gratiam coram te ut salvares me : Non possum in monte salvari, ne forte approhendat me malum et moriar. Est Civitas juxta hic ad quam possum fugere parvua, et salvabor in ea. Quid est quod Loth a Sodomis *fugiens, præcipiente Angelo ut in monte salvaretur, montem ascendere, quia ibi mori timebat, voluit, sed* Segor *parvam civitatem juxta montem posìtam, ut in ea salvaretur ad habitandum elegit, nisi quicunque fidelium Sodomiticæ libidinis incendium et periculum evadere cupiens, dum cælestiudinem virginalem not valet, et cælitatis vidualis timet ascendere ne in ea periclietur, ad conjugalem copulam*

Genesc. 2.

Mandatum sine gratia nil juvat. Matt. 9.

Donum continentiæ fructus humanis viribus speciatur. Num. 15.

Psal. 54. 2. Cor. 9.

Eccles. 35.

Ieremi. 48.

Levit. 9:

Galat. 6. Spiritus lenitatis vitis convenit apostolicis.

Matth. 23. 1. Peter. 5.

Petrus episcopus constituit non dominos gregi sed patres.

Num 22: Balaamite.

Loth quomodo in ecthum incidit.

Rom 10. Zelum Dei secundum scientiam habere quid sit. Oza quorum gerit similitudinem.

Sodomitice libidinis ecthus.

Loth cur montana fugit.

pulam, cùm ad utramque continentiam parvula est et utrique proxima, confugit. Namque post continentiæ supradictæ, hæc cælitatis probatur laudabilis et non privatur præmio regni cælestis. Ad hanc cælitatem, qui non potest contnere, subetur accedere & in ea salvari, ne forte si montem ascendisti, apprehendat eum malum & moriatur, & tu, si continentiam non bibi divinitus concessam, suis viribus obtinere tentaveris, malum incontinentiæ, vel fornicationis, vel aliquarum supradictarum pestium eum apprehendat, & in eis mortaliter pereat. Sunt enim multi qui dum infirmitatem suam non considerant, & dum majora se apprehendere conantur, ipsa sua præcipitatione ruinosa, in deteriora labuntur ; quia dum majora inconsultius ambiunt, minora, quæ tenere videbantur, amittunt. Quod sane exemplo ipsius Loth aperte demonstratur ; qui dum relicta Segor quam ad habitandum elegerat, & in qua salvari petierat, in montem ascendit, ibique mansit, in incestum filiarum suarum, ipsarum furreptione corrut, sicut Scriptura dicit. Ita namque Scriptum est, Ascendit Loth de Segor *et mansit in monte, & duæ filiæ patris sui bibere vinum nocte illa, & ingressa est major, dormivitque cum patre. Quod nequaquam sibi contigisset, si in* Segor *in qua salvari petierat, ad præceptum Angeli, sicut ille postulaverat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod sibi ab Angelo concessum fuerat, derelinquit, & quod concessum non fuerat, id postea sua voluntate contra præceptum Angeli præsumpsit, salutis suæ dispendium pertulit, et gravæ incestus peccatum incurrit. Sic plerisque contingit, qui dum quod sibi concessum est à Deo relinquunt, & id quod sibi concessum non est ambiunt, & illud quod sibi concessum est perdunt, & illud quod sibi concessum non est apprehendunt. Quia sunt nonnulli, qui dum conjugalem viam quæ sibi concessa est, & in qua salvari possent, vel inviti vel volentes deserunt, & majoris profectus desiderio cælibem vitam adiutare fatagunt, salutem quam in illa habere poterant, perdunt, & periculum maximum in ipsa incurrunt, & ex quo proficere conabuntur, magis deficiunt (& sicut supra diximus) in majoris ruinæ voraginem merguntur. Quod bene Doctor gentium Paulus considerans, & infirmis quibusque benigne prospiciens Corinthijs, super his scriptis suis se consulentibus, ita rescripsit dicens, De quibus autem scripsistis mihi, bonum homini est mulierem non tangere ; propter fornicationem autem vitandam, unusquisque uxorem suam habeat ; & unusquæque virum. Et uxori vir debitum reddat ; similiter axor viro. Et post pauca, Nolite, inquit, fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi : et iterum revertimini in idipsum, ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram ; quoniam, sicut ait Poeta, non omnia possumus omnes : Et sicut Apostolus in superioribus dixit : Quia non est volentis neque currentis, sed Dei miserentis ; Et alibi, Quia unicuique nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Hanc mensuram unicuique tenendam nec transgrediendam esse, docens mos intulit ; Volo autem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, sed unusquisque proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidem sic, alius autem sic ; Qua videlicet mensura nos arcendos & debere esse contentos in sequentibus intimavit dicens, Vnumquemq; sicut vocavit deus, ita ambulet. Et unusquisque in qua vocatione vocatus est, in hac permaneat apud Deum. Et hoc idem repetit paulo inferius causæ confirmationis ; Unusquisque in quo vocatus est frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatem humanam videbat non posse tolerare incentiva gemini caloris, nisi per gratiam Dei, neque vincere pugnam carnis adversus spiritum ; & quia sic ipse dixit de se alibi, Videbam aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meæ, hoc se misericorditer & compatienter, & unanimiter, non regulariter neque imperative dixisse, sicut in alia Epistola monstraverat, vbi ait, Humanum dico propter infirmitatem carnis vestræ. Et in hac ipsa paulò superius, in eodem schemate, ubi ait ; Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium, subdendo demonstrat ; De virginibus autem præceptum domini non habeo : consilium do tanquam misericordiam consecutus, ut sim fidelis. Id est, misericordia qua mihi Dominus consuluit quando ad fidem me vocavit, & fibi fidelem fecit, & ego alijs consulo & eandem misericordiam illis impendo. Et quoniam bonum est utrumque, cum uxore esse & sine uxore esse, & cum viro esse & cum viro non esse, neque peccatum est vel cum uxore esse, vel cum viro esse, mox subinfert dicens ; æstimo ergo bonum esse propter instantem necessitatem ; quoniam bonum est hominì esse sic, &c.*

Conjugalis callidus est vigilanti mine fit, ac antor tamen.

Necessitas indicus quid Paulum que sit.

Quid est propter instantem necessitatem ? Quæ est necessitas istiusmodi, nisi infirmitas præsens ? Vel necessitas instans, est necessitas urgens & cogens prout necessitas extiterit vel cogeat. Vel instantem necessitatem dicit illius temporis necessitatem & angustiam, quæ tunc extabat & tum cogebat ut talia scriberet, & eis sic indulgeret, causa scilicet vitandæ fornicationis : quæ tunc temporis accidebat, & aliarum multarum fornicationum supradictarum quæ accidere possent. Pro qua fornicatione hæc incepit, & sibi scribentibus rescripsit, & Corinthijs in superioribus hujus Epistolæ vehementèr invectus, in hac verba prorupit ; Quid vultis ? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate & spiritu mansuetudinis? Omninò audituit inter vos fornicatio, & talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita ut uxorem patris sui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo necessitatem vitandæ fornicationis dico bonum esse homini sic esse, ut si continere non possit, nubat, vel uxorem accipiat. Quod expondens subdit ; Alligatus es uxori ? Nolì quærere solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore ? Nolì quærere uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem, non peccasti : & si nupserit virgo non peccavit. Et hic iterum non imperando sed indulgendo & compatiendo se dixisse ostendit ; Ego autem vobis parco, id est, infirmitati vestræ cedo. Hoc incepit in potestate voluntatis uninsciusque posuit utrum velit eligere; nec se dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quocum astringat & teneat, injicere ; consequenter subjungens, porrò, hoc ad utilitatem vestram dico non ut laqueum vobis injiciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, & quod facultatem præbeat Dominum obsecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam superius hortatus fuerat, & qui consortio uxoriæ conjunctionis impediti, vel solicitos esse nolebat. Alijs vero ita dicit ; Si quis autem turpem videri se existimat super virginem suam, quod sit insuradulta, & ita oportet fieri ; quod vult, faciat : non peccat si nubat. Et iterum, utrumque bonum esse, unum tamen melius esse concludendo confirmat. Igitur qui matrimonio cunjungit virginem suam, bene facit, & qui non jungit melius facit. Quod concordatur superiori sententiæ utrique sexui data, in qua ait ; Si acceperis uxorem non peccasti, & si nupserit virgo non peccavit. Si ergo virum accipere uxorem, & virginem nubere, iuxta Apostolum, peccatum non est, & beatitudinem non auferi sed affert ; & quia uterque benè facit, ideò ambo beati : nec qui uxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus ? Aut si Apostolus unicuique propter fornicationem uxorem suam habere indulget & permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem massa sumus, & carnem peccati ex carne Adæ peccatricem traximus, & continere non possumus, propter eandem causam & secundum eandem indulgentiam uxores habere non permittimur, & habitas dimittere angariamur ? Aut itaque uxores nobis habere imisentes Apostolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem massa non esse dicere, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, & permissionem non esse concedam ab Apostolo demonstrate. Quod optimè dicturi estis, quia hæc indulgentia non fuit data ab Apostolo Clericis aut alicui nostri ordinis, sed solis Laicis. Quod ex verbis Apostoli, vel ex circumstantia Epistolæ non potest defendi, cum nulla ibi certa distinctio vel denominatio habeatur personarum vel gradurum sive professionum, nec ipse dicerentì sen nominibus seu officijs, vel qui sibi scripserunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus sperescribebat, nisi tantum generaliter omni Ecclesiæ Corinthiorum, sicut ipse in principio hujus Epistolæ his verbis demonstrat ; Paulus vocatus Apostolus Christi Jesu per voluntatem Dei & Sosthenes Frater Ecclesiæ Dei quæ est Corinthi, sanctificatis in Christo Jesu, vocatis sanctis, cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. (Et post nonnulla alia quæ compendij causa hic rescidimus, haud ita multum ad rem attinentia, subinfert mox ad hunc modum :) Infirmitatem nostram vos considerare, ac misereri rogamus, & ne ei violentiam inferatis suppliciter imploramus. Nam sicut iam satis superius inculcavimus vobis, nullas ad continentiam invitus debet compelli. Neque hoc genus virtutis ulli per Legem Dei necessario imperatum est, sed voluntaria

Ecclesiast. 4. Quisquis sibi merit fatum. Sanct. & contentus. 1. Cor. 7.

Rom 9. Rom. 4. Quisquis sibi merit fatum. Sanct. & contentus. 1. Cor. 7.

Ex consimilitudine casus, quæ natura mala.

Rom 12. Vere legendum ingenii.

Gen. 19.

Rom 6. 1 Cor 7.

1. Cor. 7.

2. Cor. 11. Non dominantes in clerum. 1. Per. 5. Luke 22.

1. Cor. 7.

taria devotione Domino offerendum, dicente ipso de hoc Evangelio; *Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est.* Ad quam tamen benigna mox exhortatione eos qui possunt invitat dicens: *Qui potest capere capiat.* Unde gratia distinctionis non Moses femoralibus vestire Aaron & filios ejus jubetur, ut de prioribus dicitur: vestiet filius Aaron fratrem tuum & filios ejus cum eo: sed facies (inquit) femoralia linea ut operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ. Ipsi (inquit) operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ, tu femoralia Pontifici & filiis ejus facies; tu castitatis regulam docebis; tu absténendum ab uxorio complexu eis qui Sacerdotio functuri sunt, intimabis; nulli tamen violentum hujusmodi continentiæ jugum imponens; sed quicunque Sacerdotes fieri ac ministerio Altaris servire volunt, ipsi sua sponte uxori quasi esse desistant. Quod ubi perfecerint, atque suscepto semel continentiæ proposito, ministros se Sanctuarii atque Altaris fore consenserint, aderit divina gratia, quæ velut cæteris illis habitum Sacerdotibus congruum imponens, quomodo vivere vel docere debeant, abundanter instituit. Qui sensu jubequentibus quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus post pauca subjungit; Cumque laveris pariem cum filiis tuis aqua, indues Aaron vestimentis suis, id est, linea & tunica, & superhumerali, & rationali, quod stringes balteo, & pones tiaram, & oleum unctionis fundes super caput ejus, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quoque illius applicabis & indues tunicis lineis, eingesque Aaron Balteo, scilicet & liberos ejus & imponeo eis Mitras, erunique Sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua. Namque hic de femoralibus à Moſe acceptendis præcipitur. Unde liquido conſtat, quod ſe hoc genere veſtimenti ipſi prius Aaron ac filii ejus induerant, & ſic ad unctum Moſi lavandi, induendi, ungendi, & conſecrandi intrabant. Hic aperté oſtenditur & docetur, nulli continentiæ jugum invito imponendum, ſed à Deo prompta & devotâ voluntate accipiendum. Quod & Dionyſius Areopagita theoſophus, id eſt, Deum ſapiens, Pauli Apoſtoli Diſcipulus, & ab eo Athenienſium Archiepiſc. ordinatus, in Epiſtola quadam ad Pymtum Gnatiorum Epiſcopum miſſa, in qua plurima de nuptiis & caſtitate commemorat, ſicut Eccleſiaſtica refert hiſtoria, monet, & precatur illum ne gravia onera diſcipulorum cervicibus imponat, neve fratribus neceſſitatem compulſæ caſtitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum penetratur infirmitas. Atque Pymtus Dionyſio reſcripſit ſententiam ſe conſilii melioris, quod ipſe dabat, amplecti. Hoc itidem & Paphnutius vir divinisſimus atque caſtiſſimus, cùm in Niceno Concilio (ut in Tripartita hiſtoria invenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere Sacerdotibus vouliſſent, in medium eorum zelo humanæ infirmitatis commotus & conſcius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogavit, quin potius in voluntate uniuſcujuſque ponerent exoravit, ne forte per hoc locum darent & occaſionem adulterio & fornicationi. Hac namque cautela ſancti viri in religione utebantur, ut cum de inſtructione & ædificatione fubditorum aliquid agerent, & eos ad meliorem vitam de divinis Præceptis commoneri facerent, cum patientia & manſuetudine potius obediendæ præciperent, quam cum potentia & auſteritate imperarent, nullumque invitum ſibi obedire compellerent. Quorum vos exempla ſequentes, qui eorum loca tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem ſarcinam quaſi unus imponatis, ne impreccatione dominica cum Phariſæis & legiſperitis ſuſcipiatis, in qua ait: Væ vobis legiſperitis, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non poſſunt portari, & ipſi uno digito veſtro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorum Iſrael aſcendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui præſunt operibus. Neque vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de utero matris ſic nati ſunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violenter ab hominibus facti ſunt, ſed potius eos eunuchos, qui ſeipſos ſua ſponte eunuchizaverunt propterregnum cælorum: neve ſacris Ordinibus & divino Myſterio, propter nos tantum, calumniam faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter noſtram vitam improbam illud hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibetis: ac per hoc vitam improbam infamatis & odorem noſtrum coram Pharaone & ſervis ejus fœtere facitis. Quod vos non rectè, ſi dici liceat (ne moleſtè accipiatis) videtur nobis facere, & contra divinam authoritatem & Canonicam regulam hoc quod facitis, eſſe: cum Dominos per legiſlatorem dicat; Turpitudinem matris tuæ non reveles, & ignominiam ejus ne diſcooperias. Mater noſtra Eccleſia eſt; Filii hujus matris quique fidelium ſunt. Cujus tamen materna appellatio maxima in Sacerdotibus eſt. Nam ipſi genuinæ fideles & verbo prædicationis & Sacramento baptiſmatis. An non mater erat quæ dicebat; Filioli mei quos iterum parturio? Turpitudo ergo & ignominia matris noſtræ reprehenſibilis eſt actio Sacerdotalis vitæ. Quæ turpitudo tunc revelatur, & ignominia diſcooperitur, cum Sacerdotalis vita publicè infamatur. Quod vos nimirum facitis, qui fragilitatem noſtram, quaſi hâctenus latentem & coopertam (quia eam nullus ita cognoverat) hominib. diffamatis, & propter eam divina myſteria vel miniſteria eſpernanda jactis. Quaſi ad ea pertineat pollutio ulla, & ea polluat & commaculet immunditia noſtra, cum Pſalmeſt dicat, Lex Domina immaculata, aut quaſi illa noſtra contagione contaminatur, qui ea ex noſtro ore & ex noſtro officio adipiſcuntur. Quod ſi ut dicitis, eſſet, nequaquam Diſcipulis & turbis de Phariſæis Dominus præciperet; Omnia quæcunque dixerint vobis, ſervate & facite. Et rurſus, ſi ita eſſet, nequaquam Dominus Judam, quem furem eſſe ſciebat & proditorem futurum, cum diſcipulis aliis ad prædicandum mitteret, neque poteſtatem ſigna faciendi & ſanitates donandi, neque ad Communionem Sacroſanctæ cænæ cum admitteret. Et ſi immunditia noſtra divina Myſteria & Miniſteria & eorum capaces & auditores inficeret & deterioraret, nequaquam Dominus leproſum quem mundaverat, tangeret, neque ei oſculum daret, & nequaquam cum Simone olim Leproſo manducaret, & nequaquam à Maria peccatrice pedes ſuos oſculari, & lacrymis lavari, & capillis tergi, & caput ſuum ungi permitteret. Hinc ſacrorum Canonum veneranda auctoritas ſanxit, nullum qui etiam ab hæretico Sacramenta dominica rectè perceperit, ullatenus ipſa hæretica pravitate corrumpi, nec ulla Sacramenti illius contagione commaculari. Unde Romana Eccleſiæ Anaſtaſium Papam, in quadam Epiſtola ad Anaſtaſ. Imperatorem directa, decrevit & ſcripſit, quod nullum de his vel quos baptizavit Acatius, vel quos Sacerdotes, vel Levitas ſecundum Canones ordinavit, ulla eos ex nomine Acatii portio læſionis attingat, quo ſorſan per iniquum tradita Sacramenti gratia minus forma videatur. Nam & baptiſmum (quod procul ſit ab Eccleſia) ſive ab adultero, ſive à ſure datum ſuerit, ad percipientem non minus pervenit illibatum. Quod vox illa quæ ſonuit per columbam: Omnem mulierem vel maculam habentia pollutionis excludit, qua declaravit ac dixit: Hic eſt qui baptizat, &c. Nam ſi viſibilis ſolis iſtius radii cum per loca ſordatiſſima tranſeunt, nulla contactus inquinatione maculantur; multò magis virtus illius qui iſtum viſibilem ſolem fecit, nulla myſterii dignitate conſtringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in Eccleſia miniſter pro officio ſuo videtur operari, hoc totum continetur impleníb divinitatis effectu. Ita ille, per quem Chriſtus loquitur, Paulus affirmat, Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit; ſed Deus incrementum dedit. A Deo non quærvitur quis vel qualis prædicet, ſed ſic prædicet, ut invidos etiam bene de Chriſto prædicare confirmet. Tanta eſt namque divina potentia gratiæ, ut per malos acquirat bonos, & per reprobos & improbos acquirat ſequentes, qui eorum loca tenetis & nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem ſarcinam quaſi unus imponatis, ne impreccatione dominica cum Phariſæis & legiſperitis ſuſcipiatis, in qua ait: Væ vobis legiſperitis, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non poſſunt portari, & ipſi uno digito veſtro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorum Iſrael aſcendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui præſunt operibus. Neque vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de utero matris ſic nati ſunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violenter ab hominibus facti ſunt, ſed potius eos eunuchos, qui ſeipſos ſua ſponte eunuchizaverunt propterregnum cælorum: neve ſacris Ordinibus & divino Myſterio, propter nos tantum, calumniam faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter noſtram vitam improbam illud hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant & percipiant, prohibetis: ac per hoc vitam improbam infamatis & odorem noſtrum coram Pharaone & ſervis ejus fœtere facitis. Quod vos non rectè, ſi dici liceat (ne moleſtè accipiatis) videtur nobis facere, & contra divinam authoritatem & Canonicam regulam hoc quod facitis, eſſe: cum Dominos per legiſlatorem dicat; Turpi-

Matt.19.

Exod.21.

Exod.29.

Luke 11.

Exod.3.

Matth.19.

Exod.5.

Levit.18.

Gal.4.

Pſal.18.

Rom.9.

Matt.23.

1 Cor.3.

Pſal.19.

1 Cor.7.

Sap.8.

The

The same in English.

The Epistle of Volusianus Bp. of Carthage for Priests marriage. * What he meaneth here by Free-will, hereupon ensueth plainly in another place.

FOrasmuch as we are created under the Power of **Freewill*, and not under the Law but under Grace, let us ſo live as we are created. You, which lay upon us the Law of Continency againſt our will, to deprive us of the liberty of Free-will. You command us, and by commanding compel us to will that we would not, and not to will that we would do. You bind us to the Law, from the which by Grace we are made free: and you conſtrain us to receive the Spirit of Bondage again to fear; and go about to make the Grace of God of no effect, without the which we can do nothing; ſo that, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *Grace is no grace, and the gift of God is not the gift of God; and not of God, but of man; not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh*: whereas the Apoſtle ſaith, *It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that ſheweth mercy.*

1. Free-will. 2. The Commandment, or the Law. 3. Grace. Grace, Lady and Queen over the Commandments and Free-will.

And whereas there be three principal and effectual things, whereby every human Soul, indued with reaſon, apprehendeth and perceiveth whatſoever ſpiritual thing it is able to apprehend and perceive, and without the which it can perceive nothing; the which three things be theſe; to wit, *Free-will*, the *Commandment*, and *Grace*, (for by Free-will we diſcern and chooſe the good from the evil: by the Commandment we are provoked and ſtirred up to do all things: By Grace we are furthered and holpen to perform the ſame) yet of all theſe, Grace is the Lady and Miſtreſs, and as a mighty Empreſs and Queen, upon whoſe back the other do wait and give attendance, receiving of her both their ſtrength and efficacy, and without her can do nothing, but remain as things of themſelves dull and dead, much like as amongſt the Philoſophers their *Materia* without *Forma* being thereto adjoyned.

Free-will likened to *Materia*, Grace to *Forma*.

For in the ſtead of *Materia*, we may after a manner not unfitly place Free-will; and in the place of *Forma* we may ſet Grace, and the Commandment (which is the mean between them both, as a certain Inſtrument) to have reſpect to both; whereby the principal Artificer, which is God, furthereth and fetteth forward Free-will as a rude dull matter, applieth to his Grace as the form thereof. And like as the ſaid *Materia* without *Forma* is rude and ſhapeleſs, ſo Free-will is a thing rude and deform, if it be not holpen with Grace coming thereunto, to move it and to further it, the Commandment coming as a mean between them both, in the ſtead of the inſtrumental Cauſe, as is before ſaid. Therefore like as *Forma* is in reſpect of *Materia*, the like reſemblance beareth Freewill in reſpect of Grace. And again, as *Materia* is in reſpect of *Forma*, the ſame alſo is Free-will in reſpect of Grace. And as the Inſtrument ſerveth between the aforeſaid *Materia* and *Forma*, ſo doth the Commandment between Free-will and Grace. The Inſtrument coming and working upon the ſaid *Materia* being of it ſelf ugly, rugged, and a thing without all ſhape and faſhion, doth form it, ſhape, and poliſh it, and maketh it handſom, ſightly, light ſtom, bright and clear; even ſo likewiſe the Commandment coming and working upon Freewill, being of it ſelf a thing rude, groſs, unſhapen and deformed, blind and obſcure, doth clariſie it, deck it, adorn it, beautifie and enlighten it through the brightneſs of Grace coming unto it, according to the ſaying of the Prophet, *The Commandment of the Lord is bright and clear, giving ſight unto the eyes.*

Free-will without the Law, without Grace, can do nothing.

Free-will and the Law, without Grace, have no power.

And as the Matter and the Inſtrument without the Form can do nothing, even ſo Free-will and Commandment without Grace have no power to work. For what can either Free-will or the Commandment do, except they be holpen with Grace, both going before and following? For Grace ſtirreth the Commandment as a Meſſenger and Miniſter to Free-will; the Commandment provoketh Free-will and ſtirreth it up, as out of a ſleep to do good works, and leadeth it as a blind man by the hand, teaching him the way wherein to go. Which both, if they be deſtitute of Grace, are able of themſelves to do nothing. And if they begin, yet they proceed not, neither do they perform or accompliſh any thing; and if they preſume, it proſpereth not, and is but labour loſt. For where the Commandment cometh, either by Man or by Angel, and alſo where Free-will is moved, provoked, and informed either by the motion of Man or Angel, yet unleſs Gods Grace go withal, preventing and following the ſame, what is it able to do? For when Man was put in Paradiſe, what avail-ed him the Commandment which he heard, *Thou ſhalt eat of every Tree of Paradiſe, but only of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil thou ſhalt not eat.* Which Commandment wrought not to his ſalvation, but to his condemnation. And why? becauſe Grace, that ſaveth and helpeth, was wanting, which he preſuming unjuſtly upon his own ſtrength deſpiſed. Or what did the Commandment of the Law, given by *Moſes*, profit the people of *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs, which Law they refuſed to obey? Or what profit wrought it to him which preſumed to follow the Lord of his own free will, and not of the Lords calling, ſaying unto him, *Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goeſt.* By theſe, and many other places of holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Teſtament, it may be proved that neither the Commandment nor Free-will have power to work of themſelves, unleſs they be holpen by Gods Grace preventing and following them.

Gen 2. The Commandment without Grace, availed nothing in Paradiſe.

Seeing therefore the gift of Continency, as all other gifts be, is the gift only of Gods Grace, and cometh not by the Commandment nor by Free-will; they err therefore, and ſtrive in vain, which labour to obtain it by their own power: And much more they alſo do err, which by force conſtrain men againſt their will thereunto, moving them to offer gifts into the Sanctuary of God, not of their own accord, but by conſtion, either not knowing, or elſe not remembring the ſaying of the Lord to *Moſes*, *Separate amongſt you the firſt fruits unto the Lord, and let every man of his own voluntary and willing mind come and offer the ſame unto the Lord.* What is this, to ſeparate with you the firſt fruits to the Lord, but only to weigh and conſider diligently in your hearts, and with diſcretion to lay down and ſeparate unto the Lord, what we ought to preſent unto him out of the treaſure of our heart? for if thou offer rightly, and doeſt not rightly divide, thou ſinneſt. And what is it to offer with a willing and ready mind, but as the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith, *I will offer Sacrifice unto thee willingly and chearfully*: And the Apoſtle ſaith, *Not grudgingly or of neceſſity: For God loveth a chearful giver.* And *Solomon* ſaith, *Give the Lord his glory with a good and free heart, and in every gift thou giveſt, ſhew a joyful countenance, and ſanctifie thy tythes with gladneſs: and with a chearful eye do all that thou takeſt in hand.* And the Apoſtle *James* ſaith, *The Lord loveth not conſtrained ſervice. And curſed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently*; that is, not carefully, and with a willing mind.

Continency only the gift of God

Num. 15.

Pſal. 54.

2 Cor 9.

Eccl. 35.

Jerem. 48.

Wherefore, as the Lord willeth us not to offer any thing to him againſt our wills; ſo doth he forbid us to compel any man to offer any thing againſt their wills by the foreſaid *Moſes*, where he ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not do thy Neighbour wrong, neither oppreſs him with violence.* To do wrong to thy Neighbour, is to correct him for his ſin, not of any compaſſion or mercy towards him, but to reprove him and to judge him, in diſdaining, upbraiding and rebuking him; not to inform him in the ſpirit of lenity, but to deſtroy him *in the ſpirit of bitterneſs* and rigor, as the Apoſtle ſaith, *If a man be taken in any fault, you that* Gal.6. *are ſpiritual inform ſuch in the ſpirit of lenity, conſidering thy ſelf leſt thou alſo be tempted.*

Levit.

To oppreſs our Neighbour with violence, is to exact any thing of him above his power, and to lay upon him more than he is able to bear, and more peradventure than they themſelves are able to weild, which lay it upon him. Whereas the Lord, ſpeaking of the Phariſees to his Diſciples, forbiddeth them the ſame, ſaying, *The Scribes and Phariſees do ſit upon the Chair of Moſes, &c.* And the Apoſtle *Peter, Feed*, ſaith he, *as much as in you lyeth, the* 1 Pet 5. *Lords flock*; providing for them, not by conſtraint, but willingly after a godly ſort, and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, not as though ye were Lords over the Clergy, but be you as an example to the flock of good will.

This Shepherd of Shepherds, and Prince of the Apoſtles, doth plainly and evidently declare and infinuate what all other Paſtors and Apoſtles ought to do: how to intreat the flock of the Lord committed unto them, and what great care & compaſſion of mind they ought to have

Lordſhip over the Clergy forbidden.

towards their cure : and removeth far out of their hearts all power of tyrannical Lordship and all Ambition, which some do exercise with greediness upon those that are committed to their charge, and pronounceth, that they ought not to be Lords, but Fathers over their Flock: and not imperiously to command them, as exercising stately Authority and Power upon them, but gently to admonish them and beseech them in the zeal of Piety, according to the strength of every person, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their own will, or ambitiously setting forth their own Power and Jurisdiction, and that they ought to be an example to the Flock, doing first themselves that thing which they command others, and so to teach them no less by examples than by words. Willingly, saith he, and not by constraint; of Charity, and not for greedy gain. For there be many, which being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of covetous greediness and ambition, command others that which they are not able to accomplish, and while they pretend to seek the gain of Souls, they hunt and seek rather for worldly Lucre: which *Balaam* the Prophet did well express; who converted the gift of Prophecy, and the grace of Blessing which he had received of God, not to the profit of others, but to his own commodity.

Num 22.

And some there be, which whiles they correct others, they pretend to do it with the zeal of God, and whiles they would seem to be better than other; this they do with a certain presumption and rashness, and so fall in their own presumption and temerity. Of whom the Apostle speaketh, *Which have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.* To have a zeal of God according to knowledge, is to do any thing in Gods matters prudently and circumspectly. Of whom *Oza* beareth a type and resemblance. Who whiles that he went about with his hand to stay the Ark of the Lord, staggering a little by reason of the kicking of the Oxen which carried it, fell down therefore dead. The Ark of the Lord to stagger or miscarry by the kicking of the Oxen, signifieth the Law of the Lord (which the Priests themselves ought to bear and hold up) to be contrained of them in not observing the same, and to be turned out of the right course to the contrary part, which *Oza*, who is interpreted to be a helper of God, attempteth to hold up. For there be certain Prelats, which while they see the Order of Priesthood, by some enormity or excess, to strain the Law of God never so little out of the right course, and labour to redress and rectifie that misorder, rather by vain ostentation of their own strength, then for any pure zeal to God: while they thus presume inordinately to do, thinking to seem to be the helpers of God, many times do mortally fall, and incur thereby great danger and peril. Some other also there be, which having before their eyes no consideration of mans infirmity, neither being touched with any respect of mercy and compassion, nor knowing how to say with the Apostle, *Who is infirm and I am not infirm?* these, whiles they compare themselves to such as be under their charge, not in condition wherein they are equal, but in authority wherein they are superiours, and covet to be their Masters, and more to rule over them than to profit them, they oppress the weakness of them, by force and violence of Authority, and compel them to their Obedience; which is rightly figured by the Fact, which is read in the Gospel of *Symon Cyreneus*, whom the Persecutors of the Lord *constrained to take up the Cross of Christ.* Whose Name also doth fitly agree with the same Figure: for *Symon* by Interpretation is called *Obedient. Symon* then, that is to say, the obedient man is forced to bear the Cross of the Lord, when as Subjects being constrained of their Masters, by the rigor either of Lordship or Authority, or fear of their Curse, and so compelled to obey them, are driven to sustain the Cross of Continency against their wills; who neither do love the Cross which they bear, because they bear it rather to their destruction than to their health; neither by bearing the Cross do dye unto sin, but by the bearing thereof are rather quickned unto sin: For thereof rise divers other more grievous sins. For by the inhibiting of lawful and natural marriage with one woman, riseth the unnatural and most execrable Sodomitical Fornication; riseth also the unlawful and damnable dehling of other mens wives, riseth furthermore cursed and whorish filthiness and pollution; and moreover riseth most abominable Incest against all Nature, with their own Kindred, with a heap of manifold other filthy abominations and lecherous pollutions, whereby the frail infirmity of man is brought no doubt into great peril.

Rom 1. Zeal without knowledge, what it is.

2 Kings 6.

Oza punished for holding up the Ark.

Luke 23.

What inconvenience riseth of constrained Matrimony.

Wherefore *Lot* being delivered from the burning of *Sodom* through the guiding of the Lords Angel, and bereaved of the fellowship of his Wife, whiles he considering his own Infirmity, durst not accord unto the Mountain as the Angel bad him, did choose rather to dwell in *Segor* a little City near by, the Angel thus bidding him, and speaking unto him, *Save thy Soul and look not behind thee, but save thy self in the Mountain, lest thou also perish.* To whom *Lot* answered, *I pray thee Lord, because thy Servant hath found such grace in thy sight that thou wilt save me, I cannot be saved in the Mountain, lest perhaps some evil take me, and I dye: There is a little City hereby whereunto I may fly and be saved in it.*

Gen. 19:

What meaneth this, that *Lot* flying from *Sodom* by the commandment of the Angel, to be saved in the Mountain, would not accord up to the Hill, fearing there to perish, but did choose rather to dwell in *Segor*, a small City near unto the Hill, there to be saved, but that every faithful man covering to eschew the burning and danger of Sodomitical Lust, while neither he is able to mount up to the top of Virginity, and also is afraid to accend to the Mountain of the state of Widowhood, lest he perish therein, flyeth therefore to the state of Matrimony, which is a small Continency in respect of the other two, and also near unto them both. For after those two kinds of Continency, this Chastity is also proved to be laudable, and is not deprived of the reward of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Lot refusing to go up to the Mountain, what it meaneth.

The Chastity of marriage, is near to Heaven at Virginity.

Unto this Chastity he is commanded to fly, which cannot otherwise contain, and to be saved in it, lest peradventure if he climb up to the Mount, he fall into inconveniency and perish therein: that is, lest if he shall attempt to obtain by his own strength the Continency which is not given unto him of God, the evil of Incontinency, or Fornication, or of some of the other evils afore rehearsed, do fall upon him, and so he perish in them mortally. For there be many, who while they consider not their own Infirmity, and while they strive to atchieve greater things than they are able to reach, in this their climbing, do fall headlong into worse inconveniency, and while they foolishly seek for great things, do lose the less, which before they seemed to have. Which we may well understand by the example of *Lot* aforesaid, who what time he left the small City *Segor*, which he chose before to inhabit, in the which he sought to be saved, went up to the Mountain, and there abiding, fell into the stoln Incest of his own Daughters, as the Scripture witnesseth, saying, Lot *went up from* Segor *and remained in the Mountain, and his Daughters gave to their Father wine to drink that night. And the elder of them went and lay with her Father*: which thing had not befaln him, if he had kept himself still in *Segor*, where he might have been saved at the bidding of the Angel, as he himself required. But because he forsook that which was granted to him of the Angel, and presumed to that upon his own will, contrary to the Precept of the Angel, which was not granted; therefore he fell into great danger of his Soul, and committed the grievous sin of Incest.

Every man ought to be contented with his own gift.

No otherwise doth it happen to many other, who while either they forsake the thing which is granted them of God, or ambitiously climb after that which is to them not granted, both they loose that which they had granted unto them, and fall into that which to them was not granted. For divers there be which while they forsake, either willingly or against their will, the married life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be saved, and strive with a presumptuous desire to lead a single life, both they lose that health and safety which they might have had in one, and incur great danger in the other: So that whereby they suppose most to gain, by the same they lose and fall into the Pit of greater Ruin. Which thing S. *Paul*, the Doctor of the Gentiles, well considering, and tenderly providing for the infirmity of the weak *Corinthians*, writing to him for counsel touching this matter, did write to them again in this wise, saying, As concerning the things whereof you wrote unto me, it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless

1 Cor. 7.

theless to avoid Whoredom, let every man have his Wife, and let every woman have her Husband. Let the Husband give unto his Wife due Benevolence: likewise also the Wife unto her Husband. And a little after, withdraw not (saith he) your selves one from another, except it be with consent for a time, that you may give your selves unto Fasting and Prayer, and afterward come together again, lest Satan tempt you for your Incontinency. For as the Poet saith, *We cannot all do all things*: and as the Apostle saith, *It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy.* Also in another place, *For to every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ.* And that every one of us ought to keep, and not to transgress this measure, he teacheth anon after, saying, *I wish that all men were as I my self am; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that.*

Rom 9.

Eph. 4.

1 Cor. 7.

And that we are to be kept within our compass and measure, and ought therewith to be content, he teacheth moreover as followeth, *Let every man abide in that Vocation wherein he is called.* And shortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the same again, and saith, *Let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord.* And because he perceived that the infirmity of man was not able to sustain the burning motions and heats of Nature stirring in a man, but only by the grace of God, neither be able to conquer the Flesh fighting against the Spirit, according to that which he saith of himself in another place, *For I see another Law in my Members rebelling against the Law of my Mind*; he therefore of Mercy and Compassion, as condescending unto their weakness, and not by rigor of Law and force of Commandment, thus said. As also in another place in his Epistles he speaketh in like words, saying, *I speak thus grossly after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh.* And in this foresaid Epistle, moreover a little before, using the same manner of speech, he saith, *This I say to you as of favour and not of commandment.* And adding moreover, he sheweth, *As touching Virgins I have no commandment of the Lord, but only do give counsel, as one that have found mercy with God, that I should be faithful.* That is, after the same mercy wherewith the Lord hath informed and instructed me when he called me to the Faith, and made me faithful to him; so I likewise do give counsel to others, and shew the same mercy to them.

Rom 6.

1 Cor. 7.

And forsomuch as both are good, to wit, to have a Wife, or not to have; to have a Husband, or not to have; neither is there any sin in having Wife or Husband; shortly after he inferreth, saying, *I suppose therefore this to be good for the present necessity: I mean, that it is good for a man so to be.* What meaneth this, *for present necessity?* What is this necessity present, but present infirmity? or else instant necessity, compelling to do as the order of necessity requireth. Or else he meaneth by this present necessity, the distress of that time which then was instant, and compelled him to write, and so to bear with them, which was for the avoiding of Fornication amongst them, and many other kinds of filthiness above touched which might have happened. For the which Fornication he took occasion to write unto the *Corinthians*, and to answer to their Letters; and therefore he vehemently against the said *Corinthians*, in the former part of the said Epistle, uttereth these words; *What, will you I shall come to you with a rod? or in love and in the spirit of meekness? There is heard among you to be Fornication, and such Fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should have his own Fathers Wife,* &c. And therefore for this necessity of avoiding such Fornication, he saith, *It is good for a man so to be, that he which cannot contain shall marry and take a Wife;* which afterward he expoundeth, thus inferring, *Art thou bound to a Wife? seek not to be loosed. And if thou be loosed from a Wife, seek not a Wife. But if thou takest a Wife thou sinnest not; and if a Virgin marry she sinneth not,* &c. And that he spake not this by way of commanding, but of sufferance and compassion, he sheweth plainly in these words following; *But I spare you*; that is to say, *I bear with your Infirmity*; and therefore he leaveth it in the free power and will of every man, to choose what he liketh best. Neither doth he enforce any man (he saith) violently, nor charge them with any strait commandment, and therefore addeth these words following, *And this I speak for your own commodity, not to tangle you as in a snare, but for that it is good and honest for you, that you may serve the Lord without separation.*

For present necessity to marry what it meaneth.

1 Cor. 4.

1 Cor. 7.

This he saith to them whom before he exhorteth to Continency; and whom he would not to be let or troubled by Matrimonial Conjunction. But to other he saith thus, *If any man think that it is uncomly for his Virgin to remain ever-long unmarried, and if need so require, let him do what he thinketh good, he sinneth not, let them marry.* And again, *both be good*, he saith; but yet the one to be better he concludeth, saying, *Therefore he that joyneth in Matrimony his Virgin, doth well; but he that doeth not, doth better.* Which agreeth well with the Text above, speaking of both kinds, as well the man as the woman, where he saith, *If thou take a Wife thou sinnest not; and if the Virgin take a Husband, she sinneth not.*

If therefore it be no sin for the man to take a Wife, nor for the Virgin to take a Husband, after the Apostles mind, neither doth diminish their felicity, but rather increase it; and forsomuch as both do well, and so both be blessed; we then which take Wives for our infirmity, what do we sin in having them? Or if the Apostle do sufferance and permit to every man, for the avoiding of Fornication, to have his Wife; we then which come of the same lump or mass, and taking our sinful flesh of the sinful flesh of *Adam*, are not able otherwise to contain, why are we not permitted for the same cause, and by the same permission, to have likewise our Wives, but are inforced to forsake them, being married?

Marriage is permitted to the infirmity of all men.

Priests are infirm as others: ther men be, *Ergo*, Marriage ought to be permitted to Priests

Wherefore either do you permit us, following the Apostle, to have our Wives, or else teach us that we come not of the same mass, either else shew us that the same sufferance and permission is not granted to us by the Apostle, which is granted to other. Which cause peradventure you will thus pretend; That this sufferance was granted of the Apostle, not to the Clergy, or to any of our Order, but only to Lay-men. Which cannot well be defended, neither by the words of the Apostle, nor by any circumstance of his Epistle, forsomuch as there is no certain also, distinction or denomination either of Persons or Degrees or Professions there mentioned, neither doth he make any difference either in Names or Offices of men, either of them which wrote unto him, either of those Persons of whom he wrote, or else of those to whom he answered, but only in general to the whole Church of the *Corinthians*, as he himself in the beginning of his Epistle purporteth in these words, Paul *called the Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, and* Sosthenes *his brother, to the Church which is at* Corinth, *such as be sanctified in Christ Jesus, called Saints, with all that invocate the Name of the Lord*, &c. (*And after a few other words, which here for brevities sake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpose pertinent; thus he inferreth.*) These Premisses being well considered, we beseech you to have regard and compassion of our infirmity, most humbly desiring you not to oppress us with this violence. For as we have sufficiently before proved, no man ought to be constrained unto Continency against his will, neither is this kind of vertue commanded of God to any man of necessity, but only of voluntary Devotion to be offered to the Lord; as he himself speaketh in the Gospel, *All men cannot receive this saying, but to whom it is given.* Whereunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, saying, *He that is able to receive this, let him receive it,* &c. Wherefore for distinctions sake *Moses* is not himself commanded to clothe *Aaron* and his Sons with Breeches, as in these words going before, *Thou shalt clothe with these* Aaron *thy brother, and his sons,* &c. But he thus saith, *Thou shalt make linen breeches that they themselves may cover the filth of their flesh.* That they themselves, saith he, may cover the filth of their flesh. Thou, saith he, shalt make the breeches for the Bishop and his sons: thou shalt teach the rule of Chastity; thou shalt exhort them to abstain from the company of their Wives, and shalt do the Priests Office; yet laying upon none violently the said yoke of Continency, but whosoever shall be Priests, and shall serve the Altar, shall of their own accord furcease from the use of Matrimony: which when they shall do, and of their own

1 Cor. 7.

Forced Continency is no Vertue. Matth. 19.

voluntary consent shall take upon them the purpose of Continency to serve the Altar, then shall the grace of God be present, which as it did apparel those other Priests aforesaid with attire for them convenient, so shall it instruct these abundantly, how they ought to live and to teach. And this sense well agreeth with the Text that followeth, saying, *And when thou shalt wash the Father and the Sons with water, thou shalt take the Garments, that is, the strait Coat, the Tunicle, and the Breastplate, and put them upon Aaron, and gird them to him with a brodered girdle of the Ephod. Then thou shalt put the Myter upon his head, and shalt put the holy Crown upon the Myter, and thus shall he be consecrated. Also thou shalt bring his Sons, and put Coats upon them, and shalt gird them with girdles, both Aaron and his Sons, and shalt put Bonets on them, and the Priests Office shall be theirs for a perpetual Law.*

Exod. 29.

The place of *Moses* Exodus 29. applied.

Thus then you see a Commandment of receiving of the Linen Breeches of *Moses*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that *Aaron* and his Sons first did apparel themselves with this kind of Apparel, and so entred in to be washed, inducted, anointed and consecrated by the hands of *Moses*.

By the which we are plainly taught, that the yoke of Continency is not to be enforced upon any man against his will, but is to be received of God with a prompt and devout will. Which thing also *Dionysius Areopagita*, that godly wise man, the Disciple of S. *Paul*, and ordained of him Bishop of *Athens*, in a certain Epistle of his sent to *Pymtus* Bishop of the *Gnosians*, in which he toucheth many things of Marriage and Chastity (as is in the Ecclesiastical History rehearsed) doth admonish the said *Pymtus*, and prayeth him that he will lay no grievous Burthens upon the necks of the Disciples, neither infer any necessity of compelled Chastity upon the Bretkren, whereby the infirmity of some of them might be in danger. And *Pymtus* answering to *Dionysius* again, sheweth himself willing to embrace the Sentence of his wholesome Counsel. The same also did *Paphnutius*, the divine and chast Bishop, who in the Council of *Nice* (as the Tripartite History doth shew us) when the Fathers which there were present went about to restrain Priests from Marriage, he rising up among them, and moved with the zeal of mans infirmity, desired them that the would not so do, but rather to leave it unto the voluntary discretion of every man, lest in so doing they might peradventure give occasion of Adultery and Fornication. For those holy men did then use this Cautel and Moderation in Religion, that when they treated any thing concerning Instruction and Edification of the People, and would have them stirred up to a better life by godly Instructions, they would rather perswade things to be observed with Patience and Lenity, than command with Rigor and Authority: neither would they compel any man to their Obedience against his will.

Ex Hister. Tripartita.

The spirit of lenity required in Bishops.

Whose Examples you also following, which succeed in their room and name, do you not lay upon us infirm persons such importable Burthens, lest you be partakers with the Pharisees and Lawyers of the Lords Curse: who saith, *Wo to you Lawyers, which lay burthens upon men, which they cannot bear, and you your selves touch not the burthens with one finger.* And lest the cry of the Children of *Israel* ascend up to the Lord for the cruel dealing of them which are Overseers of the works. Neither do you make such Eunuchs which are so born from their Mothers womb, or such Eunuchs which are violently made by men, but rather those Eunuchs, that of their own accord have gelded themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven. Neither do you bring upon the holy Order of Gods Ministers, for us only, such an offence and slander, that for our wicked life you make the Ministry to be despised of others, while you will not suffer them either to hear us, or to receive the Sacraments of us, infaming thereby our lewd life, and causing the favor of us to stink before *Pharaoh* and his Servants. Wherein it seemeth to us that you deal not soundly and uprightly; if a man may so say (I pray you take it in good worth that I speak) and also to be against the Authority of Gods Word, and the Canonical Constitutions, which you do, whereas the Lord saith by *Moses* the Law-giver, *The shame of thy Mother thou shelt not disclose, and her ignominy thou shalt not discover.* Our Mother is the Church, the Sons of this Mother be all the Faithful, which name yet most fitly is appropriate to Priests, for they do beget the Faithful, both by the Word of Preaching and Sacrament of Baptism. Was not he to be counted a right Mother who said, *My little Children of whom I travail in birth again?* The shame (which is to be reproveable Conversation of the life of Priests) which shame and ignominy of our Mother, what is it but the reproveable Conversation of the life of Priests? which shame and ignominy is then revealed when the life of Priests is publickly infamed: which thing you do, that discover and notifie to men our fragility, lying before as hid and covered, because before it was not known, and for that fame you bring the holy Ministry and Mysteries of God into contempt and hatred: as though the polluted life of others did any thing pertain thereto to pollute the same, and as though our uncleanness did any thing blemish them, or diminish the pureness thereof, whereas the Psalmist saith, *The Law of the Lord is pure and immaculate*; or as though they were any whit polluted by our infection, which do receive the said Mysteries either by our Mouth or Ministery: which if you grant, then the Lord would never have spoken so to his Disciples, and the People, touching the Pharisees, saying, *Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.*

Exod. 20.

Levit. 18.

Gal. 4.

Matth 23.

And again, if it were so, the Lord would not have sent forth *Judas*, whom he knew should betray him, with the other Disciples to preach, neither would have committed to him the power of working Miracles, and of giving Health, nor have admitted him to the Communion of the Supper. And if our impurity should infect our holy Mysteries or Ministrations, and make them worse that hear and receive the same, then the Lord would never have touched the Leper whom he had healed, neither would he have kissed him, neither would have eaten with *Simon* another Leper, neither would have suffered his feet to be kissed, and with the tears to be wathed, and with the hair to be dried, and his head to be anointed of *Mary* the sinner.

The wickedness of the Ministers makes not the Ministery worse.

Therefore the holy Canons have thus decreed, That no man, which rightly receiveth the Lords Sacraments of an Heretick, should be therefore any thing corrupted by his heretical pravity, nor the said Sacraments should be any whit disdained by the infection of him. Whereupon the Church of *Rome*, in a certain Epistle directed unto *Anastasius* the Emperor, to *Anastasius* the Pope, did so ordain and write, That none of all them whom *Acatius* did baptize, or whom he ordained Canonically to be Priests or Levites, should be any thing hurt by the name of the said *Acatius*; so that thereby the Sacraments which by him were ministred, should seem the less firm and effectual. For the Sacrament of Baptism also being ministred of an Adulterer or a Thief (which God forefend to be in the Church) doth come unto the Receiver never a whit the worse. What meant that voice which sounded by the Dove, but that it excluded all evil and impurity of the corruption of man? in the which it is declared and said, *This is he which baptizeth, &c.* For if the beams of this visible Sun, passing by the filthy places, receive no spot or filthiness thereby, much more the grace of him which made this visible Sun, is not tyed to any worthiness of our works. Whatsoever therefore any Minister of the Church worketh in his Function to the behoof of the People, all that taketh his effect by the operation of God. Thus witnesseth *Paul*, by whom Christ speaketh, *I have planted, and Apollo hath watred, but it is the Lord that hath given the increase.* God regardeth not so much who or what manner of person doth preach, but that he so preach that he may confirm them that be naught, and cause them to preach well of Christ. For such is the operation of Gods mighty Grace, that by evil men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked persons, he getteth and gathereth together those that be good.

Matth 9.

1 Cor. 3.

By these, and such other Reasons and Authorities above alledged, you ought to be perswaded, neither to abandon us that be married from the administration of Divine Service, nor yet to Excommunicate such, to whom the matter nothing pertaineth, from the Communion thereof. And if we be evil, we are evil to our selves, and hurt our selves more than others. And such as you suppose peradventure to be vicious, yet may have some good thing inwardly which you know not of:

For

For many there be whom you judge to be inconti-nent, which live more chastly than they whom you so greatly extoll for their continency. We that have Wives, according to the Apostles mind, *so have them as though we had them not.* Which gift of Continency, forsomuch as you cannot give us, pray therefore with us and for us, that he will give it unto us, who only is the giver thereof, and without whom no man is able to live continently. For otherwise we cannot have it, unless we pray unto him from the bottom of our hearts, who is known to be the Author and Giver thereof. And this same (saith *Solomon*) *is wisdom, to know whose gift it is*, neither is there any gift above this.

1 Cor. 7.

Sap. 8.

These two Epistles, written to Pope *Nicolas* under the Title of *Volusianus*, give us to understand by the Contents thereof, first, *That he himself was then a married Bishop.*

Secondly, *That the liberty of Priests Marriage ought not to be refrained by any general Law of compulsion, but to be left to every mans free choice and voluntary Devotion.*

Thirdly, *The said Epistles being written to Pope* Nicolas (if the title be true) *declare, that the Law, prohibiting the lawful Matrimony of Church-men, began first in this Popes time generally to be enacted.*

And although it be not here expressed which Pope *Nicolas* this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the words of Pope *Alexander*, 1. *Distinct.* 32. *Presbyter*, it may probably be effeemed to be *Nicolas* the second, and not *Nicolas* the first, as some do suppose: amongst whom is *Illyricus in Centur.* 9. *cap.* 10. and also *John Bale*, *de Scriptoribus, Cent.* 2. with certain other. From whose Judgments, although I am loth to dissent, yet notwithstanding modestly and freely to utter herein my opinion, was this I suppose, that if the truth of this matter were throughly tried, it might peradventure be found that they be herein deceived, and all by mistaking a certain place of *Gratian*: For the better explanation whereof here it is to be understood, that amongst the Distinctions of *Gratian* there is a Constitution, *Distinct.* 3. *Nullus*, the tenour whereof is this, *Nullus Missam audiat Presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut subintroductam mulierem, &c.* That is, *That no man shall hear Mass of any Priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a Concubine, or a Woman privily resorting to him, &c.*

Dist. 32. prae. Illyric. Cent. 9. cap. 10. Joan. Baleus de Scriptoribus, Cent. 2. Anche dissented whether this Nicolas was the first or second, to whom Volusianus wrote. Dist. 21. Nullus.

This Decree, forsomuch as *Gratian* doth alledge under the name and title of Pope *Nicolas*, not naming what *Nicolas* he was, therefore *John Bale* and *Illyricus*, one following the other, and they both following *Volaterane*, *Lib.* 22. do vouch this Constitution upon *Nicolas* the first. The words of *Volaterane* be these, writing of *Nicolas* the first, *Multa hic statuit, inter quæ, Nequis Concubinam habenti Presbytero aut Sacrificanti interdicet, ut testatur Gratianus, &c.*

In like effect follow also the words of *Illyricus* aforesaid, *Decretum fecit, ne quis à Sacerdote Sacramentum suscipiat, quem scivet habere Concubinam, seu Uxorem*; and alledgeth (as *Volaterane* doth) the said Distinction of *Gratian*, *Distinct.* 32. *Nullus*. In alledging whereof both they seem to be deceived, in mistaking belike one *Nicolas* for another, as may be proved and made good by three or four Reasons.

Volaterani. 22. fol. penult.

The first reason to prove this *Nicolas*, to whom Volusianus wrote, to be *Nicolas* the second.

First, By the words of Pope *Alexander* the second in the next Chapter following, who being the Successor of *Leo* and *Nicolas* the second, useth the same words in his Synod of *Mantua* (which *Gratian* referreth unto *Nicolas*, but) and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully, alledging moreover the former Constitution of both his Predecessors, Pope *Leo* and *Nicolas*, which by all stories are known to be *Leo* the Ninth, and *Nicolas* the Second, which both were next before him. The words of *Alexander* the Second, be these; *Præter hoc autem præcipiendo mandamus, ut nullus Missam audiat Presbyteri quem scit Concubinam habere indubitanter, vel subintroductam mulierem, unde etiam sancta Synodus hoc capitulum sub excommunicatione statuit, dicens; Quicunque Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sancti Leonis Papæ, & Nico-*

The Constitution of Pope *Alexander* the Second, against Priests marriage.

lai, de castitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam duxerit; vel duclam non reliquerit, &c. By the which words speaking of *Nicolas* his Predecessor, it is evident to understand this to be Pope *Nicolas* the Second; which was his next Predecessor, and not Pope *Nicolas* the first, who was about 200 years before him.

The second Reason I take out of the next Chapter of *Gratian* going before, where he alledgeth again the same *Nicolas* writing to Otho Archbishop. Which Otho was then in the time of this *Nicolas* the Second Archbishop of *Colen*, and was afterward in the Council of *Mantua*, under Pope *Alexander* the Second, *testes Joan. Quintio, jurisconsulto*, Whereby it must needs be granted, that this was *Nicolas* the Second, and not the First.

The second Reason.

Ex Joan. Quintio in Speculo Sacerdotii.

The third Conjecture or Reason is this, for that Pope *Nicolas* the First never made any such Act or Decree, that Priests that were intangled with a Concubine, should neither sing Mass, nor that any should resort to hear the Mass of such, &c. but rather the contrary. For so we read in the History of *Antonius*, and in the Decrees, 15. q. 8. *Scisciatis vobis, Scisciatis vobis si à Sacerdote qui fuerit comprehensus in adulterio, sive de hoc sola fama resperserit, debatis communionem jusciperc, nec ne, respondemus; Non potest aliquis, quantumcunque pollutus sit, Sacramenta divina polluere, quæ purgatoria cunctarum contagionum existunt, &c.*

The third Reason.

Antonius part. 2. tit. 16

And yet more plainly also afterward he saith, *Consulendum decernitis utrum Presbyterum habentem uxorem debeatis sustentare & honorare, an à vobis proiicere? in quo respondemus, quoniam licet ipse valde sint reprehensibiles, vos tamen convenit Deum imitari, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos & malos; rejicere enim à vobis eos non debetis. Distinct.* 18. *consulendum, &c.* That is, *Where ye demand concerning the Priest that hath a Wife, whether ye ought to sustain him, and honour him, or reject him from you; we answer, That albeit they be very much blame-worthy, yet we ought to be followers of God which maketh his Sun to rise both upon the good, and upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject such away from you, &c.*

Dist. 18. Consulendum. Ex Antonino Ibidem.

And this *Nicolas*, *Antonius* confesseth plainly to be *Nicolas* the First. Whereby it is not only not unlike, but also most certain, that *Nicolas* the First was not the Author of this Constitution, either to exterminate married Priests from their Churches, or to Excommunicate the People from receiving their Communion, much less then from hearing their Service.

Fourthly, For as much then as it is undoubted that *Nicolas* the Second, and *Alexander* the Second, through the instigation of wicked *Hildebrand*, were the Authors of that Constitution, whereof *Gratian* speaketh, it remaineth plain by the words of *Volusianus*, in the later end of his Letter (wherein he maketh mention both of discharging the Priest from singing Mass, and the People from hearing) that the said Epistle was written, not to Pope *Nicolas* the First, but to the Second, because both these were decreed against married Priests under *Nicolas* the Second, and *Alexander* the Second, as is afore declared.

The fourth Reason out of the words of *Volusianus*.

And further, lest my Judgment herein should seem to stand alone and singular, without some to take my part, I will here produce for me a Parisian Doctor, and a famous Lawyer, *Jannes Quintius* above mentioned, who in his Book *De Clericorum moribus*, plainly accordeth with mine Opinion touching this *Nicolas* Author of the Decree aforesaid, where he writeth in these words; *Nicolaus Papa Othoni Colonienſi Archiepiſc. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine Pontifices, primum ſecundumve oportuit eſſe, qui hæc reſcripſerit, ille Romanus An.* 860. *hic Burgundus, An.* 1059. *Reliquos Nicolaos anteceſſit Gratianus, qui ſcripſit hæc. Anno* 1250. *Poſteriorem fuiſſe credo, qui in Panormia lib.* 3. *Tit. de Lapſis, nominatur Nicolaus junior, cujus eſt & aliud Decretum ſequens, &c.* That is to say in English, Pope Nicolas of Otho *Archbiſhop* of Colen. Gloſſ. *There have been in all five Popes called by the name of* Nicolas. *Of the which five, this* Nicolas *the writer hereof muſt be either the firſt or ſecond: the one a Roman, Anno* 860. *the other a Burgundian*, Anno 1059. or 1060. *The other* Nicolas *lived after* Gratian, *who wrote in the year* 1150. *In my Judgment I ſuppoſe this*

Ex teſtimonio Joan. Quintii de Clericorum moribus.

The Author of this Book of Panormia was but Carnotensis, in which Book he compiled divers Decretons of Popes and Bishops.

to be Nicolas *the Second, which in the third Book of the Laws, called* Panomiæ, tit. De Lapſis, *is named* Nicolas *the younger: Which* Nicolas *alſo is Author of the next Decree that followeth*, &c.

Objection anſwered.

Wherefore if any man ſhall object hereafter, That becauſe *Gratian* in the Diſtinction aforeſaid nameth Pope *Nicolas* abſolutely without any additions, it is therefore to be taken for *Nicolas* the firſt; unto this Objection I ſet here theſe two Lawyers to anſwer. Unto whoſe anſwer this I add alſo, That the common manner of *Gratian* lightly in all his Diſtinctions, is, that when he ſpeaketh of Popes, as of *Innocentius*, *Gregorius*, *Leo*, *Lucius*, and ſuch other, very ſeldom he expreſſeth the difference of their names: So in the Diſtinction 18. *Presbyteris*, where he bringeth in the Decree of *Calixtus* in like manner againſt the Matrimony of Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons, he addeth thereto no diſrepance of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was *Calixtus* the Second, and not the Firſt, &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The Letters (no doubt) by their title appear to be written by *Voluſianus*. Moſt certain this is, by whomſoever they were written, fruitful Epiſtles they are, and effectual to the purpoſe.

But leſt we ſhould ſeem too much to digreſs from our purpoſe, let us return to the ſtory and time of *Nicolas* the Second again, which was about the year, as is ſaid, 1060, a little before *Hildebrand* was Pope. Which *Hildebrand*, albeit he was then but a Cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him liſted in the Church of *Rome*, and alſo made Popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this *Nicolas*, and alſo Pope *Alexander* which followed him. So that this diſſolution of Prieſts marriage began ſomewhat to kindle under this Pope *Nicolas*, through the Peſtilent means of *Hildebrand*, and after him encreaſed more under Pope *Alexander*, as appeareth by the Synod holden at *Millain*, *Anno* 1067. But moſt of all it burſt out under the ſaid *Hildebrand* himſelf, being Pope, the year as is ſaid 1076.

Read afore.

The times examined of this *Voluſianus*'s Epiſtle to Pope *Nicolas*.

Although as touching this Prohibition of Prieſts to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary Faction, in ſearching out the reach and antiquity of this Tradition, for Prieſts to abſtain from Wives, do refer the ſame to the time of the ſecond Councel of *Carthage*, which was about the time of Pope *Syritius*, a great enemy to Miniſters Wives, as appeareth *Diſtinct.* 84. *cum Præterito*. Yet notwithſtanding to the ſame may be anſwered, That this was no univerſal or general Councel, but ſome particular Synod, and therefore of no ſuch great forcible Authority.

Concil. Carthag. 2. c. 3.

Diſt. 84. cap. Cum præceptio.

2. Secondly, The ſame Synod being about the time of Pope *Syritius*, who was a capital Enemy againſt Prieſts marriage, may ſeem to draw ſome corruption of the time then preſent.

3. Thirdly, Neither is it unpoſſible, but as divers baſtard Epiſtles have been falſly fathered upon certain ancient Biſhops of the Primitive Church, and divers Canons alſo, as of the Councel of *Nice*, have been corrupted by Biſhops of *Rome*, ſo ſome falſhood likewiſe or forgery might be uſed in this ſecond Councel of *Carthage*.

4. Fourthly, Although no falſe Conveyance had been uſed therein, yet forſomuch as the ſaid Canon of the ſecond Councel of *Carthage* doth miſ-report and falſifie the Canons of the Apoſtles, in ſo doing it doth juſtly diminiſh his own credit.

Prieſts and Biſhops married long after the Record Councel of *Carthage*.

5. Fifthly, Seeing the foreſaid Canon of this ſecond Councel of *Carthage* tendeth clean contrary to the Canons of the Apoſtles, to the Councel of *Gangra*, and other Councels more, and commandeth that which they do accurſe, the Authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

6. Finally, though this Conſtitution of the Councel of *Carthage* were perfectly ſound without all corruption, yet plain and evident it is by this *Voluſianus*, Biſhop alſo of *Carthage*, that the ſame Conſtitution took no great hold in the Church, forſomuch as we ſee, that both this *Voluſianus* was married after that in *Carthage* himſelf, and alſo beſides him, many hundred years after, marriage was a common matter through moſt Churches of Chriſtendom, amongſt Biſhops and Prieſts, as partly before hath been declared. And more may be ſeen in Hiſtories, what great tumults and buſineſs was long after that in *Hildebrands* time, and after him alſo amongſt the Clergy-men, both in *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and in all Quarters of Chriſtendom, for ſeparating Prieſts from their liberty of marrying.

And again, if this Tradition concerning the unmarried life of Prieſts had ſtood upon ſuch an old Foundation from the ſecond Councel of *Carthage* (as they pretend) what needed then in the time of Pope *Nicolas* the Second, Pope *Alexander* the Second, Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, and other Popes after them, ſo much labour to be taken, ſo many Laws and Decrees to be deviſed and enacted, for the aboliſhing of Prieſts marriage, if the ſame had been of ſuch a long Antiquity as they would make men believe?

By theſe things conſidered it may appear, that this detraction of Prieſts marriage, by publick Law compelling them to ſingle life, was never received for a full Law generally to be obſerved in the Church of *Rome*, but only ſince the beginning of *Hildebrand*, that is, ſince theſe five hundred years.

The general Law forbidding Prieſts to marry, when it firſt began.

About which time firſt is to be noted, That under Pope *Leo*, and this Pope *Nicolas*, *Cranzius*, and certain German Chronicles do ſay, that Symony and Prieſts marriage were prohibited. This Pope *Leo* was *Anno* 1051.

After this Pope *Nicolas* (to whom the foreſaid Letter of *Voluſianus* ſeemeth to be written) made this Ordinance: *Ut nullus Miſſam audiat Presbyteri quem ſcit Concubinam indubitanter habere aut ſubintroductam mulierem. Et mox, quicunque Sacerdotum, Diaconorum, Subdiaconorum, poſt conſtitutum beatæ memoriæ prædeceſſoris noſtri ſanctiſſ. Papæ Leonis, de caſtitate Clericorum, Concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, ex parte Omnipotentis Dei & Authoritate beati Petri & Pauli præcipimus, & omnino contradicimus ut Miſſam non cantet, &c.* That is, *Whatſoever Prieſt, Deacon, or Sub-deacon, according to the Conſtitution of Pope Leo our Predeceſſor, concerning the Chaſtity of Clerks, ſhall openly marry a Concubine, or ſhall not put her away being married: in the behalf of Almighty God, &c. we utterly charge and forbid the ſame, that he ſing no Maſs, nor read the Goſpel or Epiſtle at Maſs, nor execute any Divine Service, &c.* And this was about the year of our Lord, 1058.

Ex Romana Synodo 4.

Although in this Conſtitution of Pope *Nicolas*, this word *Concubine* may be underſtood for no Wife, but ſo as *Gratian* underſtandeth it in the ſixteenth Canon of the Apoſtles in theſe words, *Concubina vero intelligenda eſt præter Uxorem*: That is, *For one beſides a mans Wife*. Then after this Pope *Nicolas* coming Pope *Alexander*, and ſpecially Pope *Hildebrand*, do expound this Concubine forbidden, for a Wife, and ſuch Prieſts as be married, they expound them for *Nicolaitans*; for ſo we read in the Synod of *Millain* under Pope *Alexander* the Second: *Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur Clerici, qui contra caſtitatis Eccleſiaſticæ regulam fœminis admiſcentur*, &c.

Concubina.

Diſt. 32. quis. & Ex Synodi Mediolanenſi. Married Prieſts call'd Nicolaitans.

And further it followeth in the ſame Synod, *Nicolaitarum quoque hæreſin nihilominus condemnamus, & non modo Presbyteros, ſed & Diaconos & Subdiaconos ab Uxorum, vel Concubinarum fœdo conſortio noſtris ſtudiis, in quantum nobis poſſibilitas fuerit, arcendos eſſe promittimus*, &c.

And after it followeth in this wife, *Si hæc de Simoniaca & Nicolaitarum hæreſi delenda & funditus deſtruenda fideliter non obſervavero, ab Omnipotenti Deo & omnibus Sanctis ſim excommunicatus & anathematizatus, & ab omni Chriſtianorum conſortio inveniar alienus.*

Ibidem.

And moreover it followeth upon the ſame, *Anathematizo quoque omnes hæreſes extollentes ſe adverſus ſanctam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, ſpecialiter vero & nominatim Simoniacam hæreſin; deinde Nicolaitarum æque abhominalem hæreſin, quæ impudenter latrat, ſacri Altaris Miniſtros debere vel poſſe licenter uti Conjugibus, quomodo & laicos*, &c. As much to ſay in Engliſh, as, *I do accurſe all Hereſies extolling themſelves againſt the holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, but eſpecially and namely, the hereſie of Symony:*

The Synod againſt Prieſts marriage.

Symony: and in like manner the abominable Hereſie of the Nicolaitans, *which impudently barketh, that the Miniſters of the holy Altar may and ought to uſe Wives lawfully, as well as Lay-men*, &c. And thus much concerning the Synod of *Millain*, under Pope *Alexander* the Second, *An.* 1067.

Anno 1067.

Pope *Hildebrand* the greateſt enemy to Prieſts marriage.

And after this *Alexander* roſe up Pope *Hildebrand*, of all other the chiefeſt and moſt principal Enemy againſt Prieſts marriage. For whereas all other approved Canons and Councels were contented, that any Clergyman, having a Wife before his entring into his Miniſtry, might enjoy the liberty of his Marriage, ſo that he married not a Widow, or a known Harlot, or kept a Concubine, or were twice married; now cometh in Pope *Hildebrand*, making Prieſts Marriage to be Hereſie, and further enacting, *That whatſoever Clerk, Deacon, or Miniſter had a Wife, whatſoever ſhe was, Maid or other, either before his Orders, or after, ſhould utterly put her from him, or elſe forſake his Miniſtery*, &c.

Although notwithſtanding the greateſt part of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters ſeeing this ſtrange Doctrine and Proceedings (which S. *Paul* expreſſly calleth *The Doctrine of Devils*) did what they could to withſtand the ſame. Of whom *Lambertus Schafnaburgenſis* thus writeth; *Adverſus hoc Decretum protinus vehementer inſremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem plane Hæreticum, & voſami dogmatis eſſe clamitans, qui oblitus ſermonis Domini, quo ait, Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum; Qui poteſt capere, capiat*, &c. *Et Apoſtoli, Qui ſe non continet, nubat; Melius eſt nubere, quam uri; violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret vitu angelorum. Quod ſi pergeret, malle ſe Sacerdotium quam conjugium deſerere*, &c. In Engliſh thus; *Againſt this Decree the whole number of the Clergy did vehemently ſtorm and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious Hereſick, and one that made Phantaſtical Doctrine: who forgetting what the Lord ſaith*, All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it. *And alſo what the Apoſtle ſaith*, Who ſo cannot otherwiſe contain, let him marry; better it is to marry than to burn, *&c. Yet notwithſtanding would he bind men to live like Angels. Who if he continued as he began, they would* (they ſaid) *ſooner forſake the Order of Prieſthood, than their Order of Matrimony*, &c.

Ex Lamberto Schafnaburgenſi.

The Councel of Rome againſt Prieſts marriage under Pope Hildebrand. Anno 1074

Which *Hildebrand*, all this notwithſtanding, yet ceaſed not ſtill to call upon them, and to ſend to the Biſhops every where to execute his Commandment with all ſeverity, threatning to lay the Apoſtolical Cenſure upon them, if otherwiſe they ſhewed not their diligence therein to the uttermoſt. *Ex Lamb.* This was *An.* 1074. Of the ſame *Hildebrand* Radulphus de Diceto alſo writing, hath theſe words:

Ex Radulpho de Diceto.

Gregorius Papa ſeptimus Hildebrandus, celebrata Synodo, Simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos Sacerdotes à divino removit Officio, & Laicu Miſſam eorum audire interdixit novo exemplo, & (ut multis viſum eſt) inconſideratо præjudicio contra ſanctorum Patrum Sententiam, &c. The Engliſh is this; *Pope Gregory the Seventh, called* Hildebrand, *holding a Synod, accurſed ſuch as committed Symony, and removed married Prieſts from ſaying Service, forbidding alſo the Lay-men to hear their Maſs after a new and ſtrange example, and as many thought, after an inconſiderate prejudice, againſt the Sentence of holy Fathers.*

And thus much for the Antiquity of bringing in the ſingle life of Prieſts, which firſt ſpringing from the time of Pope *Nicolas* and *Alexander* the Second, began firſt with a Cuſtom, and afterwards was brought into a Law, chiefly by Pope *Hildebrand*, and ſo ſpread from *Italy* into other Countries, and at length into *England* alſo, albeit not without much ado, as ye ſhall hear, the Lord willing.

In the mean while, as Pope *Nicolas* and *Hildebrand* were buſie at *Rome*, ſo *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* likewiſe was doing here in *England* about the ſame matter, although he began not altogether ſo roughly as Pope *Hildebrand* did, for ſo it appeared by his Councel holden at *Wincheſter*: where though he inhibited ſuch as were Prebendaries of Cathedral Churches to have Wives, yet did he permit in his Decree, that ſuch Prieſts as dwelt in Towns and Villages, having Wives, ſhould retain them ſtill, and not to be compelled to be ſeperate from them; and they which had none, ſhould be inhibited to have; injoyning moreover the Biſhops thus, to foreſee hereafter, that they preſumed not to admit into Order any Prieſts or Deacons, unleſs they ſhould firſt make a ſolemn profeſſion to have no Wives.

Lanfrank Law for Prieſts not to marry.

The words of the Councel be theſe; *Decretumque eſt, ut nullus Canonicus uxorem habeat, Sacerdotum vero in Caſtellis & in vicis habitantium habentes uxores, non cogantur ut dimittant: non habentes, interdicantur ut uxores non habeant*, &c.

Ex Concilii Wintoniens. ſub Lanfranco.

And here to note by the way of the ſaid *Lanfranke*, for all his glorious gay ſhew of his Monkiſh Virginity and ſingle Life, yet he eſcaped not altogether ſo unſpotted for his part, but that the ſtory of *Matthew Paris*, writing of *Paulus Cadomenſis*, whom *Lanfranke* preferred ſo gladly to be Abbot of S. *Albans*, thus reporteth of him, *Paulus* (inquit) *Monachus Cadomenſis Archiepiſcopi Lanfranci nepos, jure, aliquorum relationibus, conſanguinitate propinquior*, &c. That is, Paul a *Monk* of Cadune, and *Nephew* of the *Archbiſhop* Lanfranke, *yea, as ſome ſay further, more near in blood to him than ſo*, &c.

Ex Mat. Paris. Lanfrank ſuppoſed not to be a pure Virgin.

Then after *Lanfranke* came *Anſelme* into the See of *Canterbury*, who taking to him a ſtuter ſtomack, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the Marriage of Prieſts, Deacons, Sub-deacons, and of the Univerſal Clergy, not permitting (as *Lanfranke* did) Prieſts that had Wives in Villages and Towns to keep them ſtill, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only Prieſts and Deacons, but Sub-deacons alſo (which is againſt the Councel of *Lateran*) which were already married, to be ſeparated, and that none ſhould be received into Order hereafter, without profeſſion of perpetual Chaſtity.

Anſelm Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a confeſſed doer againſt Prieſts marriage. Conc. Later. Can. 14. De Clericis matrimon. copulatis.

And yet notwithſtanding, for all this great bluſtering and thundering of this Romiſh *πυργόμον*, the Prieſts yet ſtill holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful Injunction, but kept ſtill their Wives almoſt two hundred years after, refuſing and reſiſting of long time the yoke of that ſervile Bondage, to keep ſtill their freedom from ſuch vowing, profeſſing, and promiſing, as may well appear by thoſe Prieſts of *York*, of whom *Gerardus* Archbiſhop of *York* ſpeaketh, writing to *Anſelme* in theſe words:

Sirie Clericorum meorum integritatem, ſed præterquam in paucis admodum, vel Adjidæ ſordidatem, vel fabuloſe cujuſdam Protbes mutabilitatem invenio. Partis linguarum aculeis, modò minas, modò convitia infigunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores ſunt, tolero. Illud omnino grave genus mali eſt, quod hi qui quaſi in ſinu meo ſunt, qui Canonicorum nomine gaudent, Canones aſſernant, adverſus Concilii noſtri ſtatuta, quaſi ſophiſticis diſputatores argumentantur, profeſſiones verò mihi penitus abnegant Canonici illi, qui ſine profeſſione ad ſacros Ordines inordinabiliter ſunt provecti, & qui in Presbyteratu vel Diaconatu conſtituti; Uxores ſive Concubinas in publico habtenus habuerunt, ab Altari nulla ſe reverentia continuerint. Cum verò ad ordines aliquos invito, dura cervice nituntur, ne in Ordinando caſtitatem profiteantur. In Engliſh thus; *I much deſire the purity of my Clergy-men: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deafneſs of the Serpent Aſpis, and the inconſtancy of Proteus, that the Poet Fable ſpake of. With their ſtinging Tongues they caſt out ſometimes threats, ſomewhile taunts and rebukes. But this grieveth me leſt in them that be further off. This grieveth me moſt of all, that they which be of mine own Church, as in mine own boſome, and Prebendaries of mine own See, contemn our Canons, and argue like Sophiſtical Diſputers, againſt the Statutes of our Council. The Prebendaries which unordinately have been taken into Orders hereto fore, without making vow or profeſſion, refuſe utterly to make profeſſion to me. And they that be Prieſts or Deacons, having married before openly Wives or Concubines, will not be removed for any reverence from the Altar. And when I call upon any to receive Order, ſtiffly they deny to profeſs Chaſtity in their Ordering*, &c.

Thus

Thus for all their rigorous auſterity, by this *Anſelm* enforcing his Decree made at *London*, againſt the marriage of Prieſts, yet the ſame had no great ſucceſs, neither in his life time, nor after his life. For although ſundry Prieſts during his life time were compelled by his extremity to renounce their Wives, yet many denied to obey him.

Scarcely appeareth that Prieſts in the old time here in *England* ever made vow of Chaſtity, at their orders before this time. *Ex Edmero l. 4.*

Divers were contented rather to leave their Benifices than their Wives. A great number were permitted by K. *Henry* for Money to enjoy their Wives. Which was ſo chargeable unto them (ſaith *Edmer* in his fourth Book) that at length 200. Prieſts, in their Albes and Prieſtly Veſtments, came barefoot to the Kings Palace, crying to him for mercy, and eſpecially making their ſuit to the Queen, who uſing much compaſſion towards them, yet durſt not make any interceſſion for them.

Read before. *Anſelm* at this time was over the Sea, making his Voyage to the Pope. Who hearing hereof writeth to the King, declaring that ſuch forfeitures appertained nothing to him, but only unto Biſhops, and in their default to the Archbiſhops. Whereof read more before. So wilful was the blind zeal of this Prelate, againſt all reaſon, againſt nature it ſelf, againſt the example of his fore-Elders, againſt publick cuſtom of his time, againſt the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, the Conſtitution of Councels, againſt all honeſty, and all Gods forbode, that he neither at the commiſeration of the King, nor at the crying out and publick dolour of ſo many Prieſts, nor yet moved with the Letters of Pope *Paſchalis* himſelf, who putting him in remembrance of ſo many Prieſts Sons, willed him to conſider the neceſſity of the time, would yet any thing relent from his ſtubborn purpoſe unto his latter end. In whom, as many great crimes may juſtly be noted, ſo of all other this is moſt principally in him to be reprehended: for that he ſeeing and perceiving what Sodomitical fedity and abomination, with other inconveniencies did ſpring incontinently upon this his diabolical Doctrine, yet for all that would not give over his peſtilent purpoſe.

Read afore.

After the prohibition of Matrimony followed the vice of Sodomitry.

For ſo the ſtory recordeth, that when *Anſelme* had eſtabliſhed his Synodal Conſtitution, in ſeparating Prieſts from their Wives (which was *Anno* 1103.) not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of Sodomitry, which then began eſpecially to raign in the Clergy, after this inhibition of Matrimony.

An Act of *Anſelme* againſt Sodomitry.

Whereupon *Anſelme* was conſtrained to call another Councel at *Pauls* within *London*, to provide for this miſchief, In which Councel this Act was made. *Sodomitici flagitium facientes, & ves in hac voluntate ſwuantes, cum gravi anathematæ damnamus, donec pœnitentia & confeſſione abſolutionem mereantur, &c.* All them that commit the ungracious Sin of Sodomitry, and them alſo which aſſiſt them in their wicked purpoſe, with grievous curſe we do condemn, till ſuch time as they ſhall deſerve abſolution by penance and confeſſion, *&c.*

Thus ye have heard what abominable wickedneſs enſued after that Prieſts were debarred from marriage, and what fore puniſhment was deviſed by this maidenly Prelate, for extirping that ſinful wickedneſs; in the abolißhing whereof, more wiſely he ſhould have removed away the occaſion whereof he was the Author himſelf, than by penalty to ſuppreſs, which he could never do.

The penalty provided againſt Sodomitry.

Now let us hear further, what followed in that worthy Councel; *Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, Statutum eſt, liquidem fuerit perſona religioſi ordinis, ut ad nullum amplius gradum promoveatur, & ſi quem habet, ab illo deponatur; Si autem laicus, ut in toto Regno Angliæ legali ſua condignitate privetur. Et ne hujus criminis abſolutionem, in qui ſe ſub regula vivere voverunt, aliquis niſi Epiſcopus deinceps facere præſumat. Statutum quoque eſt, ut per totam Angliam in omnibus Eccleſiis, & in omnibus diebus Dominicis, excommunicatio præfata publicetur ac renovetur, &c.* Which is as much to ſay in Engliſh, It is enacted, that whoſoever ſhall be publickly known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious perſon, he ſhall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honor, and that degree which he hath already ſhall be taken from him. If he be a Lay perſon, he ſhall be deprived of all his freedom within the whole Realm of *England*. And that none under a Biſhop ſhall preſume to aſſoil ſuch as have been Monks profeſſed, of that treſpaſs. It is alſo enacted, that every Sunday in the year, and in every Pariſh Church in *England*, this general curſe aforeſaid ſhall be publiſhed and renewed, *&c. Ex Reg. Hoved. & Epiſt. Anſelm.* 278.

Ex Epiſt. Anſelm. Reg. Hoved.

Is not here (trow you) good diviſion of Juſtice, that lawful wedlock of Prieſts can find no Grace nor Pardon, yea, is made now Hereſie; where Adultery and horrible Sodomitry is waſhed away with a little confeſſion? And ſee yet what followeth more. After that this penal curſe ſhould now go abroad and be publiſhed in Churches, the Monks perceiving this matter to touch them ſomwhat near, whiſpered in *Anſelmus* ear, perſwading him that the publication of that Act might grow to great danger and inconvenience, in opening the vice which before was not known; in ſuch ſort, that in ſhort time after that curſe was called in again.

The curſe againſt curſed Sodomitry called in again. Ex Joan. Trivet.

And ſo curſed Sodomitry and Adultery paſſed free without puniſhment, or word ſpeaking againſt it; where contrarily godly Matrimony could find no mercy.

Verum publicatum, Virtus ſæpe ſtes

Now what Reaſons and Arguments this *Anſelmus* ſucked out of the Court of *Rome*, to prove the Matrimony of Prieſts unlawful, were it not for combring the Reader with tedioußneſs, here would be ſhewed. Briefly the chief grounds of all his long diſputation, in his Book intituled, *Offendiculum Sacerdotum*, between the Maſter and Scholar, come to this effect.

Anſelm. Offendiculum Sacerdotum.

Argument.

The Reaſon and Argument of *Anſelm* againſt the marriage of Prieſts.

Prieſts of the Old Law, during the time of their Adminiſtration, abſtained from their Wives.

Ergo, Prieſts in the time of the Goſpel, which every day Miniſter at the Altar, muſt never have any Wives.

Another Argument.

Moſes, when he ſhould ſanctifie the people, going up to the hill, commanded them to ſequeſter themſelves from their Wives three days:

Ergo, Prieſts that muſt be ſanctified to the Lord always, ought to live chaſtly always without Wives.

Another Argument.

David, before he ſhould eat of the Shewbread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their Wives three days:

Ergo, Prieſts that be continually attending upon the Table and Sacraments of the Lord, ought never to have company with any ſuch.

Another Argument.

1 Kings 6. *Oza*, which put his hand to the Ark, was ſlain therefore, as it is thought, becauſe he lay with his Wife the Night before.

Ergo, Prieſts whoſe hands be always occupied about the Lords Service, muſt be pure from the company of Wife or any Woman.

Another Argument.

Nadab and *Abihu*, which ſacrificed with ſtrange fire, were devoured therefore, becauſe they companied with their Wives the ſame Night.

Ergo, Prieſts and Sacrificers muſt have no Wives to company withal.

Another Argument.

The Prieſts of the Gentiles in old time when they ſacrificed to their Idols, are ſaid to lye from their Wives:

Ergo, much more the Prieſts that ſacrifice to the living God ought ſo to do,

Another

Another Argument.

John 12. Chriſt was born of a Virgin, Chriſt lived ever a Virgin, and commandeth them that will ſerve him, to follow him. *Qui mihi miniſtrat, me ſequatur, (id eſt) Si vis mihi miniſtrare, me caſtè vivendo imitare.*

Ergo, Prieſts that have Wives are not meet to ſerve him.

1 Cor. 7. *Let every Man have his own Wife for avoiding of Fornication.*

The expoſition of Anſelme.

The groſs expoſitions of *Anſelm*, upon the words of S. *Paul*.

That is meant and granted of the Apoſtle only to Laymen: *Hoc ſolis Laicis conceſſiſſe, nemo ignorat.*

1 Cor. 7. *Melius eſt nubere quam uri:* It is better to marry than to burn.

The expoſition.

Melius, id eſt, levius eſt legitimæ uxori nubere, quam uri, id eſt quàm alienarum mulierum concupiſcentia conſumi. It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be conſumed with concupiſcence of ſtrange Women.

1 *Tim.* 3. *Oportet eſſe Epiſcopum irreprehenſibilem, unius uxoris virum, &c.* A Biſhop ought to be unreproveable, the Husband of one Wife, &c.

The expoſition.

Præcipit Apoſtolus, ne quis ad ſacerdotium accedere præſumat, niſi is qui non niſi unicam uxorem lascivo habuiſſet. Accepto autem Ordine nunquam ei carnis commixtione ſe copulavet, tantum vitæ neceſſaria ei ſubminiſtrant: That is; *The Apoſtle here commandeth, that none ſhould preſume to be Prieſt, but he who being a Layman before, hath had no more but one Wife: And after he be made Prieſt, not to couple himſelf any more with her, but only to miniſter to her things neceſſary for her living, &c.*

The concluſion or concluſive of *Anſelm* upon married Prieſts.

And finally after theſe things thus diſputed and alledged, the ſaid *Anſelme* concludeth the matter with this final cenſure and determination, as followeth: *Per hoc autem quod ſacras veſtes induunt, vel ſacra vaſa tangunt, Chriſto violenter manus injiciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præſumunt, Chriſtum quodam modo viſibiliter in Altari crucifigunt. Legitur miniſterium eorum Chriſti perſecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur.* In Engliſh thus; *In that theſe men* (he ſpeaketh of married Prieſts) *do put on the holy Veſtments, or do touch the holy Veſſels, they do lay violent hands upon Chriſt. And in that they preſume impudently to offer, they do in a manner viſibly crucifie Chriſt upon the Altar. The miniſtry of ſuch is read to be a perſecution, or rather a Crucifying of Chriſt, &c.*

Anſwer to *Anſelmus* Reaſons.

Loe here the mighty Reaſons, the ſtrong timbred Arguments, and the deep Divinity wherewith this *Anſelm* and all other that draw after his ſtring, go about to impugn the lawfulneſs of Prieſts marriage. Becauſe the Iſraelites when they ſhould appear before the Lord at Mount *Sinai*, were commanded to be kept from their Wives three days; and becauſe the Prieſts of the old Law in doing their Function, as their turn came about, refrained the company of their Wives for that preſent time; *Ergo*, Prieſts of the new Law muſt at no time have any Wives, but live always ſingle, &c.

And why might not *Anſelm* as well argue thus: the People of Iſrael approaching to the Mount, were commanded in like ſort to waſh their Garments; *Ergo*, Prieſts of the new Law, which are ever approaching to the preſence of their God, ſhould never wear ſhooes.

Of King *David* and his company, which but once in all their life did eat of the Shew-bread, it was demanded by the high Prieſt, whether they had kept them from their Wives three days before: *Ergo*, Kings and the people of the new Teſtament, which every year eat the Bread of the Lords Boord, more precious than ever was that *Panis Propoſitionis*, ſhould abide all their life wifeleſs and unſpouſed.

A time for all things.

But here *Anſelm* ſhould have conſidered by theſe Scriptures, how we are taught not to put away our Wives, but wiſely to diſtinguiſh times, when and how to have them. For as *Solomon* teacheth that there is a time for all things; ſo is there a time to marry; and a time not to marry, a time to refort, a time to withdraw, a time of company, a time of abſtinence and Prayer, which S. *Paul* calleth, συγκαιρὸν; and as he ſpeaketh of a time of Prayer and abſtinence, ſo he ſpeaketh alſo of a time of reſorting together, and addeth the cauſe why; *Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam veſtram, &c.* That is, Leſt Satan, faith he, tempt you for your incontinency.

1 Cor. 7.

Special examples break no general orders.

And thus ſhould *Anſelm*, with *Solomon* and *Paul*, have conſidered the order and diſtinction of times. Oftentimes in Scripture that is commanded to ſome, and at ſome time, which extendeth not to others. And that which for a time is convenient, is not by and by always convenient. Neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever. Neither ought ſpecial examples to break general orders; neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make an univerſal rule.

Separation of the Iſraelites from their Wives for three days is no Argument that Prieſts ſhould never marry.

They were then commanded to ſequeſter themſelves from their Wives at the coming of the Lord; not that the coming of the Lord did break Wedlock, but his commandment did bind obedience; and therefore obeyed they, becauſe they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their Wives, but only to ſeparate themſelves for a time, and that not for Months and Years, but only for three days: which abſtinence alſo was enjoyned them, not in the preſence, nor at the appearing of the Lord, but three days before his deſcending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth, that the uſe of their Wedlock neither diſpleaſed God being preſent, nor yet did drive his preſence away when he was come; for he remained there preſent amongſt them on the hill forty days not withſtanding.

Separation in Wedlock, how it is to be uſed.

Furthermore, this time of ſeparation from their Wives, as it was expreſly commanded to them of God, ſo was it not long nor tedious, but ſuch as was neither hard for them, nor unconvenient for the time: giving us thereby to underſtand, how to uſe ſeparation in Wedlock wiſely, that is, neither at no time, nor yet too long.

Separation of Saint *Paul* called, συγκαιρὸν, for abſtinence and Prayer. ſo do they worſe which fall into that πεπαρξιὸν, wherof Saint *Paul* again giveth us warning. *Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam veſtram.* But worſt of all do they, which ſo ſeparate their Wives clean from them, and ſo abjure all Matrimony, that they fall headlong into the Devils pitfal of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord foreſeeing the peril thereof, ſaid unto the people, *Eſtote parati in diem tertium,* Exod. 19. *& ne appropinquetis uxoribus veſtris, &c.* Appointing indeed a ſeparation from their Wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of Man, limiteth the time withal, adding, *in diem tertiam* and gooth no further.

Objection of the Papiſts why Prieſts ſhould leave Wives.

He ſaith not, as *Anſelme* ſaid in the Councel of *Winchester*, *Jurabunt Preſbyteri, Diaconi, & Subdiaconi, uxores ſuas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis converſationem habere, ſub diſtinctione cenſuræ, &c.*

The like order alſo was taken by the Lord with the Prieſts of the Old Teſtament, who although they were enjoyned to withdraw themſelves from their Wives during the time of their Prieſtly ſervice, yet for avoiding fornication they were permitted to have their Wives notwithſtanding. So that both their abſenting from their Wives ſerved to Sanctification, and their reſorting again unto them ſerved to avoid Adultery and Fornication.

But here our Prieſtly Prelates will object, That becauſe they be continually converſant about the Prieſtly Function,

ction, therefore a perpetual sanctification is of them specially required. Whereupon I answer.

Answer to the obj. tion.

1. First, The Priestly Function of those high Priests, Sacrificing for the people in the old Law, representeth only the Function of Christ the High-priest, Sacrificing for the Sins of the World, which truly and only performed that pure chastity in his sanctified Body, which the Law then in those Priests prefigured.

No sacrificer tar sin but only Christ.

2. Secondarily, speaking now of the Priests of the New Testament (and speaking properly) the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any Priest to Sacrifice to God for the Sins of Man, but only the high King and Priest Christ Jesus.

3. Unto that Priest all other be but Servants and Ministers; of whom some be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Preachers, having the gift of utterance, some Interpreters and Doctors, having the gift of understanding, some Deacons serving the Lords board. The Office of all whom chiefly consisteth in ministring the Word, next in administring the Sacraments.

Mariage more convenient for Priests of the new law than of the old.

4. Fourthly, Forasmuch as in these, principally above all other, pureness and Sanctification of life is required, as much and more too, than was in the Priests of the old Law, from whom all Fornication, Adultery, Incest, and uncleanness of life ought most to be banished; therefore in these especially, above the Priests of the old Law, Matrimony and Spousage is most requisite and convenient, whosoever he be, which otherwise cannot contain; according to the Apostle, saying, *Unusquisque uxorem suam habeat propter fornicationem.*

1 Cor. 7.

Matrimony is no hinderance, but a furtherance to sanctification.

5. Fifthly, Neither is this Matrimony in these any hindrance to their Sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their sanctification, forasmuch as where Matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth Adultery, Fornication and all kinds of filthiness; according to the true saying of *Bernard, Tolle de Ecclesia bonorabile connubium, & thorum immaculatum, nonne repletur eam Concubinarius, incestuosis, seminstius, molibus, masculorum concubitoribus & omni denique genere immundorum?* That is, *Take from the Church honourable mariage, and the bed undefiled, shalt thou not replenish it with Concubinaries, with incestuous persons, Sodomitical vices, and finally with all kind of beastly filthiness?*

Bern. sup. Cant. Serm. 6.

The truth of which saying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we lifted here to ransack the lives of these glorious despisers of Matrimony, even from *Lanfrank*, the first Ring-leader of this dance here in *England*, with * *Paulus* Monk of *Cadone* his Nephew whom *Matthew Paris* misdoubted to be his own Son, even to *Stephen Gardiner* with his Gold Locks, the Author and Work-master of these six Articles. But to the Reasons of *Anselme* hitherto sufficient, which of themselves are so frivolous and gross, that only to recite them is enough to confute the same.

* Matth. Paris. Paulus Monachus Cadonensis Archiepisc. La utrunci nepos imo aliquorum relationem confanguinitate propinquior. No publick law in England against Priests marriage before *Lanfranke* & this land before *Anselme*. Anno 1041. Read afore.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussing of Divines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write Stories, to declare and make manifest by proceds of times and Histories, that this cruel Law, compelling Ministers of the Church to abjure Matrimony, entred not into this land before *Lanfranke* and *Anselme* his Successor, as both may appear by the multitude of Priests Sons lawfully begotten in Matrimony, and succeeding in the Churches here in *England*, testified by the Epistle of Pope *Paschalis* to *Anselme* before, and also may appear likewise by the Council of *Anselme*, holden at *Winceſter*, which, partly was touched before, and now the full Act we have more largely expressed to be read and seen of all posterity, as under followeth.

The Act against Priests Marriage, concluded in the Councel at Winchester, under Anselme, *Anno* 1104.

Acts concluded at the Councel in Winchester.

HÆc sunt Statuta de Archidiaconis, Presbyteris, & Canonicis in quocunque gradu constitutis, quæ Winton*iæ statuerunt Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, & cum eo, Girardus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et omnes alii Angliæ Episcopi, in præsentia gloriosi Regis Henrici, assensu omnium Baronum sucrum. Statutum est ut Presbyteri et Diaconi castè vivant, et fœminas in domibus suis non habeant præter proxima consanguinitate sibi junctas, secundum hoc quod sanctæ Nicenæ Synodus definivit. Illi verò Presbyteri, Diaconi, sive Subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Londonensis Concilii, fœminas suas tenuerint vel alias duxerint, si elegerint in sacris Ordinibus remanere, jurent quod cum eis carnale commercium non habebunt amplius. Statutum est etiam ut prædictæ fœminæ in domo cum eis scienter non conveniant, neque hujusmodi fœminæ in territorio Ecclesiæ habitent. Si autem propter aliquam honestam causam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus aut minus legitimis testibus extra domum colloquantur. Si verò in duobus aut tribus legitimis testibus vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorum excessatus fuerit, quod hoc statutum transierit, purgabit se adjunctis secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus, sex si Presbyter, quinque si Diaconus, quatuor si Subdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, ut transgressor sacri Statuti judicabitur. Illi verò Presbyteri qui divitii Altaris et sacrorum Ordinum contemptores præelegerint cum uxoribus suis habitare, à divino officio remoti, extra * horium ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadem sententia Archidiaconos et Canonicos omnes complectitur, et de abjurandis uxoribus, et de vitanda earum conversatione, et destructione censura si Statuta transgressi fuerint. Jurabunt et Archidiaconi omnes quod pecuniam non accipient pro toleranda transgressione hujus Statuti. Sed neque ullo modo tolerabunt Presbyteros uxoratus cantare, vel vicarios habere, et quod ipsi non dissimulabunt per Archidiaconos suos hoc inquirere, et fideliter Episcopis suis renunciabunt, et attente, et fideliter de exequenda hujus rei vindicta Episcopos suos adjuvabunt. Qui verò Archidiaconus, vel Diacoviam uxoratus nolluerit. Archidiaconatum vel Diacoviam irrevocabiliter perdet. Presbyteri verò, qui relictis uxoribus Deo et sacris Ordinibus servire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio cessantes, pro se vicarios habebunt, injuncta eis pœnitentia secundum quod Episcopis eorum visum fuerit.*

* Form terminum bottom paradisiensis.

And yet this unreasonable Statute of *Anselme*, so dillygent defended with sharp Censures and Penalties, had no great speed, neither in the life time of the said *Anselme*, nor long after his death; but divers Priests notwithstanding kept till their Wives, or after his death, they returned to their Wives again, through the sufferance of the Famous and Learned King, named then *Henry Bewclark*, who something stayed the Importunity of this Monkish Prelat, and willed the Priests should keep both their Wives and their Churches, as they did before in *Lanfranks* days.

The cruel Law of *Anselme* took no great place.

Then after *Anselme* followed *Radulphus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in whose time was no great stir against the Priests that were married. About the time of this Archbishop King *Henry* called a Councel at *London*, where he obtained of the Spirituality a grant to have the punishment of married Priests (which the Spirituality afterward did much repent) whereby the Priests, paying a certain sum to the King, were suffered to retain their Wives still, as is above storied.

Except Anselme 77. Radulphus chiepisc. Cant. Read afore.

Richardus de Tubiteta Canal. Cant. Of this Cremonde read afore.

Next after this *Radulph*, then succeeded *William Turbile*, furnamed *De Turbine*, who renewed again the constitution of *Anselme* against married Priests, especially by the help of *Joannes* Priest and Cardinal of *Crema*, the Popes Legate, sent the same time into *England*, *An.* 1129. Of which Cardinal *Cremensis*, because enough hath been before declared, how after his stout replying in the Councel of *London*, against the married state of Priest exclaiming what a shameful thing it was to rise from the sides of a Whore to make Christs Body, the night following he was shamefully taken with a notable Whore, &c. as is apparant before.

I will therefore pass over that matter, returning again to *William* the Archbishop, who with the Cardinal Legate aforesaid, although he busily occupied himself in reproving the Matrimony of Priests, insomuch that he would give them no longer respite to put away their Wives but from *Michaelmas* to Saint *Andrews*-day following, yet could he not bring his purpose to pass, but that the Priests still continued with their Wives by the Kings leave, as the Saxon Story plainly recordeth in these words: *This bebeafe Archbiſcop William of Canterbriges,* Cronic. Sax. an. 1129. *and ealle thaleed Biſcopes tha tha waeron on Engelon. and neſonſoed noht ealle tha boblaces. eall heoldon her pifes be thas kinges leve, ſwa ſwa hi ear didon;* That is to say in English,

The Priests Kept their Wives contrary to the Archbishops commandment.

Anno 1138.

English, This *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops which were in *England* did command, and yet all these Decrees and Biddings stood not: all held their Wives by the Kings leave, even so as they before did. So hard was this Cause to be won, that the Archbishop at length gave it over, and left the Controverse wholly unto the King. Whereupon he decreed that the Priests should remain with their Wives still. And so continued they after that, in the time of *Theobaldus* after him, of *Thomas Becket*, *Richard Baldwin*, *Stephen Langton*, *Richard Edmund*, *Boniface*, *Peckham*, and other, during well-near the time after *Anselme*, two hundred years.

And least the quarrelling Adversary, being peradventure disposed here to cavil, should object and say that such marriage amongst the Spiritual Men might be private and secret, but not openly known, nor quietly suffered by any Law of this Realm: to avoid therefore what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this Story, and for the further satisfying of the Readers mind herein, to infer and make known by good Record, not only that the liberty of marriage, amongst Spiritual Men, hath continued within this Realm during the time aforesaid (*videlicet*) two hundred years, or thereabouts, after *Anselme*, and not only in secret wise, but also openly, and the same being well known, suffered, and lawfully allowed of, in such sort, as both they, their Wives, Children, and Assigns might inherit and enjoy Lands, Tenements, and other Hereditaments, by way of Feoffment, Deed of Gifts, or any other Assurance, in such sort, manner and form, as Lay-men, their Heirs and Assigns at this day lawfully may do. As by divers Writings and Instruments shewed to us at the writing hereof, by divers Men whose names hereafter follow (some to this day remaining fair fealed, some by Antiquity and long keeping much worn and their Seals mouldred and walted) is very evident and manifest to be seen. The Copies whereof being by us truly and faithfully excerpted out of the very Originals (being yet extant) we have hereunder inferred, as followeth.

Priests with their Wives, how long they continued in England after *Anselme*.

Certain Instruments and Evidences of ancient Record, declaring the marriage of Priests to have stood in times past, both with ancient Custom, and publick Laws of this Realm.

Carta feoffamenti, Will. de Blund. Mil. facti. Stephan. de Saxlingham Clerico & Matild. uxori ejus de terris in Neuton in Com. Norf.

SCiant præſentes & futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwel miles, conceſſi, dedi, & hac præſenti charta mea confirmavi Stephano de Saxlingham Clerico, & Matildæ uxori ſuæ pro homagiis & ſerviciis ſuis & pro ſex marcis argenti quas mihi dederunt in gerſumam, unam peciam terræ arabilis, quæ jacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter meſſuagium Galfridi Sulyard, & coemeterium Eccleſiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, & terram Joannis de Neuton, & abuttat ſuper regiam ſtratam verſus orientem, & ſuper terram quæ fuit Henrici Popiltele verſus occidentem: habendum & tenendum de me & hæredibus meis, illis & hæredibus ſuis aut quibuſcunque dare, legare, vendere vel aſſignare voluerint, in quocunque ſtatu fuerint, liberè, quietè, in feodo, perpetuè & hæreditariè. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios, ſcilicet ad Feſtum Sancti Andreæ denarium, & ad Nativitatem Sancti Joannis Baptiſtæ unum Denarium. Et ad ſcutagium Domini Regis quando evenit unum obolum tantum et non amplius pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, ſectis curiæ & exactionibus ſeculariibus. Et ego Willielmus de Blunwel, & hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, & defendemus prædictam peciam terræ prænominatis Stephano & Matildæ uxori ſuæ & hæredibus ſuis aut cuicunque dare, legare, vendere, vel aſſignare voluerint, contra omnes gentes tam Judæos quam Chriſtianos in perpetuum per præſatum ſervitium. Et ut hæc conceſſio et donatio rata ſit & ſtabilis in perpetuum, hanc Chartam Sigillo meo roboravi; His teſtibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reyneſtrop, Joanne de Neuton, Willielmo Canebor, Joanne filio Simonis, Milone le Moch, Radulpho de Kinegham, Willielmo de Champo, Thoma Croce, Andreo Waleys, Willielmo Valiant, & aliis.

Of the Evidences in the office of M. Hatcliffe, Esquire.

This ſaid piece of Evidence, called a Deed of Feoffment of Lands, remaineth in the keeping of *Thomas Blundevil* of *Neuton Flotman* in the County of *Norfolk*, Eſquire, at this preſent (*videlicet*) 22. *Die Novembris*, *Anno*, *Regni Elizabeth. R. decimo*, & *Anno Domini*, 1567. Who (I know) will not refuſe to ſhew the ſame to any Man that ſhall deſire the ſight thereof.

1. *Other Deeds and Inſtruments of like Antiquity, declaring the ſame, recorded of M.* John Forde.

Carta Will. Filii Willielmi de Ridware facti Joan. de Ridware Clerico, & Matildæ uxori ejus, de terris in Edinghal in Com. Derb.

SCiant omnes præſentes & futuri, quod ego Williel. ſili. us Walteri, Dominus de Ridware Hamſtal, conceſſi & tradidi Joanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal Clerico, & uxori ſuæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, unam dimidiam virgatam terræ in Edinghal, cum omnibus pertinentiis in toftis & croftis, pratis & paſturis in villa & in territorio de Edinghal, illam ſcilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit. Habend. & tenend. de me & hæredibus meis, ſibi & uxori ſuæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum liberè, et quietè, benè et pacifiçè, &c. Et ego vero Willielmus et hæredes mei prædict. dimidiam virgatam terræ cum pertinentiis prædictis Joanni et uxori ſuæ prædict. ad totam tam eorum contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, &c. In hujus conceſſionis & traditionis robur & teſtimonium uterque noſtrum alterius ſcripto figillum ſuum appoſuit; His teſtibus Roberto Salvein de Haſelour, Andrea Salvein de eadem, Joanne filio Radulphi de Edinghal, Richardo de Ykebrom, Rob. de Fryeford, & aliis.

2. *Another Evidence touching the ſame, of Lands in the County of* Leiceſter.

Carta feoffamenti Radulphi de Sleyle de Sleyle facti Agneti de Willinton & pueris ſuis de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Wille and Children of this Parſon of Lollington being known, and according to this deed.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Radulphus filius & hæres Joannis Willcarde de Sceyle, dedi, & conceſſi, & hac mea præſenti charta confirmavi Agneti de Welinton unam acram terræ in territorio de majori Sceylæ quæ jacet ſuper le Wovelondis, inter terram monachorum de Merival, extendentem ſe ad unum caput ſuper foreram monachorum de Merival, & aliud caput verſus villam de Sceyle; Habend. & tenend. de me & Hæredibus meis vel aſſignatis & eorum hæredibus, præd. Agneti de Wellintona & pueris ſuis de Wil. Parſona de Lollinton procreatis, & delicet Wil. filio ſuo primogenito, ſi ſupervixerit matri ſuæ. Deinde Galfrido fratri ejus. Poſtea Roberto fratri eorum juniori. Deinde ſororibus eorum ſi frater ſuperſtes non fuerit. Ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri ſuccedat in dictam terram, cum pertin. licentialiter ſine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædict. facienda: & quod hæred. vel aſſign. ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum liberè, & quietè, benè & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddend. inde annuatim mihi & hæred. meis vel aſſignatis meis & eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad paſcha, pro omnibus ſerviciis, & exactionibus, wardis, maritagiis, releviis, legatis, tallagtis, & omnimodis ſectis comitatus, hundredorum & curiæ meæ, & hæred. meorum, & aliorum & ſervitiis forinſecis et exigentis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæred. mei vel aſſignati & eorum hæredes, totam prædict. terram cum pertinent. præd. Agneti & filiis ſuis & filiabus poſt deceſſum præd. Agnetis, ſingulis eorum de dicta Parſona genitis uni poſt alterum ſucceſſive, & hæred. vel aſſignatis ultimi vel ultimæ poſſidentis (ut prædictum eſt) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia ſupradicta rata & inconcuſſa permaneant in poſterum, præſentem chartam Sigilli mei impreſſione corroboravi; His teſtibus Willielmo tunc Parſona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantiſthorp, Richardo & Roberto filiis ſuis, Henrico filio Richardi Clerici de Sceyle. Willel. filio ſuo, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. Clerico de eadem, et multis aliis.

3. *Another Evidence of like effect.*

Carta Radulphi Willcarde de Sceyle facti Agneti de Willinge. & pueris ſuis de Wil. Lollint procreat. de terris in Com. Leiceſt.

SCiant præſentes et futuri, quod ego Radulphus Willcarde, filius et hæres Joannis Willcardi de Sceyle, dedi et conceſſi, et hac mea præſenti charta confirmavi Agneti de Wellington, quatuor Acras & unam Rodam terræ meæ arabilis in campo de majori Sceyle. Quarum una Acra jacet ſuper Wodde Hulles, &c. (Et paulo infra:)

Parſona de Lollint procreat de terris in Sceyle,

Ha-

Habendum & tenendum de me & heredibus meis vel assignatis & eorum Hæredibus, prædictis Agnetæ de Willington & pueris suis de Willielmo filio suo primogenito si supervixerit matri suæ, deinde Galfrido Fratri ejus, postea Roberto Fratri eorum juniori, deinde sororibus eorum si Frater superstes non fuerit, ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram cum pertinentiis, licentialiter sine omni recognitione mihi & omnibus meis prædictis facienda, & quod hæredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ postdictis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum libere, & quiete, bene, & in pace jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus vel assignatis & eorum hæredibus, unum obolum argenti ad pascha, aut unam parabarum Chirothecarum de precio unius oboli apud Sceyle ad voluntatem solventis, pro omnibus servitiis & exactionibus, wardis, maritagiis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, & omnimodis factis comitatus, hundredorum, & curiæ meæ et hæredibus meorum et aliorum, et servitiis forincecis vel exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus & hæredes mei vel assignati et eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis, prædict. Agneti & filiis ejus & filiabus post discessum prædict. Agnetis singulis eorum de dicta Parsona genitis, uni post alterum successive, & hæredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ postdictis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata et inconcussa permaneant in posterum præsentem cartam sigilli mei impressione corroboravi; his testibus, Will. tunc Parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantisthorp, Rich. et Rob. filiis fuis Henr. filio Parsonæ Sceyle, Joanne filio, Radulph. Aky, de eadem, Rob. Hasting, Wil. Grym, & aliis.

Carta Henrici de Apleby facta Henrico de Aldolester Clerico & Amiciæ uxori suæ, de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

4. *Another Evidence upon the like matter.*

SCiant præsentes & futuri, quod ego Henricus filius Domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldolester Clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, illud messuagium quod Mattheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in parvo Apleby, in longitudine, juxta altam viam: tenendum et habendum de me et hæredibus meis sibi et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus, et cui vel quibus communibus horis quandocunque dare vel assignare voluerint liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace, &c. Et ego præd. Henricus et hæredes mei prædictum messuagium cum omnibus aisiamentis et pertinentiis suis, præfatis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus et assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum, &c. Ut hæc omnia subscripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic presenti scripto sigillum meum appositi, His testibus, Joanne de Norton, Wil. Huelin de Apleby, &c.

5. *Another Evidence touching the like.*

CartaRogeri Pescher de Apleby facta Hen. de Aldolester Clerico & Amiciæ uxori suæ de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

SCiant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Roger. Pescher de Apleby dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldolester Clerico, et Amiciæ uxori suæ, viginti bastes Terræ arabilis cum pertinentiis suis in territorio de Apleby. Quarum tres buttes jacent super Brodelein, &c. (Et Paulo post) Habendum et tenendum prædictis Henrico et Amiciæ uxor suæ et eorum hæredibus et assignatis, cui vel quibus in fantate, vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, benè, et hæreditariè in perpetuum, &c. Et ego prædictus Rogerus Pescher & Hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis suis ubicunque memoratis, Henrico & Amiciæ uxori suæ & eorum hæredibus & assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, et in omnibus per omnia acquietabimus et defendemus in futurum, &c. Ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, & Cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum pro me et hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, hiis mediantè; his testibus, Williel. de Meycam, Joanne filio Henr. de Norton, &c.

6. *Another Evidence touching the same, of Lands in the County of* Derby.

SCiant præsentes & futuri, quod ego Willielmus filius & hæres quondam Williel. Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, concessi, & omnino quietum clamavi de me & hæredibus meis in perpetuum Nich. de Crumfold, pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam idem Nicolaus mihi præ manibus donavit, omnes terras & tenementa cum gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis, & edificiis, & cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in omnibus rebus & locis, sine aliquo retinemento, quæ et quos habuit jure hæreditario in feodo de Banquel, per Williel. de Banquel Clericum quondam patrem meum. Habend. & tenend. Ipso Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assignatis in feodo et hæreditate de capitali Domino de Banquel, liberè, benè, quietè, et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis in omnibus locis et singulis ad prædictas terras & tenementa pertinentibus infra villam de Banquel et extra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Willi. nec hæredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine nostro, jus vel clameum in prædictis terris et tenementis, gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis et edificiis, et omnibus pertinentiis suis de cætero, habere, exigere, vindicare, vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædictis terris & tenementis capitali Domin. 7. solidos, 3. denarios et obolum argenti annui redditus ad terminos statutos Pâschatis et Sancti Michaelis. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto præsenti sigillum meum apposui et munimenta inde eidem Nicolao tradidi; His testibus, Domino Joanne de Ofemondisston prepetuo Vicario de Banquel, Matthæo de Reynedon, Matthæo Drabill, Elio de Banquel Clerico, Richardo de Yollegrave, Roger. filio Yoke, & aliis.

Carta confirmationis Willi. Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici facta Nicolao Crumford de omnibus terris & tenementis que hæreditario jure habuit Willielmus pater suus de Banquel, & quod habuit & tenuit ipse Nicolaus habuit. Nota, a Son of a Frith did inherit his Fathers Lands, and sold them as by this Deed appeareth.

7. *Another Evidence concerning the like.*

SCiant præsentes & futuri, Quod ego Williel. filius & hæres quondam Williel. de Mahenmey de Banquel Clerici, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi de me et hæredibus meis in perpetuum, Nicolao de Crumford pro quadam summa pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, unum capitale messuagium ædificatum, et unam bovatam terræ, cum prato & omnibus pertinen. suis fine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bovatam terræ cum pertinentiis quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit et tenuit in villa et territorio de Banquel; et octo acras terræ arabilis, et unam particulam prati divisim jacentes in campis de Banquel, &c. Habend. et tenend. ipsi Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel suis assignatis in feodo et hæreditate libere, quietè, benè, et in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis in omnibus rebus et locis infra villam de Banquel et extra, ad prædictos terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis pertinentibus de capitali Domino de Banquel, &c. Et ego Williel. et hæredes mei omnia prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis (ut prædictum est) dicto Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assign. suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium præsenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His Testibus Domino Joanne de Ofemondisston perpetuo Vicario de Banquel, Matth. de Reynedo. Matth. Drabil, Elio de Banquel, Richard. de Yollegrave, Rogero filio Yoke de Banquel, et aliis.

Alia charta dicti, Wil. Mahenmey facti dicto Nicolao de Cromford de capitali messuag. & diversis terris in villa & territorio de Banquel in Com. Derb.

8. *Another Evidence concerning the like.*

Carta Thome de Bylleston Clerici, & Leticiæ ux. ejus facta Gerard & Cæciliæ ux. suæ de terris in feodo de Banquel in Com. Derb.

SCiant præsentes et futuri, Quod nos Thom. de Billeston Clericus, et Leticia uxor mea, declimus, concessimus, et hac præsenti carta nostra confirmavimus Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wiston & Cæciliæ uxori suæ, omnia illa burgagia, messuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata et ædificia, feldas cum redditibus, servitiis, pascuis, communis, pasturis, et cæteris ominibus pertinentiis suis in feodo de Banquel, quæ nabuimus ex dono & feofamento dicti Gerardi: Habendum & tenendum dictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ uxori suæ ad totam vitam corundem de nobis & hæredibus nostris liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace, cum omnibus suis

Note to have and to hold of the Prieſt, his Wife and their Heirs, during the lives of the Proffesors, for a penny of yearly Rent.

suis pertinentiis; faciendo inde annuatim nobis & hæredibus nostris, prædict. Gerard. & Cæcilia ad totam eorum vitam, unum denarium argenti ad Festum Sanct. Michaelis, & faciendo etiam pro nobis & hæredibus nostris capital. Dominis feodi illius servitia inde annuatim debita & consueta. Et nos vero prædicti Thomas & Leticia & nostri hæredes omnia prædicta Burgagia, messuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata, & ædificia, feldas cum redditibus, servitiis, pascuis, communis, pasturis, & cæteris omnibus pertinentiis suis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti Cartæ nostræ sigilla nostra apposuimus; His testibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Cotterrell, Willielm. de Cromford, Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Cromford in Banquel, Rad. Brecario in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem, & aliis.

9. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

UNiversis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Leticia quæ fuit uxor Thomæ Bylleston, salutem in Domino. Noveritis me in pura viduitate mea concessisse & confirmasse, pro me & hæredibus meis, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyston, & Cæciliæ uxori suæ omnes terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in Banquel, quæ idem Gerardus & Cæcilia uxor ejus habent ex concessione Thomæ de Bylleston quondam viri mei: Habendum & tenendum eisdem Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem de me & hæredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; faciendo inde mihi & hæredibus meis unum denarium argenti ad Festum Sanct. Michaelis, & faciendo inde pro me & hæredibus meis capitalibus Dominis servitia inde annuatim debita & consueta. Et ego præfata Leticia & Hæredes mei prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis prædictis Gerardo & Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes Gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Robert le Walley, Robert le Taylor, & aliis.

Datum apud Banquel, die Veneris proximo post Festum Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, An. Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, nono.

10. *Another Evidence touching the like matter.*

SCiant præsentes et futuri, Quod ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, concessi, & hac Præsenti mea Charta confirmavi Johanni de Bradburne Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori suæ, & hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, unam particulam curtilagii mei (videlicet) cum pedes in longitudine, & triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentiis & aisiamentis, eidem pertinentibus: Habendum & tenendum eidem Johanni & Aliciæ & eorum hæredibus legitimè procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, & in pace in perpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis unum florem Rosæ ad Festum Nativitat. S. Johannis Baptistæ pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Basket & hæredes mei prædict. placeam cum Aisiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & contra omnes gentes defendemus. Et si contingat (quòd absit) quòd prædictus Johannes & Alicia fine hæredibus de corporibus eorum legitimè procreatis obierint, quod prædicta placea fine alicujus contradictione revertat. Et ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, & præsentis Cartæ meæ confirmatio rata sit, & stabilis permaneat, huic præsenti Cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Richardo de Longdun, Robert Brag, Roger. Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Joanne Glanklrion, & aliis. Datum apud Yelgrave in Festo S. Joannis ante Portam Latinam, Anno Dom. 1314.

Scripsum Wm. Basket facit. Johanni de Bradb. Clerico, Aliciæ ux. ejus & hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus.

Dated Anno 1314. which was Ann. R. Edw. R. 1. octavo.

Scripsum Rog. le Porter facit. M. Rich. de Hampton Clerico, & Margaretæ ux. ejus de terr. in feodo de Parva Ridware in Com. Staff.

11. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

SCiant præsentes & futuri, Quod ego Rogerus le Porter hæres Aliciæ filiæ Williel. de Downedale de Parva Ridware dedi, concessi, & hac præsenti Carta mea confirmavi magistro Richard. de Hampton Clerico & Margaretæ uxori ejus, & hæredibus vel Assignatis prædicti Rich. omnes terras & tenementa mea quæ habeo in diversis locis in feodo de parva Ridware: Habend. & tenend. omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum pertinentiis suis, prædictis Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. de capitali Domino feodi illius per servitia inde annuatim debita & consueta. Et nos vero prædicti Rogerus & hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras & tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich. & Margaretæ uxori ejus & hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus & defendemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti Cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Julian, Roberto Ka. Edmund le Wallthemon, Williel. le Flecher, & aliis. Datum apud Parvam Ridware, die Lunæ proximo post Festum Sancti Gregor. Papæ, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi tertii post Conquestum, 28.

Dated Anno R. Edw. R. 3. 28. which was Anno 1353.

The Originals of these eleven pieces of Evidences last recited, I received, in the writing of this Story, of a right honeſt and worſhipful Gentleman, called Maſter *John Ford*, a Student of the Laws in the *Inner Temple*; in whoſe hands I truſt (after the finiſhing of this Story) they ſhall remain to be ſeen of them that ſhall deſire the ſame.

Mr. Jo. Ford hath 11 pieces of Evidences for Prieſts marriage.

1. *The Copies of other Evidences touching the ſame matter, received of Mr.* John Hunt.

Carta feoff. Phil. Poupu de Parva Bradley. facta Henrico Denardiſton Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Greaſcroſs, in villa de Parva Bradley in Com. Staff.

SCiant præſentes & futuri, quod ego Philippus Poupu de Parva Bradley, dedi, conceſſi, & hac præſenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro ſervitiis eorum, & pro quadam ſumma pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gerſumam, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentiis, ſive habeatur plus ſive minus, prout boundæ teſtantur, in Campo vocato Grene-croſs, in villa de Parva Bradley, jacentem inter terram meam ex parte una, & terram prædicti Henrici ex parte altera, uno capite abuttante ſuper cœmeterium de Parva Bradley, & alio capite abuttante ſuper terram prædict. Henrici: Habend. & tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuſcunque dict. peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare vel aſſignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene in pace in perpetuum & hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi ſervitium inde debitum & conſuetum, videlicet unum obolum ad Nativitatem beati Joannis Baptiſtæ pro omnibus ſervitiis, conſuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum ſectis, & ſecularibus demand. Et ego prædict. Phil. hæred. & aſſignati mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic præſenti ſcripto ſigillum meum appoſui; His teſtibus Petro de Walepol, Richard. de Hanvile, Williel. Waſtell, Hugone Waſtell, Tho. de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, & aliis.

2. *Another Evidence touching the ſame.*

Carta ereccionis Wil. Bygod nunc Domini de Parva Bradly facti. Henrico de Denardiſton Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, & rum hæredibus.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit, Williel. de Bigod. ſalutem in Domino ſempiternam. Noverit univerſitas veſtra me dediſſe, conceſſiſſe, remiſiſſe, ac omnino tam pro me quam pro hæredibus meis in perpetuum, quietum clamaſſe Henr. de Denardiſton Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & aſſignat. eorum totum jus & clameum quod habui vel habere potui, aut poteró in omnibus redditibus, homagiis, wardis, releviis, eſchaetis, libertatibus & omnibus pertin. ſuis quæ in aliquo modo ſeu tempore ſacere debuerunt vel conſueverunt pro terris & tenementis quæ quondam fuerunt Richard. Poupu in villa de parva Bradley, & in aliis terris & tenementis quæ vel quas prædict. Henr. & Alicia tenent. vel tenuerunt de me ſeu de feodo meo die confectionis præſentium in prædicta villa de Parva Bradley: Ita quod e-

go Williel. prædict. nec hæred. mei nec aliquis nomine nostro à modo in præmissis aliquod juris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vendicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum appositi; His testibus Joh. Maveyfin, Rich. Bercar, Henr. Maveyfin, Joh. Bercar, Will. Waftel. Hug. Waftel, Wil. Attegrene, Walt. Bercar, & aliis.

3. Another Evidence touching the same.

Carta Reginaldi filii Jordani Wethersfield facta Henrico de Denardiston Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

* *Gersuma* signifieth money paid before hand, which we call a fine.

SCiant præsentes & futuri, quod ego Reginaldus filius Jordani de Wethrefsfield, dedi, concessi, & hac præsenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiston Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro homagiis & servitiis eorum & pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in * gersumam unam peciam, terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, five habeatur plus five minus in villa de Parva Bradley, in Campo vocato Heldhey, jacentem inter terram Will. de Mampford quondam, & terram Joannis le Rede quondam, ex parte una in longitudine, & terram Richard. de Hanuyle ex altera, & abuttat ad unum caput super terram Joannis le Lumbard, & aliud caput super Campum vocatum Crondon, cum fepibus & foveis & omnibus aliis pertinentiis ad dictam terram spectantibus: Habend. & tenend. de me hæredibus & assignatis meis, prædictis Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus & assignatis dict. Henrici vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dict. Henric. prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis prædict. dare, vendere, vel aliquo modo assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, & hæreditarie: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi, hæredibus, & assignatis meis, unam rosam ad festum nativitatis Sancti Joannis Baptistæ pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum fectis & secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, hæredes, & assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædictam terram cum fæpibus & foveis & omnibus aliis pertinentiis, prædictis. Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus & assignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum appofui: His testibus Joanne Maveyfin, Petro de Walepol, Richardo de Hanuyle, Richardo Bercar, Henrico Maveyfin, Joanne Bercar, Willielmo Waftel, Hugone Waftel, Tho. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, & aliis.

4. Another Evidence of the like effect.

Carta Rich. Hanuyle de Parva Bradley facta. Henrico de Denardiston Clerico & Aliciæ ejus, & eorum hæredibus de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præsentes & futuri, quod ego Richardus de Hanuyle de Parva Bradley, dedi, concessi, & hac præsenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiston Clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinent. in Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Mortecroft, pro homagiis & servitiis eorum & pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, jacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex utraque parte, & unum caput abuttat super Campum vocat. Wodcroft. Habendum & tenendum de me, hæred. vel assignatis meis, ipsis, hæred. & assignat. eorum, vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis, dare, vendere, legare, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace & hæreditarie: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad Festum Sancti Michaelis unum denarium, & ad Pascha unum denarium pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, Curiæ fectis, & secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Richard. hæred. & assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus & defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis prædictis, Henrico & Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & assignat. eorum per prædictum servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum appositi; His testibus Petro de Walepol, Williel. Waftel, Hugone Waftel, Rich. Bercar, Hen. Maveyfin, Johanne Bercar, Rob. de Ponte, Williel. Picot, & aliis.

5. Another Evidence touching the same.

Scriptum Mat. de Radlisse fact. Henrico de Denardiston Clerico & Aliciæ uxori ejus de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

SCiant præsentes & futuri, quod ego Matheus de Radlisse dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti Carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Denardiston Clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. & assignat. dict. Henrici; unam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinent. five habeatur plus five minus, pro ut jacet in villa de Parva Bradley in Campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Rich. de Hanuyle ex una parte, & terram dict. Henr. de Denardiston ex alia parte, & unum caput abuttat super viam vocatam Libreddich, & aliud caput super terram Richard. de Hanuyle ante dict. Habend. & tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi, & cuicunque vel quibuscunque prædictus Henr. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace hæreditariè in perpetuum: faciendo capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita et consueto. Et ego prædict. Mattheus et hæredes mei prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. (ut prædictum est) prædict. Henr. & Aliciæ hæred. et assignat. dict. Henr. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti Cartæ sigillum meum appositi; His testibus Richard. de Hanuyle, Joanne de Stonham, Joanne Godfrey, Will. Waftel, Clement de Bures, & aliis. Dat apud Parvam Bradley, die Lunæ in quindena Sancti Michaelis, An. Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, octavo.

Dated an. R. Edw. 2. 8. which was An. 1315.

6. Another Evidence touching the same.

Scriptum Rich. de Lorvehal de parva Bradley, fact. Henrico Denardiston clerico, & Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in parva Bradley prædict.

SCiant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Richardus de Lovehal de parva Bradley, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti Carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiston Clerico, et Aliciæ uxori ejus, & hæred. dict. Henr. unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, five habeat plus five minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley & terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, uno capite abuttante super croftam Williel. Attegrene, & alio capite super le Overhall medo. Habend. et tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de Capitali Domino feodi, præd. Henr. & Aliciæ & hæred. dict. Henr. cuicunque & quibuscunque dictam peciam terræ dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, hæreditariè, in feodo & in perpetuum: faciendo eidem capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita & consueta. Et ego præd. Richard. et hæred. mei prædict. peciam terræ præd. Hen. & Aliciæ & hæredib. dict. Henr. et suis assignat. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti Cartæ sigillum meum appositi; His testibus Richard. de Hanuyle, Johan. de Stonham, Wil. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Wil. Aleyne, & aliis. Datum apud Parvam Bradley, die Dominica proxima post Festum Pasch. An. Regis Edw. filii Regis Edw. 10.

This deed beareth by the date so be made An 8. Edw. II. 2.10. an. 1317. which was about 200. years after Aston.

7. Another Evidence touching the like matter.

Scriptum Clementis de Cloptон fact. Joanni de Cowling clerico & Basiliæ uxori ejus de terris in Cowling in Suff.

SCiant præsentes & futuri, Quod ego Clemens de Cloptone, concessi, dedi, et hac præsenti Carta mea confirmavi Joan. de Bosco de Coulynge Clerico & Basiliæ uxori ejus & Hæredibus præd. Joannis, tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. in Coulynge, five sit ibi majus five minus, prout simul jacent inter terram domini Robert. de Aspal ex parte una, & terram quondam Joan. le Pogeys ex alia, uno capite abuttante super viam communem, & alio super terram quandam prædict. Joan. Pogeys: Habend. & tenend. prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. prædict. Joanni & Basiliæ et hæred. præd. Joannis de capitalibus Domin. feodi illius per servitia inde debita & de jure consueta. Et ego prædict. Clemens & hæredes mei prædict. Joanni de Basiliæ & hæred. præd. Joannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinentiis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimouium, huic præsenti Chartæ sigillum meum appositi. His Testibus, Thoma de Caldebek, Rich. Farewel, Joan. de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, & Williel. le Paumer. Datum apud Coulinge die Dominica proxima post Festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ. Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi, tertio decimo.

Dated 8. Ed. 2. 13. which was An. 1320.

All the Originals of these seven several pieces of Evidences, the true Copies whereof are here before inserted and last recited, at this present (*videlicet*) this 23. of *November*, in the year of our Lord 1575. are in the custody, and do remain among the Evidences and Writings of *John Hunt* of *Esse*, *alias Alsen*, in the County of *Essex*, Esquire, and are pertaining and belonging to his Manor of *Overhall*, *alias Parva Bradley* aforesaid, in the County of *Suffolk*. At whose hands they are easily at this present, and long time (I trust) after the writing of this History, shall remain to be seen of good Record, if any man either be desirous of the sight thereof, or doubtful of the truth of the same.

Mr. John Hunt hath seven pieces of Evidences for these his writings in his custody.

Although these Instruments and Evidences, above here specified, be of themselves evident and plain enough, so that no man can reasonably object any thing to the contrary, yet to stop the mouths of all such wranglers and cavillers, who being satisfied with no truth, will here peradventure take some occasion upon this word *Clericus*, so oftentimes named in these Evidences aforesaid, to object that this word may as well be taken for other as for Priests; therefore to prevent the cavilling Objections of such, this will be briefly to reply thereunto, That in the common Laws of this Realm, in all Gifts or Feoffments made to any spiritual person (unless he be some Graduate of Divinity in the Schools) the said spiritual person is named by no other term but by the word *Clericus*; as by divers places, as well in the printed Books, as in old Registers and Writings of the Lawyers, as well in the Common Law as Statute Law, remaineth of Record very evident to be seen. Some special notes whereof, as well for the ease of the Reader in the search of the same, as also for the further satisfying of some who peradventure shall want the Books, I thought good here to exhibit in form and tenour as followeth.

Objections concerning the word *Clericus* refused.

Certain Notes how this word Clericus *is taken in the Law Books.*

In Stat. de Mortmain, An 51 H. 3. 627.

SI Clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad Coronam pertineat, aresta tus fuerit, & postmodo per præceptum Domini Regis in Ballium traditus, vel replegiatus extiterit, ita quod hi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium eum habeant coram Justiciariis, non amercientur de eætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in Ballium, nec alii plegii sui, si corpus suum habeant coram Justiciariis, licet coram eis propter privilegium Clericale respondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter Ordinarios suos.

Another Note.

Anno 946. Priests marriage, how and when it began first to be exclaimed out of Churches.

Artic. Cleri. 9. & in fine. 21.

REx & Antecessores sui, à tempore cujus, contrarii memoria non existit, usi sunt, quod Clerici sui immorantes obsequiis, dum obsequiis illis intenderint, ad residentiam in suis Beneficiis faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in præjudicium Ecclesiasticæ libertatis quod pro Rege & Republica necessarium invenitur.

Another Note.

In eisdem Articulis in fine, 23.

CLericus ad Ecclesiam confugiens pro felonia, pro immunitate Ecclesiasticæ obtinenda, si asserit se esse Clericum, regnum non compellatur abjurare, sed legi regnisse reddens gaudebit Ecclesiastica libertate, justa laudabilem consuetudinem regni hactenus usitatum.

Another Note.

APpellaturi in forma debita tanquam Clerico per Ordinarium, denarium petito libertatis Ecclesiasticæ beneficium non negabitur.

In the Statute entituled *Articuli Cleri*, made only for the benefit of the Clergy, *Anno Regni Edwardi Reg. 2. nono*, are divers notes to like effect.

But what need many Arguments for the proof hereof? The Statutes and Law-Books of this Realm are very full of them in divers and many places, besides the Presidents, for the form of giving of Benefices, whereof none are capable but such as are spiritual men, and the Laws of the Clergy, wherein they are not called or termed otherwise by any other title or term in Latin, than *Clerici*, for the most part, not in the Kings own Grant, or the Lord Chancellors, or any other Subjects of his, as very well appeareth both by divers old written Presidents which hath been shewed unto me, and also by the forms of Presentations, collected and set forth for the instruction of such as are ignorant, or not very perfect in the order of them, in a printed Book, called *The Book of sundry Instruments*: In which form, in the said Book, the words in the Kings Grant be these:

REX Reverendissimo in Christo, &c. Ad Ecclesiam Parochialem de N. *vestræ Diocesis modo per mortem ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad nostram donationem plene jure spectantem, dilectum Capellanum nostrum* A. B. *Clericum, intuitu charitatis vobis præsentamus, & mandamus uti dictum* A. *Capellanum nostrum ad præfatam Ecclesiam admittere, eumque Rectorem ejusdem instituere, cum suis juribus, &c.*

But if the Presentation be from a Knight, an Esquire, or a Gentleman, then these words, *Capellanum nostrum*, are always left out, as in the said Book appeareth in this sort:

REverendo in Christo Patri, &c. A. B. *de* N. *ad Ecclesiam de* N. *prædictam vestræ Diocesis modo per mortem* T. D. *ultimi Incumbentis ibidem vacantem, & ad meam præsentationem plene jure spectantem, dilectum mihi in Christo Jacobum* P. *Clericum vestræ Paternitati præsento, humiliter rogans quatenus præfatum* J. *ad dictam Ecclesiam admittere, ipsumque, in Rectorem ejusdem Ecclesiæ institui & induci facere velitis cum suis juribus & pertinentiis universis, &c.* As in the said Book is more at large to be seen or perused.

Thus I doubt not, loving Reader, but by these so plain Evidences above prefixed, thou hast sufficiently to understand, that this violent restraint of Priests lawful marriage, within this Realm of *England*, is of no such long reach and antiquity, as hath been thought of many, and all by reason of ignorance of Histories, and course of times. So that briefly, as in a summary Table, to comprehend the whole effect hereof:

First about the year of our Lord 946. the profession of single life, and displacing of marriage, began to come into example here in *England* by reason of S. *Benets* Monks, which then began to increase here about the time of King *Edgar*, and especially by the means of *Oswald* Bishop of *York*, *Odo* and *Dunstane*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwold* Bishop of *Winc.* so that in divers Cathedral Churches and Bishops Sees, Monks with their professed singlenesse of life crept in, and married Ministers (which were then called Secular Priests) with their Wives out of sundry Churches were dispossessed, not from Wives, but only from their Places; and yet not in all Churches, but only in certain, whereof read before.

Anno 1067.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope *Nicolas* the Second, *Anno* 1060. of *Alexander* and *Hildebrand*, came into the See of *Canterbury* another Monk called *Lanfrank*, who also, being a promoter of this professed Chastity, made the Decree more general, that all Prebendaries being married in any Churches should be displaced; yet the Priests in Towns and Villages should

not be compelled to leave their married Wives, unless they would.

Anno 1106. Last of all followed Monkish *Anselme*, *Anno* 1106. by whom was made this Law at *Winchester* aforesaid, that Priests, Arch-deacons, Deacons and Sub-deacons, which had Wives and Spiritual Livings, should be put from them both; and also that none after should be admitted to their Orders, but should first profess single life, that is, to live without Wives. And thus much concerning Priests marriage forbidden.

Let us add moreover to these Evidences above rehearsed, for more confirmation of the ancient use and liberty of Priests marriage, another testimony or two out of like ancient Records, with like plain words declaring unto us, how the Matrimony of Priests, before the time of *Lanfrank* aforesaid, was no strange example in the Church. And first we will infer the words of an old Martyrologue pertaining to the Records of *Canterbury*. The words of which Martyrologue be these.

Ex antiquo Martyrologio Ecclesiæ Cant.

Livingus Presbyter cum Uxore. *Lanfranchi Archiep. reddidit Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Andreæ, quia de jure ipsius Ecclesiæ antiquitus fuerunt, in Sutherge, Murtilac, Londoniæ, Monasterium Sanctæ Mariæ cum terris & domibus, quas Livingus Presbyter & Uxor illius Londoniæ habuerunt.*

To this also may be adjoyned another like Antiquity out of an old written History belonging to the Church of S. *Asaph*, after the time of *Lanfrank*, as followeth.

Anno Domini 1261. *ex antiq. libro Asaph. Manuscripto.*

* Forbonizatus is a Saxon term, and signifieth as much as a man outlawed. *De Clerico Uxorato receptante publicè * Forbonizatum scienter, & possit contra ipsum probari, nobis videtur quod tenetur respondere in foro Ecclesiastico. Si vero facit residentiam in terra principis, & contingat ipsum moliturari, tota molitia sua principi debetur. Si vero residentiam in terra Episcopi facit, molita dividatur inter Episcopum & Principem. Si vero Uxor alicujus talis scienter vel volenter in ejus absentia receptaverit, Mulier in foro Ecclesiastico respondeat, & Clericus rationem sui facti non puniatur, nec pro ea, (nisi velit) respondere cogatur.*

Neither is the testimony of *Matthæus* unworthy also hereunto to be added, writing in the Life of *Hilarius* Bishop of *Pictavium*, as followeth.

Ex Matthæo.

Integritas vitæ, legum prudentia, cultus
Calculum, tutela inopum, diadema, pedumque
Pictavienſe tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum vivus tibi, ſorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente, tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obſtitit Uxor
Legitimo conjuncta toro; non horruit illa
Tempeſtate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas.
Sola erat in pretio, quæ nunc incognita virtus
Sordet, & attrito vivit cum plebe cucullo.
Properea leges, quæ ſunt connubia contra,
Eſſe malas quidam perhibent. Prudentia patrum
Non ſatis adverſit, dicunt, quid ferre recuſet,
Quid valeat natura pati. Cervicibus, aiunt,
Hoc inſuave jugum noſtris imponere Chriſtus
Noluit; iſtud onus quod adhuc quam plurima monſtra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius eſſe volunt, qua lex divina ſinebat
Iſſe via, veterumque ſequi veſtigia patrum;
Quorum vita fuit melior cum conjuge, quam nunc
Noſtra ſit excluſis thalamis & conjugis uſu.

The sixth Article, touching Auricular Confession.

OF Confession three things we find in the Scriptures expressed and approved. The first is our Confession privately and publickly made unto God alone; and this Confession is necessary for all men at all times. Wherefore S. *John* speaketh, *If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive*, &c. Three kinds of Confession. 1. Confession to God. 1 John 1.

The second is the Confession which is openly made in the face of the Congregation. And this Confession also hath place when any such thing is committed, wherefore riseth a publick offence and slander to the Church of God; as examples there be of Penitentiaries in the Primitive Church, as *Meleciades* and other, &c.

The third kind of Confession is that which we make privately to our Brother. And this Confession is requisite, when either we have injured or by any way damnified our Neighbour, whether he be rich or poor. Whereof speaketh the Gospel, *Go and reconcile thy self first unto thy Neighbour*, &c. Also S. *James*, *Confess your selves one to another*, &c. Or else this Confession may also have place, when any such thing lieth in our Conscience, in the opening whereof we stand in need of the counsel and comfort of some faithful Brother. But herein must we use discretion in avoiding these points of blind Superstition. First, That we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use therein our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, That we be not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, That we tye not our selves to any one person, more than to another, but that we use therein our free choice, whom we think can give us the best Spiritual counsel in the Lord. Private Confessions our Brother. Matth. 5. James 5. Certain points of Superstition to be avoided in private Confession.

But as there is nothing in the Church so good and so ghostly, which through peevish Superstition either hath not, or may not be perverted; so this Confession also hath not lacked his abuses. First, The secret Confession to God alone, as it hath been counted insufficient; so hath it been but lightly esteemed of many. The publick Confession to the Congregation hath been turned to a standing in a sheet, or else hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the secret breaking of a mans mind to some faithful or spiritual Brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, hath in like sort been turned into Auricular Confession in a Priests ear, for absolving of his sins. In which Auricular Confession, first of the free liberty of the Penitent, in uttering his griefs, they have made a mere necessity, and that unto salvation and remission of sins. Secondly, They require withal enumeration and a full recital of all sins whatsoever, both great and small; also besides the necessity of this ear Confession, they add thereto a prescription of time, at least once in the year for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed; making moreover of the same a Sacrament. And lastly, whereas before it stood in the voluntary choice of a man to open his heart to what Spiritual Brother he thought best, for an easment of his grief and ghostly Consolation, they bind him to a Priest (unless some Frier come by the way to be his ghostly Father) to whom he must needs confess all, whatsoever he hath done, and though he lack the Key of Knowledge, and peradventure of good discretion, yet none must have power to absoil him, but he through the Authority of his Kayes. Four or five abuses in Auricular Confession. 1. Necessity. 2. Enumeration of sins. 3. Prescription of time. 4. Confession made a Sacrament. 5. To a Priest only.

And this manner of Confession, they say, was instituted by Christ, and his Apostles, and hath been used in the Church ever since to this present day. Which is a most manifest untruth, and easie by Stories to be convinced.

For *Soc. li.* 5. *c.* 19. and *Sozo. li.* 7. *c.* 16. in the Book of Ecclesiastical History, do give us plainly to understand that this Auricular Confession never came of Christ, but only of Man. Soc. l. 5. c. 19. Soz. l. 7. c. 16.

Item, In the time of *Tertullian*, *Beat. Rhenanus* testifieth, that there was no mention made of this Auricular Confession. Which may well be gathered hereof, for that *Tertullian* writing upon Repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof. Beat. Rhenanus in argum. Libel. Tertul. de Pœnitentia.

Item,

Chrys. in Ps. 50. hom. 1. *Item*, In the time of *Chrysostom*, it appeareth there was no such affoiling at the Priests hands by these words, where he saith, *I require thee not that thou shouldest confess thy sins to thy fellow servant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them.*

Chrys. in hom. de pœnit. & confessione. *Item*, The said *Chrysostom* in another place writing upon Repentance and Confession, *Let the examination of thy sins and thy judgment*, saith he, *be secret and close without witness; let God only see and hear thy Confession*, &c.

De pœn. dist. 1. Ferus in Glosa. *Item*, In the time of *Ambrose*, *de Pœnit. Dist.* 1. *Pe-trus*, the Glosa of the Popes own Decrees reporteth, *That the Institution of Penance was not then begun, which now in our days is in use.*

Pœnen. dist. in principio. *Item*, It is truly said therefore of the Glosa in another place, where he testifieth, *That this Institution of Penance began rather of some Tradition of the Universal Church, then of any Authority of the New Testament, or of the Old*, &c.

Rot. in Scholi. in Epsephium Fabiole. The like also testifieth *Erasmus*, writing upon *Jerome*, in these words, *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum inſtitutam fuiſſe*, &c. That is, It appeareth that in the time of *Jerome*, this secret Confession of sins was not yet ordained, which the Church afterward did institute wholesomly, if our Priests and Lay-men would use it rightly. But herein, Divines not considering advisedly what the old Doctors do say, are much deceived. That which they say of general and open Confession, they wrest by and by to this privy and secret kind of Confession which is far divers, and of another sort, &c.

Gratian de pœnit. dist. 1. Quamvis. The like Testimony may also be taken of *Gratian* himself, who speaking of Confession used then in his time, leaving the matter in doubtful suspence, neither pronouncing on the one side, nor on the other, but referreth the Act of these fix Articles here enjoyneth as necessary, under pain of death.

The first Institution of Auricular Confession, when and by whom it began. Briefly, in few words to search out and notifie the very certain time, when this Article of ear Confession first crept into the Church, and what Antiquity it hath, in following the Judgment of *Joannes Scotus*, and of *Antonius*, it may well be supposed, that the Institution thereof took his first original by Pope *Innocent* the Third, in his Council of *Lateran*, *Anno* 1215. For so we read

Joan. Scot. l. 4. Sent. Dist. 17. Artic. 3. *in Joan. Scotus, Lib.* 4. *Sent. Dist.* 17. *Artic.* 3. *Præcipua autem ſpecificatio hujus præcepti inventitur in illo cap. Extra de pœnit. & remiſſ. Omnis utriuſque ſexus*, &c. And after in the same Article it followeth, *Nam ex prima inſtitutione Eccleſiæ non videntur fuiſſe diſtincti primi Sacerdotes. Quando enim Apoſtoli hinc & inde ibant prædicando verbum Dei*, &c. By the which words it appeareth that there was no Institution of any such Confession specified before the Constitution of Pope *Innocentius* the Third.

Antonius part. 3. Hist. tit. 19. But more plainly the same may appear by the words of *Antonius* in 3. *parte Hist.* which be these: *Innocentius tertius in Concilio Generali prædicto, circa Sacramenta Confessionis & Communionis ſic ſtatuit: Omnis utriuſque ſexus fidelis poſtquam ad annum diſcretionis pervenerit, omnia peccata ſua ſolus ſaltem ſemel in Anno, confiteatur proprio Sacerdoti, & injunctam ſibi pœnitentiam propriis viribus ſtudeat adimplere, aliquis & vivens ab ingreſſu Eccleſiæ arceatur, & mortuus Chriſtiana careat ſepultura. Unde hoc ſalutare Statutum frequenter in Eccleſiis publicetur: ne quiſquam ignorantiæ excitate velecſiis publicetur*, &c. That is to say, Pope Innocent *the Third, in his General Council aforesaid, touching the Sacraments of Confession and the Communion, made this Constitution, as followeth. That every faithful person, both man and woman, after they come to the years of discretion, shall confess all their sins by themselves alone, at least once a year, to their own ordinary Priest, and shall endeavour to fulfil by their own strength their Penance to them injoyned. Or else who so doth not, shall neither have entrance into the Church, being alive, nor being dead, shall enjoy Christian burial. Wherefore this wholesom Constitution we will to be published often in the Churches, lest any man through the blindness of Ignorance, may make to themselves a Cloak of Excuse*, &c. And thus much hitherto we have alledged by occasion incident of these fix Articles for some part of confutation of the same, referring the Reader, for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of Divines, which professedly write upon those matters. The Constitution of Pope Innocent the Third, touching Auricular Confession.

In the mean time, forsomuch as there is extant in Latin a certain learned Epistle of *Philip Melanchthon*, written to King *Henry* the Eighth against these six wicked Articles above specified, I thought not to defraud the Reader of the Fruit thereof, for his better understanding and instruction. The tenour and effect of his Epistle translated into English thus followeth.

The Copy of Melancthons *Epistle sent to King* Henry, against the cruel Act of the six Articles.

A fruitful Epistle of P. Melancthon, sent to King Henry touching the Ex Articles.

MOst famous and noble Prince, there was certain Emperors of *Rome*, as *Adrianus*, *Pius*, and afterward the two Brethren, *Verus* and *Marcus*; which did receive gently the Apologies and Defences of the Christians; which so prevailed with those moderate Princes, that they swaged their wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel Decrees: Even so, forasmuch as there is a Decree set forth of late in your Realm against that Doctrine which we profess; both godly and necessary for the Church, I beseech your most honourable Majesty favourably both to read and consider this our complaint, especially seeing I have not only for our own cause, but much rather for the common safeguard of the Church, directed this my writing unto you. For seeing those Heathen Princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Christians, how much more is it befeeming for a King of Christian Profession, and such a one as is occupied in the studies of holy Histories, to hear the Complaints and Admonitions of the godly in the Church? and so much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have so favourably heretofore received my Letters with a singular declaration of your * Benevolence towards me. This also giveth me some hope that you will not unwillingly read these things, forasmuch as I see that the very phrase and manner of writing doth plainly declare, not your self, but only the Bishops to be the Authors of those Articles and Decrees there set forth; albeit, through their wily and subtile Sophistications, they have induced you (as it hapned to many other worthy Princes besides you) to condescend and assent unto them, as the Rulers persuaded *Darius*, being otherwise a wise and just Prince, to cast *Daniel* unto the Lions. * He meaneth here the Kings liberal reward sent to him before in money, by Mr. J. Hales, which money he then distributed among the Ministers and learned men of Worcestershire. Dan. 3.

It was never unseemly for a good Prince to correct and reform cruel and rigorous Laws (as it is commonly said) to have a second view and oversight of things before passed and decreed.

The wise *Athenians* made a Decree when the City of *Mitylene* was recovered, which before had forsaken them that all the Citizens there should be slain, and the City utterly destroyed. Whereupon there was a Ship sent forth with the same Commandment to the Army. On the next morrow the matter was brought again before the same Judges, and after better advice taken, there was a contrary Decree made; that the whole multitude should not be put to the Sword, but a few of the chiefest Authors of their Rebellion should be punished, and the City saved. There was therefore another Ship sent forth with a Countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former Ship, as also it happened. Neither was that noble City, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former Decree. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the Church especially Princes have many times altered and reformed their Decrees, as *Nebuchadonosor* and *Darius*. There was a Decree set forth in the name of *Assuerus*, concerning the killing of the Jews: that Decree was afterwards called in again. So did *Adrianus* and *Antoninus* also correct and reform their Decrees. Example of the Athenians revoking their Decree. Esther 8. Dan. 6.

Therefore, although there be a Decree set forth in *England*, which threateneth strange punishments and penalties, disagreeing from the custom of the true Church, and swerving from the Rules and Canons thereof;

yet I thought it not unseemly for us to become Petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of these your sharp and severe proceedings. The which, when I consider it, grieveth my mind, not only for the peril and danger of them which profess the same Doctrine that we do, but also I do lament for your cause, that they should make you an Instrument and a Minister of their bloody Tyranny and Impiety. And partly also I lament to see the course of Christian Doctrine perverted, superstitious Rites confirmed, Whoredom and lecherous Lusts maintained.

Mitigation of the six Articles desired.

Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in Doctrine and Vertue, to be there detained in Prison, as *Latimer*, *Cromer*, *Shaxton*, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, then to give their lives in the Confession of the manifest Truth and Verity; yet would I wish that you should not disdain your hands with the blood of such men; neither would I wish such Lanthorns of Light in your Church to be extinguished; neither these spiritual and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wills so much fulfilled. Neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish Antichrist, which laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well, by the help of his Bishops, to recover again his former Possession, which of late by your vertues and godly means he lost: he seeth your Bishops for the time loyal unto you, and obsequious to obey your will; but in heart he seeth them linked unto him in a perpetual bond of Fidelity and Obedience. In all these feats and practises the Romish Bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts heretofore they have passed by bearing and suffering. They see that great things be brought to pass in time. Neither do they forget the old Verse of the Poet:

Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others imprisoned for the six Articles.

The Bishops pretend obedience to the King, but their hearts be with the Pope.

Multa dies variisque labor mutabilis ævi
——Rettulit in melius.

Many good and learned men in *Germany* conceived of you great hope, that by your Authority and example other Princes also would be provoked to forcease likewise from their unjust Cruelty, and better to advise themselves for the Reformation of Errors crept into the Church; trusting that you would be as a Guide and Captain of that godly purpose and enterprise. But now seeing these your contrary proceedings, we are utterly discouraged; the indignation of other Princes is confirmed; the stubbornness of the wicked is augmented; and old and great Errors are thereby established.

The Bishops maintain errors against their knowledge.

But here your Bishops will say again, no doubt, That they defend no Errors, but the very Truth of Gods holy Word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very deed both against the true Word of God, and the Apostolick Church, yet like crafty Sophisters they can find out fair glosses, pretending a goodly shew outwardly, to colour their Errors and Abuses.

And this sophistication not only now in *England* is had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom; neither in *Rome* only reigneth, where Cardinal *Conterenus*, *Sadolet*, and Cardinal *Pool*, go about to paint out Abuses with new colours and goodly glosses; but also in *Germany* divers Noblemen are likewise corrupted and seduced with the like sophistication. And therefore I nothing marvel that so many there with you be deceived with these crafty juglings. And although you for your part lack neither learning nor judgment, yet sometimes we see it so happen, that wise men also be carried away, by fair and colourable persuasions, from the Verity. The saying of *Simonides* is praiseworthy, *Opinion* (saith he) *many times perverteth Verity*. And many times false Opinion hath outwardly a fairer shew than simple Truth: and specially it so happeneth in cases of Religion, where the Devil transformeth himself into an Angel of Light, setting forth, with all colourable and goodly shews, false Opinions. How fair seemeth the Gloss of *Samosatenus* upon the Gospel of S. *John*, *In the beginning was the Word*, &c. and yet is it full of Impiety. But I omit forreign Examples.

Falshood often times beareth a fairer shew than Truth.

John 1.

In these Articles of yours, how many things are craftily and deceitfully devised? Confession, saith the Article, is necessary, and ought to be retained. And why say they not plainly, That the rehearsing and numbering up of sins is necessary by Gods Word? This the Bishops knew well to be very false, and therefore in the Article they placed their words generally, to blear the eyes of the simple people, that when they hear confession to be necessary, they should thereby think the enumeration of sins to be necessary by Gods Word.

Confession.

The like Legerdemain also they use in the Article of private Masses, albeit the beginning of the said Article containeth a manifest untruth, where they say that it is necessary to retain private Masses. What man in all the Primitive Church, more then four hundred years after the Apostles time, did ever so say or think, at what time there were no such private Masses used: but afterward in the process of the Article follow other blind sophistications, to make the People believe that they should receive by them Divine Consolations and Benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what Consolations and Benefits those be? The Bishops here do name no application and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they dally, with glossing words, whereby they winde out and escape, if any should improve their application. And yet notwithstanding they would have this their application to be understood and believed of the People. They would have this idolatrous perswasion confirmed, to wit, that this Sacrifice doth merit unto others remission *à pœna & culpa*; releasse of all Calamities, and also gain and lucre in common Traffick, and to conclude, whatsoever else the careful heart of man doth desire.

Private Masses.

By application of Masses, is meant, when the Fashion and Merits of Christ is applied to any by the vertue of the Mass.

The like sophistication they use also, where they say that Priests marriage is against the Law of God. They are not ignorant what S. *Paul* saith, *A Bishop ought to be the Husband of one Wife*: and therefore they know right-well that marriage is permitted to Priests by the Law of God. But because now they say they have made a Vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that Priests for their Vows sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the Article after this fort; That marriage of Priests is utterly against the Law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they shew moreover, when they compel marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death which will not put away their Wives, and renounce their Matrimony? Whereas the Vow of Priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further, but only to put them from the Ministery if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the Councels and Canons.

The filthy life of the Clergy for lack of Marriage.

This restoring of the Gospel is only of God and not of Men.

Priests marriage. 1 Tim. 3.

O cursed Bishops! O impudent and wicked *Wmchester!* who under these colourable fetches thinketh to deceive the eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in the whole World. These things have I written, that you may understand the crafty sleights, and so judge of the purpose and policy of these Bishops. For if they would simply and heartily search for the Truth, they would not use these crafty Collusions and deceitful Jugglings.

Winchester cunning in the Art of Jugglings, called Deceptio visus.

This sophistication, as it is in all other affairs pernitious and odious, so above all things, most specially it is to be avoided in matters of Religion: wherein it is a heinous Impiety to corrupt or pervert the pure Word of God. And hereof the Devil, which is called *Diabolus* specially taketh his name, because he wresteth the Word of God out of mens hearts by such false juglings and sophistical Cavillations. And why do not these Bishops as well plainly utter and confess, that they will abide no Reformation of Doctrine and Religion in the Church, for that it shall make against their Dignity, Pomp, and Pleasure? Why do not their Adherents also, and such as take their part, plainly say that they will retain still this present state of the Church, for their own profit, tranquility, and maintenance? Thus to confess were true and plain dealing.

The Word of God is ought herein to be handled without all sophistry.

Now whiles they pretend hypocritically a false zeal and love to the Truth and sincere Religion, they come in with their blind sophistications, wherewith they cover their Errours. For their Articles set forth in this Act be erroneous, false and impious, how glorious soever they seem outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wished that these Bishops would remember Gods terrible threatnings in the Prophet *Isaiah*; *Wo to you* (saith he) *which make wicked Laws, what will you do in the day of visitation and calamity to come?* &c. *Wo unto you that call evil good*, &c.

The cloaked hypocrisie of false Prophets.

Isa. 10. Isai. 5.

Now to come more near to the matter which we have in hand; this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkness hath been in the Church of Christ. Mens Traditions not only have been a yoke to good Mens Consciences, but also (which is much worse) they have been reputed for Gods holy service, to the great disworship of God. There were Vows, things bequeathed to Churches, diversity of Garments, choice of Meats, long babling Prayers, Pardons, Image-worship, manifest Idolatry committed to Saints, the true Worship of God, and true good Works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Christian and Heathen Religion, as still is yet at *Rome* to this present day to be seen. The true Doctrine of Repentance, of Remission of Sins, which cometh by the Faith of Christ, of Justification, of Faith, of the difference between the Law and the Gospel, of the right use of the Sacraments, was hid and unknown. The Keyes were abused to the maintenance of the Popes usurped tyranny. Ceremonies of Mens invention were much preferred before Civil Obedience and duties done in the Common-Wealth.

Mens traditions counted for Gods service.

Unto these errors moreover was joyned a corrupt life, full of all lecherous and filthy lusts, by reason of the Law forbidding Priests to marry. Out of this miserable darkness God something hath begun to deliver his Church through the restoring again of true Doctrine. For so we must needs acknowledge, that these so great and long festered errors have not been disclosed and brought to light by the industry of Man; but this light of the Gospel is only the Gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the Church. For so doth the holy Ghost prophecy before, how in the later times the Godly should sustain sore and perilous conflicts with Antichrist, foreshewing that he should come, environed with a mighty and strong Army of Bishops, hypocrites, and Princes; that he should fight against the Truth, and slay the Godly.

And that now all these things are so come to pass, it is most evident and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome* hath partly brought in errors into the Church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the same with force and violence, as *Daniel* well foreshewed. And much we rejoyce to see you divided from him, hoping and trusting well that the Church of *England* would now flourish. But your Bishops be not divided from the Romish Antichrist; his Idolatry, Errors, and Vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the Articles now passed are craftily picked out. They confirm all Humane Traditions, in that they establish solemn Vows, single Life, and Auricular Confession. They uphold and advance not only their pride and authority, but all errors withal, in retaining the private Mass.

By the six Articles all errors and traditions are maintained.

Thus have they craftily provided that no Reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may still be upholden. And this to be the purpose of the Bishops, experience it self doth plainly teach us. Now what Man will not lament to see the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? For (as I said before) this matter concerneth not only these Articles which be there enacted, but all other Articles of found Doctrine are likewise overthrown, if such Traditions of Men shall be reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, *For they worship me in vain with the precepts of Men?* or why doth Saint *Paul* so oft detest Mens Traditions?

Mat. 7.

God will not be worshipped but after his Word.

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his Word, or to defend the same. Such presumption God doth horribly detest, which will be known in his Word only. He will have none other Religions invented by Mans devise; for else all sorts of Religions of all Nations might be approved and allowed. *Lean not* (saith he) *to thine own wisdom.* But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of subtle and politick heads,

Prov. 3.

which apply Religion to their own lucre and commodity.

Furthermore, private Masses, Vows, the single life of Priests, numbring up of Sins to the Priest, with other things more, bring but mear ordinances of Men, are used for Gods true service and worship. For although the Supper of the Lord was truly instituted by Christ, yet the private Mass is a wicked prophanation of the Lords Supper. For in the Canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is said, That Christ is offered, and that the work it self is a Sacrifice which redeemeth the quick and the dead? These things were never ordained of Christ; yea manifold ways they are repugnant to the Gospel. Christ willeth not himself to be offered up of Priests, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a Sacrifice. This is manifest Idolatry, and overthroweth the true Doctrine of Faith, and the true use of the Sacraments. By Faith in Christ we are justified, and not by any work of the Priests. And the Supper is ordained that the Minister should distribute to others, to the intent, that they repenting for their Sins should be admonished firmly to believe the promises of the Gospel to pertain unto them. Here is set a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by his Blood.

Against private Masses & the Canon of the Mass.

Christ bare and suffered.

The true use of the Lords Supper.

And this is the true use of that Supper, which is ordained in the Gospel, and was observed in the Primitive Church three hundred years and more, from the which we ought not to be removed. For it is plain impiety to transfer the Lords Institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second Commandment. Wherefore these private Masses, forasmuch as they swerve from the right Institution of Christ manifold ways, as by Oblation, Sacrifice, Application, and many other ways besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. *Flie* (saith Saint *Paul*) *From all Idolatry.* In these private Masses much Idolatry is committed, which we see our Bishops now so stoutly to defend; and no marvel. For in the later times the Scripture plainly sheweth that great Idolatry shall reign in the Church of God. As Christ himself also signifieth, saying, When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the Prophet *Daniel*, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him unnerstand. And *Daniel* in the eleventh Chapter, and he shall worship the God *Maozim* in his place, and shall adore the God whom his Fathers knew not, with Gold, Silver, and precious stones. Both these places do speak of the Mass.

Sacraments ought not to be removed from their right use.

1 Cor. 10:

Matth. 24:

Dan. 11:

This kind of worship and horrible prophanation of the Sacrament God abhorreth. For how many and sundry kinds of manifest impiety are here committed in this one action of the Mass? First it is set forth to sale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied for meritorious and satisfactory for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promised thereby, as prosperous navigation, remedies against diseases both for Man and Beast, with other infinite more. These be most manifest and notorious abominations. But besides these, there be other also no less to be reprehended, which the simple people do not so plainly see. Such worshipping and serving of God is not to be set up after the phantasie of Men.

What impiety is in the Mass.

Wherefore they do wickedly when they offer Sacrifice to God without his commandment. For when of this work they make a Sacrifice, they imagine that private Masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that Masses are bought with Gold and Silver, great riches and sumptuous charges; also that the Sacrament is carried about in Gold and Silver to be worshipped, whereas the Sacrament was never ordained for any such purpose. Wherefore seeing the commandment of God biddeth, flie from Idolatry, private Masses are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they say that such private Masses are necessary to be retained, when it is evident that in the old time there was none such. Shall we think that things, pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be lacking in the Primitive Church, three hundred years after the Apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

No private Masses used in the old time.

We

We see these private Masses to be defended with great labour and much ado: of some, for fear left their gain should decay; of some, because they would serve the affection of the vulgar people (which thinketh to have great succour thereby); and therefore are loath to leave it, rather then for any just Cause or Reason to leave them. But, howsoever they do, a most manifest and evident cause there is why these private Masses ought to be abolished. For first, their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the Priest merit any Grace to any Person, but every one is justified by his own Faith. Neither again would God have any Man to trust upon any Ceremony, but only to the benefit of Christ; and most certain it is, that the application of these Masses for the dead is full of great errour and impiety.

Application of the Mass Idolatrous.

But here come in blind glosses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application. For universally among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that this work is available for the whole Church? Yea the Canon of the Mass it self declareth no less. And why then do some of these crafty Sophisters dally out the matter with their glossing words, denying that they make any application of their Masses, when they know full well that the error of the people is confirmed by this their doing; although they themselves do think otherwise? Albeit how few be there in very deed which do otherwise think?

The old Institution of Christ is not to be altred by new inventions.

We ought not to dissemble in Gods matters. Let us use them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the ancient custom of the Primitive Church doth lead us. Why should any Man be so presumptuous to swerve from antient custom? Why now do they defend the error of other which have perverted the institution of Christ.

Now, although some perhaps will pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his Masses, yet notwithstanding he so dealeth in handling the Ceremony privately by himself, that he thinketh that his oblation to be high service done to God, and such as God requireth: Which is also erroneous and to be reproved. For why? No service or worship pertaining unto God ought to be set up by mans device, without the commandment of God.

Wherefore I beseech you, for the Glory of Christ, that you will not defend the Article of this Act concerning these private Masses, but that you will further the matter to be well examined by vertuous and learned Men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and substantial testimony of the Primitive Church; which testimony I dare be bold to set against the judgments of all that have since followed, such as have corrupted the the ancient Doctrine and told Rites with manifold errors.

Against Vows of Priests single life. The common error concerning Vows.

As touching the other Articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, fained, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common perswasion of all Men touching Vows, that all these will-works devised by Man are the true service and worship of God; and so think they also which speak most indifferently of them. Other add thereunto more gross errours, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, They worship me in vain with the precepts of Men. And *Paul* saith, that these observations be the Doctrine of Devils, for they ascribe to the power and strength of Man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worship of God. Item, the said *Paul* to the *Colossians* saith, Let no Man deceive you by fained humility, &c. Why make you Decrees, &c? Wherefore these corrupt traditions of Men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

Mark. 7.

1 Tim. 4.

Coloss. 2.

Unto these also are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuses. The whole Order of Monkery what superstition doth it contain? What prophanations of Masses, invocations of Saints, colours and fashions of apparel, choice of meats, superstitious Prayers without all measure? Of which causes every one were sufficient, why these Vows ought to be broken. Besides this, a great part of Men are drawn to this kind of life chiefly for the bellies sake, and then afterward they pretended the holiness of the Vow and Profession.

Cause why Vows ought to be broken.

Furthermore this Vow of single life is not to all Men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, *All Men do not receive this.* Such Vows therefore which without Sin cannot be performed are to be undone; but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my works.

Matth. 18.

But this cause th me much to marvel, that this Vow of Priests in your English Decree is more strait and hard, than the Vow of Monks, whereas the Canons themselves do bind a Priest no farther to single life, but only for the time that he remaineth in the Ministery. And certainly it made my heart to tremble when I read this Article who so forbiddeth Matrimony, and dissolveth the same being contracted, and appointeth moreover the punishment of death for the same. Although there have been divers godly Priests which in certain places have been put to death for their marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been so bold to establish any such law. For every Man in a manner well perceived that all well disposed and reasonable persons would abhor that cruelty; and also they feared lest the posterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the Church of Christ, wherein all lenity toward the Godly ought most principally to be shewen, such cruelties and tyranny could take place, to set forth bloody Laws to be executed upon the Godly for lawful Matrimony?

The fix Articles make the Vow of Priests as straight as the Vow of Monks, Which is contrary to their own Law.

No Law of death ever established for Priests marriage, before the fix Articles.

Exemple of good Princes.

But they brake their Vows, will the Bishop say. For (as I said) that Vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them which forsake the Ministry. Finally, if the Bishops here would have a care and regard to Mens Consciences, they should then ordain Priests without any such profession or Vow-making, as appeareth by the old Canons, how that many were admitted to the Ministry without professing of any Vow; and the same afterward, when they had married their Wives, remained in the Ministry, as is testified, *Cap. Diaconi. Distinct.* 28.

Why Priests Vows ought not to stand.

Dist. 28. cap. Diaconi.

Certainly what here I may complain I cannot tell. First, in this Article I cannot impute it to ignorance that they do. For no Man is ignorant of the Commandment of God, which saith, *Let every Man have his Wife for avoiding of fornication.* Again, who is so blind but he seeth what a life these unmarried Priests do live? The complaints of good Men are well known. The filthiness of the wicked is too too manifest. But peradventure your Bishops, holding with the Sect of Epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lusts. Which if they do think, then do we sustain doubtless an hard cause where such must be judges.

Bishops refrain Priests marriage against all reason and cause.

He meaneth Gheast, Latimer, Cranmer, and others.

I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of Bishops and Colledges of Priests, and to maintain their wealth and portly state, and this I suppose to be the cause why some do abhor so much that Priests should be married. But O lamentable state of the Church, if Laws should be so forced to serve, not the verity and the Will of God, but the private gain and commodity of Men! They err which think it lawful for them to make Laws repugnant to the Commandment of God, and to the Law of nature, so that they be profitable to attain Wealth and Richesand of truth from my very heart I do mourn and lament. Right Noble Princes, both for your sake, and also for the cause of Christs Church. You pretend to impugn and gainstand the tyranny of the Romish Bishop, and truly do call him Antichrist, as indeed he is; and in the mean time you defend and maintain those Laws of that Romish Antichrist, which be the strength and sinews of all his power, as private Mass, single life of Priests, and other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishments to good Men, and to the members of Christ, you violently oppress and bear down the verity of the Gospel beginning to shine in your Churches. This is not to abolish Antichrist, but to establish him.

Complaint of unjust Laws serving to the hurt of them against the Glory of God.

The Devils Instruments by whom he worketh.

I beseech you therefore for our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye file not your Conscience in defending those Articles which your Bishops have devised and set forth touching private Masses, Auricular Confession, Vows, single life of Priests, and prohibition of the one half of the Sacrament. It is no light offence to establish Idolatry, errours, cruelty,

cruelty, the filthy lusts of Antichrist. If the Roman Bishops should call a Council, what other Articles chiefly would he devise and publish unto the World, but the very same which your Bishops have here enacted?

The subtilty of Satan in abusing the power of Princes to maintain his Kingdom.

Understand and consider, I pray you, the subtil trains and deceits of the Devil, which is wont first to set upon and assail the chief Governours. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the World, so his chiefest purpose is by all crafty and subtil means to work contumely against Christ, by sparding abroad wicked opinions, and setting up Idolatry, and also in polluting mankind with bloody Murthers and fleshly lusts: in the working whereof he abuseth the policies and wits of Hypocrites, also the power and strength of mighty Princes; as Stories of all times bear witness, what great Kingdoms and Empires have set themselves with all might and main against the poor Churches of Christ.

And yet notwithstanding God hath reserved some good Princes at all times out of the great multitude of such Gyants, and hath brought them to his Church, to embrace true Doctrine, and to defend his true worship, as *Abraham* taught *Abimelech*; *Joseph* the Egyptian Kings; and after them came *David*, *Josaphat*, *Ezechias*, *Josias* excelling in true Godliness. *Daniel* converted to the knowledge of God, the Kings of *Chaldea* and *Persia*. Also *Darius* brought forth unto the World the Godly Prince *Constantine*. In this number I with you rather to be, than amongst the Enemies of Christ, defiled with Idolatry, and spotted with the Blood of the Godly; of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many times forewarn, and many examples do teach.

Yet again therefore I pray and beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will correct and mitigate this Decree of the Bishops, in which doing you shall advance the Glory of Christ, and provide as well for the wealth of your own Soul, as the safegard of your Churches.

Let the hearty desires of so many Godly Men through the whole World move you, so earnestly wishing that some good Kings would extend their Authority to the true reformation of the Church of God, to the abolishing of all Idolatrous Worship, and the furthering of the course of the Gospel. Regard also and consider, I beseech you, those Godly persons which are with you in bands for the Gospels sake, being the true members of Christ.

And if that cruel Decree be not altered, the Bishops will never cease to rage against the Church of Christ, without mercy or pity: for them the Devil useth as Instruments and Ministers of his fury and malice against Christ. These he stirreth up to slay and kill the members of Christ. Whose wicked and cruel proceedings and subtil foplications and that you will not prefer before our true and most righteous requeſt, all the Godly most humbly and heartily do pray and beseech you. Which if they shall obtain, no doubt but God shall recompence to you great rewards for your piety, and your excellent vertue shall be renowned both by pen and voice of all the Godly. while the World standeth. For Christ shall judge all them that shall deserve either well or evil of his Church. And whiles Letters shall remain, the memorial worthy of such no be deserts shall never dye or be forgotten with the posterity to come. And seeing we seek the glory of Christ, and that our Churches are the Churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnifie with due commendation such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemn the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

Christ goeth about hungry, thirsty, naked, imprisoned, complaining of the raging fury of the Bishops, and of the wrongful oppression and cruelty of divers Kings and Princes, intreating that the members of his Body be not rent in pieces, but that true Churches may be defended, and his Gospel advanced. This requeſt of Christ to hear, to receive, and to embrace, is the Office of a Godly King,, and service most acceptable unto God.

Intreating a little before, of certain old instruments for proof of Priests lawful marriage in times past, I gave a little touch of a certain Record taken out of an old Martyrologe of the Church of Canterbury *touching* Livingus *a Priest and his Wife, in the time of* Lanfranke. *Wherein I touched also of certain Lands and Houses restored again by the said* Lanfrank *to the Church of S. Andrew. Now forasmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands, and partly considering the restoring of the said Lands to be to Christs Church in* Canterbury, *and not S. Andrew in* Rochester *also for that I have found some other Presidents approving the lawful Marriage of Priests, and legitimation of their Children, I thought good for the more full satisfying of the Reader, to enter the same, as followeth.*

Livingus, Priest, and his Wife.

A Note out of an old Martyrologue of *Canterbury*.

Ex Archivis Eccl. Cant.

OBijt Gulielmus Rex Anglorum, &c. Hic reddidit Ecclesiæ Christi omnes fere terras, &c. That is, *After the death of* William King of England, *the said* Lanfrank *restored again to Christs Church in* Canterbury *all the Lands which from ancient memory unto these later days have been taken away from the right of the said Church. The names of which Lands be these: in* Kent, Raculf, Sandwich, Ratebursch, Wodetun, *the Abbey of* Limming, *with the Lands and Customs unto the same Monastery belonging*, Saltwude, &c. (Stoke *and* Denentun, *because they belonged of old time to the Church of S.* Andrew, *them he restored to the same Church*) *in* Suthery, Mutelac, *the Abbey of S.* Mary *in* London, *with the Lands and Houses which* Livingus *Priest, and his Wife had in* London. *All these* Lanfrank *restored again for the health of his own Soul, freely and without Money*, &c.

S. Andrews Church in Rochester. Livingus Priest and a married Man.

A Note for the Legitimation of Priests Children, *Ex Termino Michael. Anno* 21, *Hen.* 7. *fol.* 39. *pag.* 2.

Mich. 21. H. 7.

NOte, *that in the nine and twentieth year of this King, in an Assise at* Warwicke, *before Sir* Guy Fairfax, *and Sir* John Vavisour, *it was found by Verdict, that the Father of the Tenant had taken the Order of Deacon, and after married a Wife, and had issue, the tenant dyed, and the issue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the plaintiff did enter as next heir collateral to the Father of the tenant. Upon whom he did traverse, &c. and for difficulty, the Justices did adjourn the Assise. And it was debated in the Eschequer Chamber: If the tenant shall be a Bastard, &c. And here by advice it was adjudged that he shall not be a Bastard, &c.* Frowick *chief Justice said to me in the nine and twentieth year of* Henry *the seventh, in the common place, that he was of counsail in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before, which Vavisour did grant. And* Frowick *said, that if a Priest marry a Wife, and hath issue and dieth, his issue shall inherit, for that the espousals be not void, but voidable. Vavisour, if a Man take a Nun to Wife, this espousal is void.*

A Deacon retaineth a Wife, hath issue and dyeth, the issue adjudged not a Bastard.

Frowicks opinion that the issue of a Priest shall inherit.

Note that in the latter Impression of *Henry* the seventh his years of the Law, this Word Priest in this case aforesaid in some Books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the Reader to judge.

Another Note for Legitimation of Priests Children.

*AD Curiam generalem D. Philippi & D. Mariæ Dei gratia, &c. xvi. die Julij, Anno Reg. dict. Regis & Reginæ, primo & tertio irrotulatur sic. Præsentatum est per totum homagium quod Simon Heynes * Clericus diu ante istam Curiam, vid. per duos annos jam elapsos, fuit & fesitus secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii in Domin. eo sno ut de feodo, de & in 2. Acris Terræ, parcellis de xxxvi. Acris & dimid. Terræ, super in tenura Johannis Heynes. Ac de & in una tenemento vocato Bernardes, nuper in tenura Johannis Cotton. Ac de & in lviii. Acris & ii. Rodis Terræ & pasturæ, sive plus sive minus, prout jacent in Campis de Myldenhal prædicta in diversis peciis. ut patet in Curia hic tenta die Jovis proximo post festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ, An. regni regis Henrici viii. xxxviii. Nec non de & in xii. Acris terræ nativæ jacentibus in Townefield & Twamelfield in diversis peciis. Ac de & in quatuor acris & dimidio terræ jacent. in Myldenhal prad. Ac de & in quinque rodis terræ jacent. in Halywelfield. Quapropter præmissa idem Simon nuper habuit & tenuit sum reddicione Willielmo Heynes, prout patet in curia hic tenta die Martis proximo post dominicam*

* Note that this Simon Heynes a Priest is not called otherwise he is in form of Law then Clericus, as in the evidences before other Priests are called.

in

in Albis an. reg. Regis Ed. vi. primo. Et sic sesitus idem Simon de omnibus supradict. præmissis, inde obiit sesitus. Et quod Joseph Heynes est filius & hæres ejus propinquior, & modo ætatis quinque annorum & amplius. Qui quidem Joseph præsens hic in curia in propria persona sua petit se admitti ad omnia supradict. præmissa tanquam ad jus & hæred. suum. Et D. Rex. & de Regina ex gratia sua speciali, per Clementem Heigham militem Senescha'lum suum, concesserunt ei inde sesinam tenend. sibi, hæred. & assignat. ejus, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. Regis & D. Reginæ secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii, per servitia & redditus inde debita, &c. Salvo jure, &c. Et dat. Dom. Regi & D. Reginæ v. li. de fine pro ingressu sua habendo, & fidelitat. inde recepturo quousque, &c. Et ulterius consideratum est per Curiam quod dict. Joseph sit infra ætatem ut præfertur. Ideo determinatum est & concessum est per consensum Curiæ quod Johanna Heynes nuper uxor præd. Simonis, ac mater præd. Joseph habebit custodiam ejusdem Joseph, quousque idem Joseph pervenerit ad suam legitimam ætatem.

Note that the opinion of *Fenwick* hath always been taken to be Law, as may appear by thispresident that paſſed before Sir Clement Heigham being learned in the Law, and late chief Baron of the Exchequer in the time of late Queen *Mary.*

The penalty of the ſix Articles declared.

Draconis leges ſanguine ſcribtæ.

Poteſtas retinebrorum.

An Act againſt Forſalcation of unmarried Prieſts.

Stat. An. 22. Reg. Hen. 8. cap. 10.

Concerning theſe ſix Articles paſſed in this Act aforeſaid, in the one and twentieth year of King *Henry*, ſufficiently hitherto hath bin declared, firſt what theſe Articles were: Secondly, by whom, and from whom they chiefly proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true Doctrine, Chriſtian Religion, and the word of God, to nature alſo it ſelf, all reaſon and honeſty, and finally to the ancient Laws, Cuſtoms, and Examples of our fore-elders, during the days of a thouſand years after Chriſt they were. Fourthly, ye have heard alſo what unreaſonable and extream penalty was ſet upon the ſame, that a man may deem theſe Laws to be written not with the ink of *Stephen Gardiner*, but with the Blood of a Dragon, or rather the Claws of the Devil. The breach whereof was made no leſs than Treaſon and Felony, and no leſs puniſhment aſſigned thereto than Death.

Beſides all this, the words of the Act were ſo curious and ſubtile, that no Man could ſpeak, write or cypher againſt them, without preſent danger, yea ſcarcely a Man might ſpeak any word of Chriſt and his Religion, but he was in peril of theſe ſix Articles. Over and beſides, the Papiſts began ſo finely to interpret the Act, that they ſpared not to indite Men for abuſing their Countenance and Behaviour in the Church. So great was the power of darkneſs in thoſe days. And thus much concerning this Act.

Beſides theſe ſix Articles in this foreſaid Act concluded, there was alſo another Conſtitution annexed withal, not without the advice (as may ſeem) of the Lord *Cromwel*, which was this: That Prieſts and Miniſters of the Church, ſeeing now they would needs themſelves be bound from all Matrimony, ſhould therefore by Law likewiſe be bound to ſuch honeſty and continency of life, that carnally they ſhould uſe, and acquſtom no manner of Woman married or ſingle by way of Advoutry, or Fornication; the breach whereof for the firſt time, was to forfeit goods, and to ſuffer Impriſonment at the Kings pleaſure: and for the ſecond time, being duly convicted, it was made Felony, as the other were.

In this Conſtitution, if the Lord *Cromwel* and other good Men of the Parliament might have had their will, there is no doubt, but the firſt crime of theſe concubinary Prieſts, as well as the ſecond, had had the ſame penalty, as the other ſix Articles had, and ſhould have bin puniſhed with death. But *Stephen Gardiner* with his fellow Biſhops, who then ruled all the roſt, ſo baſted this extraordinary Article with their acquſtomed ſhifts, that if they were taken and duly convict for their not *caſte*, nor *caute*, at firſt time it was but forfeit of goods. Alſo for the ſecond conviction or attainder they ſo provided, that the next year following that puniſhment and pain of death by Act of Parliament was clean wiped away and repealed, And why ſo? *Becauſe*, ſaith the Statute, *that puniſhment by pain of death is very ſore, and much extream, therefore it pleaſeth the King, with the aſſent of the Lords, that that clauſe above written concerning Felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the firſt and ſecond conviction or attainder of any Prieſt or Woman for any ſuch offences of Whoredom, or Advoutery aforeſaid, ſhall be from henceforth void and of none effect, &c.* So that by this Statute it was provided, for all ſuch Votaries as lived in Whoredom and Adultery, for the firſt offence to loſe his goods, and all his ſpiritual promotions except one; for the ſecond, to forfeit all that he had to the King; for the third conviction to ſuſtain continual Impriſonment.

The Act againſt the Whoredom of Prieſts qualified, & alter what manner.

In theſe ungodly proceedings of the Popes Catholick Clergy two things we have to note.

The manifeſt impiety of the Popes Doctrine diſcloſed.

1. Firſt, the horrible impiety of their Doctrine, directly fighting againſt the expreſs Authority of God and his Word, foraſmuch as that which God permitteth, they reſtrain; that which he bids they forbid. *Habeat*, ſaith he; *Non habeat*, ſay they, taking exceptions againſt the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call Hereſie; that which he commandeth and inſtituteth, they puniſh with pains of death. Not only the Prieſts that marry, but them alſo that ſay or cypher that a Prieſt may marry, at the firſt they kill as Felons. Neither can any *Miſerere* take place for chaſte and lawful wedlock; whereas contrariwiſe a ſpiritual Man may thrice defile his neighbours Wife, or thrice deflour his Brothers Daughter, and no Felony at all layed to his charge. What is this in plain words to ſay, but that it is leſs ſin thrice to commit Advoutry, than once to marry?

Dilemma againſt Votaries that will not marry.

2. The ſecond is to be noted, how theſe painted Hypocrites do bewray their falſe diſſembled dealings unawares, with whom a Man might thus reaſon. Tell us you Prieſts and Votaries, which ſo preciſely flie the ſtate of Matrimony intend you to live chaſte & are able ſo to do without Wives, or do you keep your ſelves honeſt and chaſt without them, without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry ye not? Why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you thoſe Vows, which you cannot perform? Or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking Gods Commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able and ſo do intend to continue an honeſt and a continent converſation without Wives, then ſhall I aſk of you according as Doctor *Turner* gravely and truly layeth to your charge; Why do you ſo carefully provide a remedy by your Laws aforehand for a miſchief to come, which you may avoid if you liſt, unleſs either ye lifted not to ſtand though you might, or elſe ſaw your own infirmity, that you could not though you would? And therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, to provide wiſely for your ſelves aforehand, that where others ſhall ſuffer pains of death at the firſt for well doing, you may fall thrice in abominable Adultery, and yet by the Law have your lives pardoned.

D. Turner, hunting the Romiſh fox.

The Papiſts bewray their hypocriſie.

And here cometh out your own Hypocriſie by your ſelves bewrayed; for whereas you all confeſs, that you are able to live chaſte if ye will without Wives, this moderation of the Law provided before againſt your advoutrous incontinency, plainly declareth that either ye purpoſe willingly to fall, at leaſt ye fear and ſtand in doubt not to be able to ſtand. And why then do you ſo confidently take ſuch Vows upon you, ſtanding in ſuch doubt and fear for the performance thereof?

And be it to you admitted that all do not fall, but that ſome keep their Vow, though ſome vicioufly run to other Mens Wives and Daughters; then herein again I aſk you, ſeeing theſe Vicious Whorehunters and advoutrous perſons among you do live vicioufly, (as you cannot deny) and may do otherwiſe if they liſt, as you confeſs, what puniſhment then are they worthy to have, which may live continent and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuſe it? Which being ſo, then what iniquity is this in you, or rather impiety inexcuſable againſt God and Man, to procure a moderation of Laws for ſuch, and ſo ſhew ſuch compaſſion and clemency to theſe ſo heinous Adulterers, whore-hunters, and beaſtly Fornicators, that if they Adulterate other Mens Wives never ſo oft, yet there is no death for them; and to ſhew no compaſſion at all, nor to find out any moderation for ſuch, but at the very firſt to kill them as Felons and Hereticks, which honeſtly do marry in the fear of God, or once ſay that a Priеſt may marry? How can ye here be excuſed, O you Children of iniquity? What Reaſon is in your doing, or what truth in your Doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts? You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without Wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy

The Act inexcuſable.

that the Lord hath given you, how will you ſtand in his face, when he ſhall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confuſion, unleſs by time ye convert and repent? And thus being aſhamed of your execrable doings, I ceaſe to deſile my pen any further in this ſo ſtinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

Read before. It was declared before, that what time theſe ſix Articles were in hand in the Parliament Houſe, *Cranmer*, then being Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, only withſtood the fame, diſputing three days againſt them; whoſe Reaſons and Arguments I with were extant and remaining. After theſe Acticles were thus paſſed and concluded, the King, who always bare eſpecial favour unto *Cranmer*, perceiving him to be not a little diſcomforted therewith, ſent all the Lords of the Parliament, and with them the Lord *Cromwel*, to dine with him at *Lambeth* (as is before declared) and within few days alſo upon the ſame, requiring that he would give a note of all his doings and reaſonings in the ſaid Parliament: Which the ſaid *Cranmer* diligently accomplithed, accordingly, drawing out his Reaſons and Allegations; the copy whereof, being fair written out by his Secretary, was ſent and delivered unto the King, and there remained.

Cranmers reaſons and allegations againſt the ſix Articles written to the King.

Now after theſe things thus diſcuſſed, as touching the ſix wicked Articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our ſtory again, to declare thoſe things which after the ſetting out of theſe Articles enſued, coming now to the time and ſtory of the Lord *Cromwel*, a man whoſe worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

The Hiſtory concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of the famous and worthy Counſellour Lord Thomas Cromwel *Earl of* Eſſex.

The ſtory of the L. Thom. Cromwel.

Thomas Cromwell although born of a ſimple Parentage, and Houſe obſcure, through the ſingular excelency of Wiſdom, and dexterity of Wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like induſtry of mind, and deſerts of life, roſe to high preferment and authority; inſomuch that by ſteps and ſtairs of Office and Honour, he aſcended at length to that, that not only he was made Earl of *Eſſex*, but alſo moſt ſecret and dear Counſellor to King *Henry*, and Vicegerent unto his perſon, which Office hath not commonly been ſupplyed, at leaſt not ſo fruitfully diſcharged within this Realm.

The behaviour of the L. Cromwel recompenced with noble ornaments.

Firſt as touching his Birth, he was born at *Putney* or thereabout, being a Smiths Son, whoſe Mother married after to a Fleſherman. In the ſimple eſtate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers other before him, we may ſee and learn, that the excellency of noble vertues and heroical proweſſes which advance to fame and honour, ſtand not only upon Birth and Blood, as privileges only entailed and appropriate to noble Houſes; but are diſpoſed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiſeth up the poor Abject many times out of the Dunghil, and matcheth him in Throne with Peers and Princes, *Pſal.* 113.

Commendation of the L. Cromwel.

As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be ſuperfluous to diſcourſe what may be ſaid at large; only by way of ſtory it may ſuffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and ſo to proceed. Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many other) a great let and hinderance for vertue to ſhew her ſelf, yet ſuch was the activity and forward ripeneſs of nature in him, ſo pregnant in wit, and ſo ready he was, in judgment diſcreet, in tongue eloquent, in ſervice faithful, in ſtomack couragious, in his pen active, that being converſant in the ſight of men, he could not be long uneſpied, nor yet unprovided of favour and help of friends to ſet him forward in place and office. neither was any place or Office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit; Nothing was ſo hard which with wit and induſtery he could not compaſs. Neither was his capacity ſo good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatſoever he had attained. Which well appereth in canning the text of the whole new Teſtament of *Eraſmus* Tranſlation without Book, in his journey going and coming from *Rome*, whereof you ſhall hear anon.

His. Cromwel learned the new Teſtament in Latin without book.

Thus in his growing years, as he ſhot up in age and ripeneſs, a great delight came in his mind to ſtray into foreign Countries, to ſee the World abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned ſuch Tongues and Languages as might better ſerve for his uſe hereafter.

And thus paſſing over his youth, being at *Antwerp* he was there retained of the Engliſh Merchants to be their Clerk or Secretary, or in ſome ſuch like condition placed pertaining to their affairs.

The Town of *Boſton* to ſend up to *Rome*.

It happened the ſame time that the Town of *Boſton* thought good to ſend up to *Rome*, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the great pardon, the other the leſſer pardon. Which thing although it ſhould ſtand them in great expences of money (for the Popes Merchandiſe is always dear ware) yet notwithſtanding ſuch ſweetneſs they had felt thereof, and ſuch gain to come to their town by that Romiſh Merchandiſe (as all Superſtition is commonly gainful) that they like good Catholick Merchants, and the Popes good cuſtomers, thought to ſpare for no coſt, to have their leaſes again of their pardons renewed, whatſoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good Religion then, ſuch was the lamentable blindneſs of that time.

The Popes Merchandiſe dear ware. Superſtition commonly is gainful. The Popes leaſes of pardons.

This then being ſo determined and decreed among my Countrymen of *Boſton*, to have their pardons needs repaired and renewed from *Rome*, one *Geffery Chambers* with another Champion was ſent for the meſſengers, with writings and money, no ſmall quantity, well furniſhed, and with all other things appointed, neceſſary for ſo chargeable and coſtly exploit. Who coming in his journey to *Antwerp*, and miſdoubting to be too weak for the compaſſing of ſuch a weighty piece of work, conferred and perſwaded with *Cromwel* to aſſociat him in that legacy, and to aſſiſt him in the contriving thereof. *Cromwel* although perceiving the enterpriſe to be of no ſmall difficulty to traverſe the Popes Court, for the unreaſonable expences amongſt thoſe greedy Cormorants, yet having ſome skill of the Italian Tongue, and as yet not grounded in the judgment of Religion in thoſe his youthful days, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and ſo took his journey towards *Rome*.

Cromwel goeth to *Rome*.

At length having knowledge how that the Popes holy tooth greatly delighted to new fingled ſtrange delicates, and dainty diſhes, it came in his mind to prepare certain fine diſhes of gelly, after the beſt faſhion, made after our Countrey manner here in *England*, which to them of *Rome* was not known nor ſeen before.

This done, *Cromwell* obſerving his time accordingly, as the Pope was newly come from hunting into his paſſion, he with his companions approached with his Engliſh preſents brought in with a three mans ſong (as we call it) in the Engliſh Tongue, and all after the Engliſh faſhion. The Pope ſuddenly marvelling at the ſtrangeneſs of the Song, and underſtanding that they were Engliſh men, and that they came not empty handed, willed them to be called in. *Cromwel* there ſhewing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, ſuch as Kings and Princes only, ſaid he, in the Realm of *England* uſe to feed upon, deſired the ſame to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor ſuters unto his Holineſs, had there brought and preſented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Cromwel a ſuter for Engliſh pardons.

Pope *Julius*, ſeeing the ſtrangeneſs of the diſhes, commanded by and by his Cardinal to take the aſſay. Who in taſting thereof liked it ſo well, and ſo likewiſe the Pope after him, that knowing of them what their ſutes were, and inquiring them to make known the making of that neat, he incontinent, without any more adoe, ſtamped both their pardons as well the greater as the leſſer.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the Town of *Boſton* obtained as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed part. The copy of which pardons (which I have in my hands) briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect;

The Town of *Boſton* pardoned at *Rome*.

effect; That all the Brethren and Sisters of the Guild of our Lady in S. *Botolphes* Church at *Boston*, should have free Licence to chuse for their Confessour or ghostly Father whom they would, either secular Priest, or Religious Person, to assoil them plenarily from all their sins, except only in cases reserved to the Pope.

The effect & contents of Boston pardons.

Also should have licence to carry about with them an Altar-stone, whereby they might have a Priest to say them Mass, or other Divine Service where they would, without prejudice of any other Church or Chappel, though it were also before day, yea and at three of the Clock after midnight in the summer time.

Pardon for visiting our Ladies Chappel in *Boston*.

Furthermore, that all such Brethren and Sisters of the said Guild, which should resort to the Chappel of our Lady in Saint *Botolphes* Church at the feast of *Easter*, *Whitsontide*, *Corpus Christi*, the Nativity or Assumption of our Lady, or in the Octaves of them, the feast of Saint *Michael*, and first *Sunday* in *Lent*, should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the Stations of *Rome*.

The price of *Boston* pardons: Crafty Merchants.

Provided that every such person, Man or Woman, entring into the same Gilde, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven Priests, twelve Quirisers, and thirteen Beadsmen, and to the lights of the same Brotherhood and a Grammar School, six Shillings eight pence, and for every yearafter twelve pence.

And these premisses being before granted by Pope *Innocentius*, and Pope *Julius* the second, this Pope *Clement* also confirmed, granting moreover, that whatsoever Brother or Sister of the same Guild, through poverity, sickness, or any other let could not refort personally to the said Chappel, notwithstanding he should be dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other Vows, irregularities, Censures Canonical whatsoever, only the Vow of going the Stations of *Rome*, and going to S. *James* of *Compostella* excepted, &c.

Full remission on a pœna & culpa. Good stuff I trow.

He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, *a pœna & culpa*, once in their life, or in the hour of death.

Item, that having their Altar-stone, they might have Mass said in any place, though it were unhallowed. And in the time of interdict, to have Mass or any Sacrament ministred: and also being departed, that they might be buried in Christian burial notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending moreover his Grant, to all such Brethren and Sisters, in resorting to the foresaid Chappel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or Assumption of our Lady giving supportation to the foresaid Chappel, at every such Festival day to have full Remission of their Sins. Or if they for any impediment could not be present at the Chappel aforesaid, yet if they came unto their own Parish Church, and there said one *Pater noster*, and *Ave Maria*, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every *Friday* to the same Chappel, should have as much Remission, as if he went unto the Chappel of our Lady called *Scala Cœli*.

The Chappel of *Scala Cœli* about *Rome*.

Furthermore, that whatsoever Christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either Spiritual or Temporal, would aid and support the Chamberlains or Substitutes of the foresaid Guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

The Pope forbiddeth Eggs, Butter and Cheese.

Item, to all Brothers and Sisters of the same Guild was granted free liberty to eat in the time of *Lent*, or other fasting days, Eggs, Milk, Butter, Cheese, and also Fleesh, by the Counsel of their Ghostly Father and Physitian, without any scruple of Conscience.

Pardon for Souls in Purgatory.

Item, that all partakers of the same Guild, and being supporters thereof, which once a quarter, or every *Friday* or *Saturday*, either in the said Chappel in S. *Botolphes* Church, or any other Chappel, or their Devotion, shall say a *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Creed*, or shall say or cause to be said Masses for Souls departed in pains of Purgatory, shall not only have the full Remission due to them which visit the Chappel of *Scala Cœli*, or of S. *John Lateran*, but also the Souls in Purgatory shall enjoy full Remission, and be released of all their pains.

Item, that all the Souls departed of the Brothers and Sisters of the said Guild, also the Souls of their Fathers and Mothers shall be partakers of all the Prayers, Suffrages, Almoses, Fastings, Masses, and Mattens, Pilgrimages, and all other good deeds done all the H. Church militant for ever, &c.

These Indulgences, Pardons, Grants, and Relaxations were given and granted by Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, Pope *Pius* the second, Pope *Sixtus*, and Pope *Julius* the second, of which Pope *Julius* it seemeth that *Cromwel* obtained this Pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord, 1510. Which Pardon again afterward through the requeſt of King *Henry*, *Anno*, 1526. was confirmed by Pope *Clement* the seventh. And thus much concerning the Pardon of *Boston*, renewed by the means of *Thomas Cromwel*, of Pope *Julius* the second.

Ex libris Fapæ Clementis, 7. ad Gulielmum. Arathay.

All this while it appeareth, that *Cromwel* had yet no found taste nor judgment of Religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his Word as he himself was wont oftimes to declare unto *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, shewing what a Ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the Wars of the Duke of *Bourbon* at the siege of *Rome*, also what a great doer he was with *Geffery Chambers* in publishing and setting forth the Pardon of *Boston* every where in Churches as he went, and so continued, till at length by learning the Text of the New Testament without book of *Erasmus* Translation in his going and coming from *Rome* (as aforesaid) he began to be touched and called to better understanding.

Cromwel was in the Wars of the Duke of Bourbon besieging Rome.

In this mean time *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal of *York* began to bear a great port in *England*, and almoſt to rule all under the King, or rather with the King; so that the freshest Wits, and of the best towardness, most commonly sought unto him. Among whom was also *Thomas Cromwel* to his service advanced, where he continued a certain space of years, growing up in Office and Authority till at length he was preferred to be Solicitour to the Cardinal.

Cromwel received into Cardinals Service.

Cromwel Solicitor to the Cardinal.

There was also about the same time, or not much different, in the Houshold of the said Cardinal *Thomas More*, afterward Knight and Chancellor of *England*, and *Stewen Gardiner* after Bishop of *Winchester* and of the Kings Counsel. All these three were brought up in one Houshold, and all of one standing almost together. Whose Ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal: so neither was their fortune and advancements greatly divers, albeit their dispositions and Studies were most contrary. And though peradventure in *More* and in *Gardiner* there was more art of the Letters, and skill of learning, yet notwithstanding there was in this man a more Heavenly light of the mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, eloquence equal, and as may be supposed in this man more Heroical and Princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the Common-Wealth, and to the singular help of many.

More, and *Gardiner*, companions in the Cardinals House.

A comparison between Cromwel, More, and Gardiner.

It happened that in this mean season, as *Cromwel* was placed in this Office to be Solicitour to the Cardinal, the said Cardinal had then in hand the building of certain Colledges, namely his Colledge in *Oxford*, called then *Frideswide*, now Christs Church. By reason whereof certain small Monasteries and Priories, in divers places of the Realm, were by the said Cardinal suppressed, and the lands seised to the Cardinals hands. The doing whereof was committed to the charge of *Thomas Cromwel*. In the expedition whereof he shewed himself very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himself much grudge with divers of the Superstitious sort, and with some also of Noble calling about the King. And thus was *Cromwel* first set a work by the Cardinal, to suppress Religious Houses. Which was about the year of our Lord, 1525.

Small Monasteries suppressed by the Cardinal. Cromwel first in a work by the Cardinal to suppress Religious Houses.

As this passed on, it was not long, but the Cardinal which had gotten up so high began to come down as fast, first from the Chancellorship (in which room was placed Sir *Thomas More*, as is before said) then he fell into a *Præmunire*, So that his Houshold being dissolved, *Thomas Cromwel*, amongst other, laboured also to be retained into the Kings service.

Sir Christopher Hales helper of Cromwel to the King.

There was at the same time one Sir *Christopher Hales* Knight, Master of the Rolls, who notwithstanding was then a mighty Papist; yet bare he such favour and good liking to *Cromwel*, that he commended him to the King, as a Man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the Pope. But here before is to be understood, that *Cromwel* had greatly been complained of, and defamed by certain of Authority about the King, for his rude man-

Cromwel commended by Sir Christopher Hales Master of the Rolls to the King.

ner and homely dealing in defacing the Monks Houses, and in handling of their Altars, &c. Wherefore the King, hearing of the name of *Cromwel*, began to detest the mention of him, neither lacked their some Standers-by, who with reviling words ceased not to increase and inflame the Kings hatred against him: what there names were it shall not need here to recite. Among other, there present at the same hearing, was the Lord *Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, whose life *Cromwel* before had preserved at *Bonony*, through politick conveyance, at what time the said Earl, coming secretly in the Kings affairs, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of *Cromwel* escaped.

The Lord Russel Earl of Bedford, through the policy of Cromwel escaped at Bonony.

This Lord *Russel* therefore not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing again to requite that he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of *Thomas Cromwel*, uttering before the King many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal how by his singular device and policy he had done for him at *Bonony*, being there in the Kings affairs in extream peril. And forasmuch as his Majesty had to do with the Pope, his great Enemy, there was (he thought) in all *England* none so apt for the Kings purpose, which could say or do more in that matter, than could *Thomas Cromwel*, and partly gave the King to understand wherein. The King hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

The Lord Russel commendeth Cromwel to the King.

This was not so privily done, but *Cromwel* had knowledge incontinent that the King would talk with him, and whereupon; and therefore providing before hand for matter, had in a readiness the Copy of the Bishops Oath, which they use commonly to make to the Pope at their consecration; and so being called for, was brought to the King in his Garden at *Westminster*, which was about the year of our Lord 1530.

Cromwel brought to talk with the King.

Cromwel after most loyal obeysance, doing his duty to the King, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this especially making manifest unto his Highnes, how his Princely Authority was abused within his own Realm by the Pope and his Clergy, who being sworn unto him, were afterward dispensed from the same, and sworn anew unto the Pope; so that he was but as half King, and they but half his Subjects in his own Land: which (said he) was derogatory to his Crown, and utterly prejudicial to the Common Laws of his Realm. Declaring thereupon how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great Riches, so much as all the Clergy in his Realm was worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The King giving good ear to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could avouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch to be certain, so well, as that he had the Copy of their own Oath to the Pope there present to shew, and that no less also he could manifestly prove, if his Highness would give leave; and therewith shewed the Bishops Oath unto the King.

Cromwel's words to the King concerning the Pramunire of the Clergy

The King, following the vein of his Counsel, took his Ring off his Finger, and first admitting him into his Service, sent him therewith to the *Convocation-House* among the Bishops. *Cromwel* coming with the Kings Signet boldly into the *Clergy-House*, and there placing himself among the Bishops (*William Warham* being then Archbishop) began to make his Oration, declaring unto them the Authority of a King, and the Office of Subjects, and especially the Obedience of Bishops and Churchmen under Publick Laws, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the Commonwealth. Which Laws notwithstanding they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the Kings Royal Estate, falling in the Law of *Præmunire*, in that not only they had consented to the Power Legative of the Cardinal, but also in that they had all sworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their Sovereign Lord the King, and therefore had forfeited to the King all their Goods, Chattels, Lands, Possessions, and whatsoever Livings they had. The Bishops hearing this were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the Fact. But after that *Cromwel* had shewed them the very Copy of their Oath made to the Pope at their Consecration, and the matter

Cromwel sent by the King to the Convocation-House.

For the Copy of the Bishops Oath to the Pope, read before.

was so plain that they could not deny it, they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, defiring respit to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the end thereof fell so out, that to be quit out of that *Præmunire* by Act of Parliament, it cost them to the King for both the Provinces, *Canterbury* and *York*, no less than one hundred eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty Pounds, which was about the year of our Lord 1520, whereof before you may read more at large.

The Clergy condemned in the *Præmunire*.

After this, *Anno* 1522. Sir *Thomas Cromwel* growing in great favour with the King, was made Knight and admitted also into the Kings Council, which was about the coming in of Queen *Anne Bullogn*. Furthermore, within two years after the same, *Anno* 1524. he was made Master of the *Rolls*, Dr. *Taylor* being discharged.

Sir Thomas Cromwel made Knight and Master of the Kings Jewel-house

Cromwel made Master of the Rolls.

This *Cromwel* springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1527. a little before the birth of King *Edward*, was made Knight of the Garter, and not long after was advanced to the Earldom of *Essex*, and made Great Chamberlain of *England*. Over and besides all which Honours, he was constitute also Vicegerent to the King, representing his Person. Which Office although it standeth well by the Law, yet seldom hath there been seen any befides this *Cromwel* alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsel and wisdom, as *Cromwel* did. And thus much hitherto concerning the steps and degrees of the Lord *Cromwels* rising up to dignity and high estate.

Cromwel made Knight of the Garter.

Cromwel made Earl or Essex, great Chamberlain of England and Vicegerent to the King.

Now somewhat would be said likewise of the noble Acts, the memorable Examples and worthy Vertues, not drowned by ease of Honour in him, but increased rather, and quickned by advancement of Authority and Place, to work more abundantly in the Commonwealth. Among the which his worthy Acts and other manifold Vertues, in this one chiefly above all other riseth his commendation, for his singular Zeal and laborious Travel bestowed in restoring the true Church of Christ, and subverting the Synagogue of Antichrist, the Abbeys, I mean, and Religious Houses of Friers and Monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by the means of the said Lord *Cromwel*, to induce the King to suppress first the Chauntries, then the Friers Houses and small Monasteries, till at length all the Abbeys in *England*, both great and less, were utterly overthrown and pluckt up by the roots. The which Act and enterprize of him, as it may give a president of singular Zeal to all Realms Christened, which no Prince yet to this day scarce dare follow; so to this Realm of *England*, it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain still in the Realm of *England*, though we seem little to feel it. Rudely and simply I speak what I suppose, without prejudice of other, which can inter any better reason. In the mean time my reason is this, That if God had not raised up this *Cromwel* as he did, to be the Instrument of rooting out of the Abbeys and Cells of strange Religion, what other men see I know not; for my part I never saw yet in this Realm any such *Cromwel* since *Cromwels* time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have been subverted with the Mony and Bribes of Abbats, than he to have subverted any Abbey in all *England*.

The abominable life in Monasteries, bewrayed by their own confession.

The Lord Cromwel a profitable Instrument in suppressing Abbeys.

But here I must of necessity answer the complaint of certain of our Country-men. For so I hear of many of the subversion of these Monasteries to be reprehended, as evil and wicked. The Buildings, say they; might have been converted unto Schools and Houses of Learning. The Goods and Possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use of the Poor, and maintaining of Hospitality. Neither do I deny, but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their Opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and deeper meaning of Gods holy Providence, than at the first bluſh peradventure to all men doth appear.

The defence of the Lord Cromwel for overthrowing the Abbeys.

And first to omit the wicked and execrable Life of these Religious Orders, full of all fedity, and found out by the Kings Visitors, and in their Registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before

the face of God and Man, that no marvel it is if Gods vengeance from Heaven provoked would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable Houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things pass under chast silence, which for very shame will abhor any story to disclose, let us now come to the first Institution of these Orders and Houses of Monkery, and consider how and to what end they were first instituted and erected here among the *Saxons* at the first foundation of them, about the time 666.

Read afore. In the former part of this History, declaration was made before, first by whom, and at what time these Monkish Houses here in *England* among the *Saxons* (flowing no doubt out of the Order of St. *Bennet*, and brought in by *Augustine*) began first to be founded, as by *Augustine* the Monk, *Fwfeus*, *Medulphus*, *Aldanus*, *Ceadda*, King *Ulferus*, *Oswius*, *Elfredus*, King *Oswie* Daughter *Kineburga*, *Hilda*, *Botolphus*, *Edeldredus*, King *Oswald*, *Edgar*, *Erkenewaldus* Bishop, *Etheluoldus* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Oskettus* Archbishop of *York*, *Oswaldus* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Lefwinus* Bishop of *Dorcester*, *Dunstan*, and divers others.

The first beginning of Religious Houses in the time of the Saxons.

The end and cause of building Religious Houses. The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in Stories to be, *Pro remissione & redemptione peccatorum: pro remedio & liberatione animæ; pro amore cælestis patriæ; in eleemosynam animæ; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnorum, pro salute & requie animarum patrum & matrum, fratrum, & sororum nostrarum, parentum, & omnium benefactorum; in honorem gloriosæ Virginis, &c.* As may appear in ancient Histories, in old Charters and Donations unto Religious Houses, and in the Chronicle of *Ingulphus*, as also all other Stories be full of the same.

The damnable Doctrine and Institution of Religious Sects and Orders. So King *Ethelstane*, for killing his Brother *Edwine*, builded two Monasteries, *Middleton* and *Michelney*, for his Soul. Which Doctrine and Institution, forsomuch as it tendeth and dirediy against the foundation of Christian Religion, against the Testament of God, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the freedom of our redemption and free justification by Faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evil or worse than the life of the persons, and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to marvelled rather, that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit Gods mighty Vengeance and Scourge hath not ceased from time to time to work against such impious Foundations from the time of their first setting up. For besides the Invasions of the *Danes* (which may seem to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of Abbeys) let old Histories be searched, what Monastery almost in all this Realm was either left by the *Danes*, or reedified again after the *Danes*, but by some notorious casualty of fire sent by Gods hand it hath been burned up?

Gods continual plague against Monasteries.

First, the Monastery of *Canterbury*, called the House of St. *Gregory*, was burnt *Anno* 1145. and afterward again burnt *Anno* 1174. *ex Histor. Gervasii.*

Ex Chronic. Gervasii.

The Abbey of *Croyland* was also twice burnt. *Ex hist. Ingulph.*

Ingulphi.

The Abbey of *Peterborow* twice set on fire *Anno* 1070. *Ex Chron. Peterb.*

Peterborow. Walteri. Weekes. Hovedeni. Guaberi. Coventr. Fabiani. Willielm. Malmesb.

The Abbey of St. *Maries* in *York* burnt, with the Hospital also.

The Abbey of *Norwich* burnt.

The Abbey of St. *Edmonds-Bury* burnt and destroyed, *Ex Chron. S. Edmund.*

The Abbey of *Worcester*.

The Abbey of *Glowcester* was also burnt.

The Abbey of *Chichester* burnt.

The Abby of *Glastenbury* burnt.

The Abbey of St. *Mary* in *Southwark* burnt.

The Church of the Abbey of *Beverly* burnt.

Abbeys burnt and plagued with fire.

The Steeple of the Abbey of *Evesham* burnt.

Thefe, with many other Monasteries more, God brought down to the ground, so that few or none of all the Monastical Foundations in *England*, either before the Conquest, escaped the hands of the *Danes* and *Scots*, or else after the Conquest escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved; for as the trade of their Lives was too too wretched and bestial, so the profession of their Doctrine was intolerable, fraught with all Superstition, full of much Idolatry, and utterly contrary to the Grace of the Gospel and Doctrine of Christ.

The Doctrine of the Monks was worse than their lives.

Furthermore, the more these Abbeys multiplied and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we read the name of Monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet notwithstanding the Monks of those days were not like the Monks of our time, nor their Houses then like to our Abbeys now. So we read of the Monks of *Bangor* before the coming of *Augustine*; but those Monks got their living with toyl and labour of their hands, and had no other Lands nor Lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as Minsters then, but as Lay-men, according as *Hierome* describeth the Monks of his time, saying, *Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.* And again he saith, *Alia causa est Monachi, alia Clerici; Clerici oves pascunt; Ego pascor, &c.* That is, *A Monks Office is not to preach, but to mourn. The state of a Monk is one thing, and the state of a Priest is another. Priests feed the Flock of Christ; I am fed, &c.*

16. q. Monaj. chus. 16. q. 2. Alia causa Gloss.

Also in the Story of *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland* thus I find: *Anno* 1075. *In* Croylandiam *primum installatus inveni tunc in isto Monasterio* Croylandensi *Monachos numero* 62. *Quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum Monasteriorum Monachos nostri capituli conprofessos, &c.* That is, *Being installed in the Abbey of* Croyland *I found there to the number of sixty two Monks. Of which Monks, four of them were Lay-brethren, besides the Monks of other Monasteries which were also professed to our Chapter, &c.*

Ex Chron. Ingulphi. Abbat. Croylandens. Lay-men received for Monks into Monasteries.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where it is provided: *Ne Monachi se Ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant, &c. Et* Leo *Epist.* 62. *Vetat Monachos & Laicos, etsi scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi & convocandi.* Whereof read more before.

Monks forbidden to intermeddle in Ecclesiastical matters.

Thus it appeareth about or before the time of *Hierome*, that Monks in the first Persecutions of the Primitive Church were Lay-men, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for fear of persecution, or for eschewing the company of Heathen Gentiles: afterward in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianity, the Monks yet keeping their name, and growing in Superstition, would not joyn with other Christians, but kept still their Brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kind of life strange and diverse from the common trade. Upon this diversity of Life and Profession, followed also like diversity of garments and attire differing from their other Brethren. After this more over came in the Rule of St. *Benedict*, enjoyning to them a prescribed form of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying, of silence, sole life and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar fort of common Christians.

Monks diverse from other men in trade of life.

Monks diverse from other in Apparel.

Whereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus growing up in Opinion of Holiness, of Lay-men and Labourers they came at length to be Clergy-men, and greatest doers of all other in Christs Religion; insomuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a Religious man or perfect Christian, unless he were a Monk: neither almost was any advanced to any dignity of the Church, but either he was a Monk, or afterward he put on a Monks weed. According as in the Stories of this Realm is to be seen, how in the time of *Dunstane* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of *Etheluold* Bishop of *Worcester*, and of *Oswald* Bishop of *Winchester*, Pope *John* the thirteenth, writing to King *Edgar*, willed him in his Letters, to see in his Cathedral Churches none to be promoted to be Bishops, but such as were of the Monastical Religion, and willed him moreover to exclude the Secular Prebendaries at *Winchester*, and to place in Monks, and that none of the Secular Clerks there should be chosen Bishop, but either taken out of the same Covent of that Church, or of some other Abbey.

Monks of Lay-men made Clergy-men

Pope John 13. wrote to King *Edgar*, that none should be made Bishops but Monks.

So was also King *Henry* the Second commanded to do in the house of *Waltham*, where the Secular Canons were removed out, and Regular Canons intruded. The same did *Oswald* Bishop with the Church of *Worcester*,

Secular Priests put out, and Monks intruded in to Churches.

cester, likewise in their Sees did *Dunstane* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Oskettus* Archbishop of *York*, *Etheluold* Bishop of *Worcester* (who in stories is reported to be *Multorum fundator Monasteriorum,*) *Lefwinus* also Bp. of *Dorcester*, with other Bishops more about the time and Reign of King *Edgar*. *Odo* Archbishop of Canterbury before *Dunstane*, *Anno* 934. after his election refused to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the Habit of a Monk in the Abbey of *Florence* in *France*, because as the story telleth (if it be true) *Nullius ad id tempus, nisi Monachali schemate indutus, Archiepiscopus fuisset, &c.* That is, *Because all the Archbishops of* Canterbury *before him had been Monks, &c.* In like manner *Baldwinus* also, *Anno* 1114. after he was elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, took upon him the Habit and Profession of *Mereton* Abbey. And so did *Reginaldus* his next Successor after him, &c.

Be Guliel. Malmesb. & vita Odonis. Ex Nestorgent. li. 4. cap. 32.b.

Monks first Lay men, then made Regulars and Votaries: at length made Church-men by Pope *Boniface*.

As concerning therefore the Origine of Monks, ye have heard how first they began of *Lay* men only: leading a straiter life from the society of other persons, who then following the Rule of Saint *Benet*, where called Regulars, and Votaries, and yet all this while had nothing to do with any Ecclesiastical ministery, till the time of Pope *Bonifacius* the fourth, *Anno* 606. who then made a Decree, that Monks might use the office of Praching, of Christening, of hearing Confessions and assoyling them of their sins, differing from Priests onely in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and Priests were called, *Seculares*, the Monks were Votaries, the Priests had free liberty to have Wives, till the time of *Lanfranke* and *Anselme*, as is afore said. Albeit *Athanasius*, in his Epistle *ad Dracontium*, witnesseth also, that he knew Monks in the old time, and Bishops, which were married and had Children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarm of Monks still more and more multiplied in such sort as not only they thrust out Secular Priests from their Houses, but also out of them were made Popes, Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, to govern Churches. Of which number began *Augustine* the first Archbishop of the See of *Canterbury*, and the most past of all other Archbishops after him, until the time of the conquest, and after.

Difference between Monks and Priests.

The coming in of the Friers.

All this while the Friers were not yet come, neither the Discipline of St. *Dominick*, nor the Testament of St. *Francis*, nor the Order of the *Austin* Brothers, nor of the *Carmelites* was yet heard of: which last of all came in with their pageants, and plaid their art likewise, an. 1220. being much more full of Hypocrisie, Blindness, Idolatry, and Superstition, than were the Monks: So that what with Monks on the one side, and with the Friers on the other side, while all things were ruled by the Rules of St. *Benet*, by the Canons of the Pope, by the Doctrine of S. *Dominick*, and by the Testament of S. *Francis*, Christs Testament was trodden under Foot, the Rule of Gods Word neglected, true Christian Religion defaced, Faith forgotten, the right way of Salvation abolished, found Doctrin oppressed Christs Servants persecuted, and the Peoples Souls uncomforted; yea, and the true Church of Christ almost clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided remedy in time, in raising up this *Cromwel* his Servant, and other like Champions, to cut up from the Root the Houses of them, which otherwise would utterly have rooted up the House of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

The life of Monks and Friers considered.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with *Cromwels* doings in suppressing these Monasteries of Monks and Friers, let him wisely confider with himself, First the Doctrine, Laws and Traditions of these Men, which he shall find rebelling to the Religion of Christ, pernitious to our Salvation, derogatory to Christ Glory, full of much Blasphemy and damnable Idolatry. Secondly let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of the Cloisterers, or at the least search out the Rolls and Registers of matters found out by inquisition in King *Henry* the eighth his days, against them; which here is not to be spoken of, unless we will speak as *Matthew Paris* speaketh of the Court of *Rome*; *Cujus fetor usque ad nubes summus terrarium exhalabat*, That is, *Whose filthy smell; saith he, did breath up a most pestiferous fume, even unto the Clouds of Heaven, &c.*

That Cromwel deduced, set in sight, pressing Abbies.

All which things well considered, what marvel is it then, if God of his just judgment did set up the foresaid Lord *Cromwel* to destroy these sinful Houses, whom their own Corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their Lands and Possessions to the Hands of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the King, in bestowing those Abbey-Lands upon his Nobles and Gentlemen, either to restore them again unto them from whence they came, or else to gratifie his Nobility by that means of policy, not to mislike his doings, what is that to *Cromwel*? But they might, say you, have been much better imployed to other more fruitful uses. Briefly to answer thereunto, what may be done presently in a Common-wealth, is not enough to say, but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing down of Abbeys had happened in such free and reformed Cities and Countries, as are amongst the *Germans*, where the State governed and directed by Laws, rather than by Rulers, remaineth always alike and immutable, no doubt then, but such Houses there standing still, the Possessions might well be transported to such uses abovesaid, without any fear or peril? But in such Realms and Kingdoms as this, where Laws, and Parliaments be not always one, but are subject to the disposition of the Prince, neither is it certain always what Princes may come; the surest way therefore to send Monkery and Popery packing out of the Realm, is to do with their Houses and Possessions as King *Henry* here did, through the motion of the Counsel of *Cromwel*. For else who seeth not in Queen *Maries* time, if either the Houses of Monks had stood, or their Lands had been otherwise disposed than into the Hands of such as they were, how many of them had been restored and replenished again with Monks and Friers, in as simple wise as ever they were? And if Dukes, Barons, and the Nobilitie fearse were able to retain the Lands and Possessions of Abbies distributed to them by King *Henry*, from the devotion of Queen *Mary* seeking to build again the Walls of *Jericho*, what then should the meaner fort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlike, but that Gods heavenly Providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in working the destruction of these Abbies; Whereupon as often as he sent out any man to suppress any Monastery, he used most commonly to them send with this charge, that they should throw down those Houses to the foundation.

Dissipation of Abbey lands in England expedient.

The utter ruine of Monasteries was Gods work.

Which words although it may seem percase to some to be cruelly spoken of him; yet contrariwise do I suppose the doing thereof not to be without Gods special Providence and secret guiding. Or else we might peradventure have had such swarms of Friers and Monks possessed in their seats again before this day in *England*, in so great a number, that ten *Cromwels* afterward uneth should have been suffered to have unhoused them.

Matt. 15.

Whefore if the Plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the Roots, let God alone with his working, and let the Monasteries go.

Malleus monachorum Cromwel.

Now that you have seen, what this *Malleus Monachorum* had done in defacing the Synagogue of the Pope, let us see how the same *Cromwel* again did travel in setting up Christs Church and Congregation.

Cromwel the first and defence of the Church.

After that the Bishop of *Romes* Power and Authority was banished out of *England*, the Bishops of his Sect never ceased to seek all occasion how either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at the least to keep upright those things which remained, wherein although their labours were not altogether fruitrate, yet had they brought muchmore to pass, if *Cromwel* (as fort and defence of the Church) had not resisted continually their Enterprises.

An assembly of learned men appointed by the King.

It happened, that after the abolishing of the Pope certain tumults began to rise about Religion. Whereupon it seemed good unto King *Henry* to appoint an Assembly of learned Men and Bishops, which should soberly and modestly intreat and determine those things which pertained to Religion. Briefly, at the Kings pleasure all the learned Men, but especially the Bishops assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. *Cromwel*

thought also to be present himself with the Bishops, who by chance meeting with *Alexander Alesius* by the way, a Scotish man, brought him with him to the Convocation House, where all the Bishops were assembled together. Which was in the year 1537. The Bishops and Prelates attending upon the coming of *Cromwel*, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their Vicar General, and he again saluted every one in their degree and fate down in the highest place at the Table, according to his degree and Office, and after him every Bishop in his order, and Doctors. First over against him fate the Archbishop of *Cantrebury*, then the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, *Salisbury*, *Bath*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *Rochester*, and *Worcester*, &c. There *Cromwel* in the name of the King (whose most dear and secret Counsellor at that present he was, and lord privy Seal, and Vicar General of the Realm) spake these words in manner following.

Cromwel with Alexander Alesius resort to the Assembly.

Cromwels Oration to the Bishops.

Right reverend Fathers in Christ: The Kings Majesty giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandment. And ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be moved concerning the Christian Religion and Faith, not only in this Realm, but also in all Nations throughout the world. For the King Highness day and night so set a quietness in the Church, and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you and of his whole Parliament. For although his special desire is so set a stay for the unlearned People, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe; and he himself by his excellent learning knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration but by the consent of you and his whole Parliament. By the which thing ye may perceive both his high Wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you for Christs sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among your selves of the controversies moved in the Church, and that you will conclude all things by the Word of God, without all brawling or scolding; neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested and defaced by any Glosses, any Papistical Laws, or by any Authority of Doctors or Councils, and much less will he admit any Articles or Doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by Continuance of time and old custome, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough that ye be bound to shew this service to Christ and to his Church, and yet notwithstanding his Majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determin all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy, which thing his Majesty exhorteth and desireth you to do.

The Kings request to the Bishops.

When *Cromwel* had ended this his Oration, the Bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the Kings Majesty, not only for his great Zeal toward the Church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so Christian a Prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, where *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, the first of all, being the most earnest Champion and maintainer of the Romish Decrees, (whom *Cromwel* a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten Verities) indeavoured himself with all his labour and industry, out of the old School Glosses, to maintain the seven Sacraments of the Church; the Archbishop of *York*, *Lincoln*, *Bathe*, *Chichester*, and *Norwich* also favoured his part and Sect. On the contrary part was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, with many other.

Stokesley defendeth the seven Sacraments.

After much communication had on either part, and that they had long contended about the Testimony of the Doctors, which as it seemed unto them disherited and disagreed among themselves, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* at the last spake and said thus unto them.

The Archb. of Canterbu. Oration to the Bishops.

It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very Substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words is the property of Sophisters and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable State of the Church; and not of them which should seek the glory of Christ; and should study for the unity and quietness of the Church; there be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of Ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the Law and of the Gospel; of the manner and way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God; seeing thy feel the strength of the Law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the Sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justifie man, or whether we receive our justification by Faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true Service and Honour which pleaseth God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of Garments, the vows of Monks and Priests and other Traditions which have no Word of God to confirm them; whether these (I say) be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man or no? Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and mans Traditions, do bind mens consciences or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of Confirmation, of Orders, and of annealing, and such other (which cannot be proved to be institute of Christ, nor have any word in them to certifie us of remission of sins) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, or no?

These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian Religion. Wherefore we contend not about words and Titles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, Blessed be the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the Sons of God. *And Paul, writing unto* Timothy, *commanded Bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers: and moreover he saith specially, that he should resist with the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the Faith; and he addeth a cause whereas he saith,* Doing this thou shalt preserve both thy self, and also them which hear thee. *Now if ye will follow these Counsellors Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore in this disputation we must first agree of the number of the Sacraments, and what a Sacrament doth signifie in the holy Scriptures, and when we call Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, Sacraments of the Gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that Saint Ambrose and other Authors call the washing of the Disciples feet and other things, Sacraments; which I am sure you your selves would not suffer to be numbred among the other Sacraments.*

The Archb. of Canterbu. Oration to the Bishops.

Questions and controversies to be discussed.

Ceremonies.

Matth. 5.

1 Tim. 5.

Aug. de doctr. Christ. lib. 3.

When he had ended his Oration, *Cromwel* commanded *Alesius* which stood by (whom he perceived to give attentive ear to that which was spoken) to shew his mind and Opinion; declaring to the Bishops before, that he was the Kings Scholar, and therefore desired them to be contented to hear him indifferently.

Alesius after he had first done his duty unto the Lord *Cromwel* and to the other Prelates of the Church, said in this wise.

Alex. Alesius reasoneth with the Bishops.

Right honorable and Noble Lord, and you most reverend Fathers and Prelates of the Church, although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet trusting in the aid of Christ, which promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we be required of our Faith, I will utter my Sentence and judgment of this Disputation. And I think that my Lord Archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a Sacrament, whether ye will call a Sacrament a Ceremony institute of Christ in the Gospel, to signifie a special or a singular vertue of the Gospel, and of godliness (as *Paul* nameth remission of sins to be) or whether ye mean every Ceremony generally, which may be a token or a signification of an holy thing to be a Sacrament? For after this later signification I will not

The name of a Sacrament, how far it extendeth.

not stick to grant you that there be seven Sacraments and more too, if ye will. But yet *Paul* seemeth to describe a Sacrament after the just signification, whereas he saith, *That Circumcision is a token and seal of the righteousness of Faith.* This definition of one particular Sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all Sacraments generally, for the Jews had but one Sacrament only, as all the Sophistical Writers do grant. And he describeth Baptism after the same manner, in the fifth to the *Ephesians*, whereas he saith, That Christ doth sanctifie the Church, that is to say, all that be baptized through the Bath of Water in the Word of Life. For here also he addeth the Word and Promise of God unto the Ceremony. And Christ also requireth Faith where he saith, *Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved.*

Rom. 4.

What is a Sacrament properly. Ephes. 5.

Gods Word and promise going with an outward ceremony maketh a Sacrament. A definition of a Sacrament.

No man hath power to make any Sacrament.

And S. *Augustine* describeth a Sacrament thus; *The Word of God coming unto the Element maketh the Sacrament.* And in another place he saith, *A Sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of visible things, doth work secretly salvation.* And the Master of the Sentences doth describe a Sacrament no otherwise: *A Sacrament* (saith he) *is an invisible grace, and hath a visible form: and by this invisible grace I mean* (saith he) *remission of sins.* Finally, St. *Thomas* denieth that any man hath authority to institute a Sacrament. Now if ye agree unto this definition of a Sacrament, it is an easie thing to judge of the number of those Sacraments which have the manifest Word of God, and be institute by Christ, to signifie unto us the remission of our sins.

Aug. ad Januarium Ep. 118.

St. *Augustine* saith that there be but two such Sacraments, in the hundred and eighteenth Epistle to *Januarius*. His words be these, *First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this Disputation, which is this: That our Lord Jesus Christ (as he himself saith in the Gospel) hath laden us but with a light and easie Yoke or Burthen. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of his new people with Sacraments, very few in number, very easie to be kept, and very excellent in signification, which be Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord, and such other, if there be any more commanded in the holy Scripture, those except which were Burthens for the servitude of the people in the old Law, for the hardness of their hearts, &c.* And again in the third Book of the learning of the Christian Man, he saith, *The Scripture hath taught us but few signs, as be the Sacrament of Baptism, and the solemn celebration and remembrance of the Body and Blood of the Lord, &c.*

Christs Churche hanged but with few & easy Sacraments.

Aug. de doctr. Christ. lib. 3.

Solely replieth against Alesius.

Then the Bishop of *London*, which could scarcely refrain himself all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: First of all, saith he, where you alledge that all the Sacraments which are in the Church instituted by Christ himself, have either some manifest ground in the Scriptures, or ought to shew forth some signification of remission of sins, it is false, and not to be allowed.

All be not Sacraments of the New Testament which may have the name of Sacraments.

Then said *Alesius*, that he would prove it, not onely by manifest Authorities of Scripture, but also by evident Testimonies of ancient Doctors and School-writers.

Peto Bishop of Hereford speaketh Doctors not to be stuck to in matters of Faith for that they vary in themselves.

But the Bishop of *Hereford* (which was then lately returned out of *Germany*, where he had been Embassadour for the King to the Protestants) being moved with the Bishop of *Londons* forwardness, turning himself first to *Alexander Alesius*, willed him not to contend with the Bishop in such manner, by the Testimonies of Doctors and Schoolmen, forsomuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. Wherefore if this Disputation shall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the King, that these Controversies should be determined onely by the rule and judgment of the Scripture. This he spake unto *Alesius*. Then he turning himself unto the Bishops, likewise admonished them with a grave and sharp Oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

I Think ye not (said he) *that we can by any sophistical subtilties steal out of the the world again the light which every Man doth see. Christ hath so lightned the world at this time, that the light of the Gospel hath put to flight all mysty darkness, and it will shortly have the higher Hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain never so much. The Lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us. And the* Germans *have made the Text of the Bible so plain and easie by the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any Glosse, at all, than by all the Commentaries of the Doctors. And moreover, they have so opened these Controversies by their writings, that Women and Children may wonder at the blindness and Falsehood that hath been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly what ye will determin of these Controversies, that ye make not your selves to be mocked and laughed to scorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus shall ye lose all your Estimation and Authority with them, which before took you for learned Men and profitable members unto the Common-wealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never Heresie in the Church so great, but that process of time, with the power and Authority of the Pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn your opinion, and think this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all Falsehood.*

The Oration of Fox Bp. of Hereford, unto the Bishops.

The Gospel shining in all places.

The faithful diligence of the Germans in translating the Bible.

The world not able to judge upon Errours.

It is a vain hope to trust upon the Popes authority.

Truth will come out at last.

Truth daughter of time.

Truth is the Daughter of time, and time is the Mother of Truth. And whosoever is Besieged of Truth cannot long continue, and upon whose side Truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought Transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence and strength or Authority. For the Truth is of so great power, Strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras. A King is strong, Wine is strong, yet Women be more strong; but Truth excelleth all.

The nature of truth.

3 Esdras 4.

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he speak and utter in that Convocation, both copiously and discreetly. Through whose Oration *Alesius* being encouraged, proceeded further, to urge the Bishop with this Argument.

The Argument in form.

Ba- Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of Gods good will.

Sacraments be seals certifying us of Gods good will.

ro- Without the Word there is no certainty of Gods good will.

co. Ergo, Without the Word there be no Sacraments.

The first part of this reason is Saint *Pauls* own saying, the fourth to the *Romans*, where here saith, *That Circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of Faith. Ergo*, it requireth Faith to certifie mans heart of the will of God. But the Word of God is the Foundation of Faith, as Saint *Paul* witnesseth. Rom. 10. *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh the Word of God.* For the mind must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the Word, like as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so *Paul* by that saying confuteth this opinion, that the Sacraments should make Men righteous and just before God, for the very outward work, without Faith of them that receive them.

Rom. 4.

The Word is the ground of faith.

Rom. 10.

Ex opere operato.

And after this manner doth *Paul* speak unto the *Ephesians*, that Christ doth sanctifie his Church though the Bathe of Water in the Word of life. And for as much as he joyneth the Word unto the ceremony, and declareth the vertue and power of the Word of God, that it bringeth with it self, he doth manifestly teach that Word of

Ephes. 5.

Sacraments only to be gathered out of the Word of God.

God is a principal thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the Sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing else but a token of that lively inflammation which we receive through faith in the Word and Promise. St. *Paul* also in ministring the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, doth manifestly add the words of Christ. *He took Bread*, saith he, *and when he had given thanks, he brake it and said, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my Body.* Item, *Do ye this in my remembrance.* Beside this he teacheth evidently that only Christ, and none but he had power to institute a Sacrament; and that neither the Apostles nor the Church hath any Authority to alter or to add any thing unto his Ordinance, whereas he saith, *For I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you, &c.* To what purpose should he go about to move the People to believe him, and to win their hearts with this Protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any Sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of ministring the Sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirm, that the Apostles did alter the form of Baptism.

The Institution of Christ ought not to be altered. 1 Cor. 11.

The answer of the Bishop of London against Alesius.

When he had spoken thus much, the Bishop of *London* did interrupt him and said; Let us grant that the Sacraments may be gathered out of the Word of God, yet are you far deceived, if ye think that there is none other Word of God, but that which every Sowter and Cobler do read in their Mother Tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian Faith, but that only that is written in the Bible, then erre ye plainly with the *Lutherans*. For *John* saith, *that Jesus did many things which be not written.* And *Paul* commandeth the *Thessalonians* to observe and keep certain unwritten Traditions and Ceremonies, 2 *Thess.* 2. Moreover he himself did preach not the Scripture only, but even also the Traditions of the Elders, *Acts* 16. Finally, we have received many things of the Doctors and Councils by times, which although they be not written in the Bible, yet forsomuch as the old Doctors of the Church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the Apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture, and finally that they may worthily be called the Word of God unwritten.

John 21.

2 Thess. 2. Unwritten Verities and Traditions of Fathers in equal force with Gods written Word. Acts 16.

The unwritten Word of God.

Stokesley laughed to scorn.

Now when the right Noble Lord *Cromwel*, the Archbishop, with the other Bishops, which did defend the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forsomuch as they saw him flee even in the very beginning of the Disputation, unto his old rusty Sophistry and unwritten Verities. Then *Alesius* would have proceeded further with the Bishop to have confuted this blasphemous Lie; but the Lord *Cromwel* bad him be content, for the time began to go away and it was twelve of the Clock; and thus he made an end with his Protestation. Right Reverend Mr. Bishop, you deny that our Christian Faith and Religion doth lean only upon the Word of God, which is written in the Bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me that there be no Sacraments but those that have the manifest Word of God to confirm them. Unto this he did consent, and then immediately that Assembly was dissolved for that day.

The next day when the Bishops were set again, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sending his Archdeacon, commanded *Alesius* to abstain from disputation. Whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to *Cromwel*, who afterward shewed the same unto the Bishops. Thus through the industry of *Cromwel*, the Colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit Religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some Reformation had throughout all *England*.

The publick care of *Cromwel* for the Commonwealth.

How desirous and studious this *Cromwel* was in the cause of Christs Religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care and travel how to advance and further the right knowledge of the Gospel, and reform the House of God: as by so many Proclamations above-specified, by his means set forth, may well appear, wherein first he caused the People to be instructed in the Lords Prayer and Creed in *English*. Then procured the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same Language for every Englishman to understand: after that, to refuse the Vulgar People from damnable Idolatry, caused certain of the most grossest Pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor sort, which get their living with their daily labour and work of their hands, he provided that divers idle Holy-days were diminished. *Item*, He procured for them liberty to eat Eggs and White-meat in *Lent*. Furthermore it was by him also provided, for the better instruction of the People, that Beneficed men should be resident in their Cures and Parishes, there to teach and to keep Hospitality, with many other things else most fruitfully redressed for the Reformation of Religion and behoof of Christs Church: as by the Proclamations, Injunctions, and necessary Articles of Christian Doctrine above-specified, set forth in the Kings Name, by his means, may more abundantly appear.

Now to adjoyn withal his private benefits in helping divers good Men and Women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses. It would require a long discourse. Briefly, his whole life was full of such Examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for Religions sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings.

Read afore.

How Cromwel *holp a poor Woman with Child out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of* Lent.

Persecutors. — *Persecuted.*

Fishers *Wife of* Harneseye. — Thomas Frebarne *and his Wife.*

Dr. Cocks. — *B.* Stokesly. — Holland *his Summer.* — *Mr.* Garret *King of Arms.*

The Causes.

A story of one Frebarns Wife longing for a piece of Meat in Lent.

IN the year of our Lord 1538. Sir *William Forman* being Mayor of the City of *London*, three weeks before *Easter*, the Wife of one *Thomas Frebarne* dwelling in *Paternoster-Row*, being with Child, longed after a morsel of a Pig, and told her mind unto a Maid dwelling in *Abchurch-Lane*, desiring her if it were possible to help her unto a piece. The Maid perceiving her earnest desire, shewed unto her Husband what his Wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the Childs too which she went with, if she had it not. Upon this, *Thomas Frebarn* her Husband spake to a Butter-Wife which he knew, that dwelled at *Harnsey*, named good-Wife *Fisher*, to help him to a Pig for his Wife, for she was with Child, and longed fore to eat of a Pig: unto whom the said good-Wife *Fisher* promised that she would bring him one the *Friday* following, and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the Pig, she craftily conveyed one of the Pigs feet, and carried it unto Dr. *Cocker*, at that time being Dean of *Canterbury*, dwelling in *Fey-Lane*, who at that time of his Dinner, before certain Guests which he had bidden, shewed the Pigs foot, declaring who had the body thereof. And after that they had talked their pleasure, and Dinner was done, one of his Guests being Landlord unto *Frebarne* aforesaid, called Mr. *Garter*, and by his Office, King of Arms, sent his Man unto the said *Frebarne*, demanding if there were no body sick in his house. Unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, it was told his Master that some body was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in *Lent*. Unto whom *Frebarne* made answer, that his Wife was with Child, and longed for a piece of a Pig, and if he could get some for her he would. Then departed his Landlords man home again.

A crafty part of a false Judas.

And shortly after his Landlord sent for him. But before that he had sent for him, he had sent for the Bishop of *Londons* Sumner, whose name was *Holland*, and when this

this *Frebarn* was come, he demanded of him, if he had not a Pig in his house, which he denied not. Then commanded Mr. *Garter* the said Sumner called *Holland*, to take him and go home to his House, and to take the Pig, and carry both him and the Pig unto Dr. *Stokesley* his Master, being then Bishop of *London*, and so he did. Then the Bishop being in his Chamber with divers other of the Clergy, called this *Frebarn* before him, and had him in examination for this Pig, laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his House that *Lent* powdred Beef and Calves-heads. My Lord, if the Heads were eaten in my House, in whose Houses were the Bodies eaten; alas, if there be either Man or Woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my House hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer death therefore. You spake (said he) against Pilgrimages, and will not take holy Bread nor holy Water, nor yet go on Procession on *Palm-Sunday*; Thou art no Christian man. My Lord, said *Frebarn*, I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing either against Gods Law or my Princes.

Holland the Bish. of London Sumner.

Dr. Cocks.

Mr. Garret King of Arms.

Fr. Frebarn examined before the Bishop.

Hypocritical Judgment.

In the time of this his Examination, which was during the space of two hours, divers came unto the Bishop; some to have their Children confirmed, and some for other causes. Unto whom as they came, having the Pig before him covered, he would lift up the Cloth and shew it them, saying, How think you of such a Fellow as this is? Is not this good meat, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of *Lent*, yea, and also powdred Beef and Calves-Heads too besides this.

Fr. Frebarn brought to the Counter.

Fr. Frebarn brought before the L. Mayor.

After this, the Bishop called his Sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carry this *Thomas Frebarn* and his Pig openly thorow the Streets into the *Old-Baily*, unto Sir *Roger Chomley*; for the Bishop said, he had nothing to do to punish him, for that belonged unto the Civil Magistrates; and so was *Frebarn* carried with the Pig before him to Sir *Roger Chomleys* House in the *Old-Baily*, and he being not at home at that time, *Frebarn* was brought likewise back again unto the Bishops place with the Pig, and there lay in the *Porters-Lodge* till it was Nine of the Clock at Night. Then the Bishop sent him unto the *Counter* in the *Poultrey* by the Sumner and other of his Servants.

The next day being *Saturday*, he was brought before the Mayor of *London* and his Brethren unto the *Guild-Hall*; but before his coming they had the Pig delivered unto them by the Bishops Officer. Then the Mayor and the Bench laid unto his charge (as they were informed from the Bishop) that he had eaten powdred Beef and Calves-heads in his House the same *Lent*, but no man was able to come in that would justifie it, neither could any thing be found, save only the Pig, which (as is before said) was for the preservation of his Wifes life, and that she went withal. Notwithstanding the Mayor of *London* said, that the *Monday* next following he should stand on the Pillory in *Cheapside*, with the one half of the Pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other.

Then spake the Wife of the said *Frebarn* unto the Mayor and the Bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they took a Satten-List, and tied it fast about the Pigs neck, and made *Frebarn* to carry it hanging on his shoulder until he came unto the *Counter* of the *Poultrey*, from whence he came.

After this was done, the Wife of this Prisoner took with her an honest Woman, the Wife of one *Michael Lobley*, which was well acquainted with divers in the Lord *Cromwels* House, unto whom the said Woman resorted for some help for this Prisoner, desiring them to speak unto their Lord and Master for his deliverance out of trouble.

Let no man judge you in meat and drink, or in respect of an holy day, &c. Colos. 2.

Dr. Barnes and Barlow sue to the L. Cromwel for Fra. Frebarn.

It hapned that the same time came in Dr. *Barns* and Mr. *Barlow*, who understanding the matter by *Lobleys* Wife, went up to the Lord *Cromwel* and certified him thereof; who upon their request sent for the Mayor of the City of *London*: but what was said to him is unknown, saving that in the Afternoon of the same day the Wife of the person aforesaid resorted again unto the Lord Mayor, suing to get her Husband delivered out of Prison, declaring how that she had two small Children, and had nothing to help her nor them, but only her Husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the Mayor answered, What come ye to me? You are the Lord Mayors. Answer to the poor Woman.

The gentle words of Mr. Wilkinson Sheriff of London to the poor Woman.

taken up with the Kings Council. I supposed you had come to desire me that your Husband should not stand upon the Pillory in *Cheapside* on *Monday* next, with the one half of the Pig on his one shoulder, and the other half on the other. Also the Mayor said unto her, That he could not deliver him without the consent of the rest of his Brethren the Aldermen. Wherefore he bade her the next day following, which was the *Sabbath-day*, to resort unto *Pauls*, to St. *Dunstans* Chappel, and when he had spoken with his Brethren, he would then tell her more. Other answer could she get none at that time. Wherefore she went unto Mr. *Wilkinson*, then being Sheriff of *London*, desiring him to be good unto her, and that she might have her poor Husband out of Prison. Unto whom Mr. *Wilkinson* answered: O Woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his Cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no, saying moreover unto her, that if the Lord Mayor had sent him to his *Counter*, as he sent him to his Brothers, he should not have tarried there an hour, and so commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the best for her he could. So the next day came, and this Woman resorted again to Mr. *Wilkinsons*, according as he bade her, who also had bidden divers Guests, unto whom he spake in her behalf. But as they were set at dinner, and the alms sitting at the Table, when she saw the last Fish come in, she fell down in a swound, so that for the space of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in *Paternoster-Row*, and then they sent for the Midwife, supposing that she would have been delivered incontinent of her Child that she went with (but after that she came somewhat again to her self) where she lay sick and kept her Bed the space of fifteen weeks after, being not able to help her self, but as she was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

Now to shew further what became of this Pig where-of we have spoken so much, it was carried into *Finsbury* Field by the Bishop of *Londons* Sumner, at his Masters commandment, and there buried. The *Monday* following, being the fourth day after that this Prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the Mayor of *London*, with the residue of his Brethren being at *Guild-Hall*, sent for the Prisoner aforenamed, and demanded Sureties of him for his forth-coming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge; but for lack of such Sureties as they required, upon his own Bond, which was a Recognizance of twenty pound, he was delivered out of their hands. But shortly after that he was delivered out of this his trouble, Mr. *Garter*, of whom we have spoken before, being his Landlord, warned him out of his House, so that in four years after he could not get another, but was constrained to be within other good Folks, to his great hinderance and undoing.

That God ordaineth Herbs to be eaten, Field by the Bishop of *London's* Summer, at his Masters Superstition buriseth.

The Frebarn delivered out of Prison.

The Frebarn discharged out of his House by Mr. Garter his Landlord.

Hard it were, and almost out of number to rehearse the names and stories of all them, which felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembred the notable deliverance of one *Gray* a Smith of *Bishops-Stortford*, who being accused for denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be our Saviour, was sent up for the same to *London*, and there should have been condemned to be burnt, but that by the means of the Lord *Cromwel* he was sent home again and delivered. One other Example, though it be somewhat long with the circumstances and all, I will declare, how he helped the Secretary that then was to Dr. *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which Secretary is yet alive, and can bear present Record of the same.

Gray a Smith, accused of Heresie, and delivered by the Lord Cromwel.

How the Lord Cromwel *helped* Crannmers *Secretary.*

MEntion was made before how King *Henry*, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, caused the six Articles to pass, much against the mind and contrary to the consent of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Cranmer*, who had disputed three days against the same in the *Parliament-House*, with great Reasons and Authorities. Which Articles after they were granted and past by

The Archb. Cranmer disputed three days in the Parliament against the 6. Articles.

by the Parliament, the King for the singular favour which he ever bare to *Cranmer*, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had said, and objected in the Parliament against these Articles, or what could be alleadged by learning against the same, required a Note of the Archbishop of his doings, what he had said and opposed in the Parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the King by *Cromwel*, and other Lords of the Parliament, whom the King then sent to dine with him at *Lambeth*, somewhat to comfort again his grieved mind and troubled spirits, as hath been above recited.

Whereupon when his Dinner was finished, the next day after the Archbishop collecting both his Arguments, Authorities of Scriptures, and Doctors together, caused his Secretary to write a fair Book thereof for the King, after this order. First, the Scriptures were alledged, then the Doctors, thirdly followed the Arguments deduced from those Authorities. This Book was written in his Secretaries Chamber. Where, in a by-Chamber, lay the Archbishops Almosiner. When this Book was fair written, and whilst the Secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the Archbishop his Master, who was (as it then chanced) rid to *Croydon*, returning back to his Chamber, he found the door shut, and the Key carried away to *London* by the Almosiner.

The name of this Secretary was Mr. *Ralph Morice*, being yet alive.

At this season also chanced the Father of the said Secretary to come to the City, by whose occasion so it fell out that he must needs go to *London*. The Book he could not lay into his Chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being straitly charged, in any condition, of the Archbishop his Master, to be circumspect thereof; so that he determined to go to his Father, and to keep the Book about him. And so thrusting the Book under his Girdle, he went over unto *Westminster* Bridge with a Scullar, where he entred into a Wherry that went to *London*, wherein were four of the Guard who meant to land at *Pauls-Wharf*, and to pass by the Kings Highness, who then was in his Barge, with a great number of Barges and Boats about him, then baiting of Bears in the Water over against the Bank.

These foresaid Yeomen of the Guard, when they came against the Kings Barge they durst not pass by towards *Paul-Wharf*, left they should be espyed, and therefore intreated the Secretary to go with them to the Bear-baytting, and they would find the means being of the Guard to make room, and to see all the passime; the Secretary, perceiving no other remedy, assented thereto. When the Wherry came nigh the multitude of the Boats, they with Pollaxes got the Wherry so far, that being compassed with many other Wherries, and Boats, there was no refuge if the Bear should break loose and come upon them, as in very deed, within one *Pater noster* while, the Bear brake loose and came into the Boat where the Yeomen of the Guard were, and the said Secretary. The Guard forsook the Wherry, and went into another Barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the Water. The Bear and the Dogs so shaked the Wherry, wherein the Secretarie was, that the Boat being full of Water sunk to the ground, and being also as it chanced an ebbing Tyde, he there sate in the end of the Wherry up to the middle in Water. To whom came the Bear and all the Dogs. The Bear, seeking as it were aid and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the Book was looked from his Girdle, and fell into the Thames out of his reach.

A Bear-baiting upon Thames before the King.

Tall Yeomen but ill Keepers.

The Book of D. Cranmer against the six Articles lost in the Thames.

The flying of the People, after that the Bear was loose, from one Boat to another, was so combrous, that divers Persons were thrown into the Thames, the King commanding certain men that could swim to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This passime so displeased the King, that he bad away with the Bear, and let us go all hence.

The Secretary perceiving his Book to fleet away in the *Thames*, called to the Bearward to take up the Book. When the Bearward had the Book in his custody, being an arrant Papist, far from the Religion of his Mistres (for he was the Lady *Elizabeths* Bearward, now the Queens Majesty) ere the the Secretary could come to land, he had delivered the Book to a Priest of his own affinity in Religion standing on the bank, who reading in the Book, and perceiving that it was a manifest Refutation of the six Articles, made much ado, and sold the Bearward that whosoever claimed the Book should surely be hanged. Anon the Secretary came to the Bearward for his Book. What quoth the Bearward, dare you challenge this Book? Whose Servant are you? I am Servant to one of the Council, said the Secretary, and my Lord of *Canterbury* is my Master. Yea marry, quoth the Bearward, I thought so much: you be like, I trust, quoth the Bearward, to be both hanged for this Book. Well, said he, it is not so evil as you take it, and I warrant you my Lord will avouch the Book to the Kings Majesty. But I pray you let me have my Book, and I will give you a Crown to drink. If you will give me five hundred Crowns you shall not have it, quoth the Bearward. With that the Secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardness of the Bearward, he learned that *Blage* the Grocer in *Cheapside* might do much with the Bearward, to whom the Secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the Bearward to Supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof, and besides that, rather than he would forego his Book after this sort, the Bearward should have twenty shillings to drink. The Supper was prepared; The Bearward was sent for and came. After Supper the matter was intreated of, and twenty shillings offered for the Book. But do what could be done, neither Friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of mony could obtain the Book out of his hands, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the Councel that would not slightly look on so weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a Supper, or a piece of mony. The honest man Master *Blage* with many good reasons would have perswaded him not to be stiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he should nothing at all prevail of his purpose, but be laught to scorn, getting neither penny nor praise for his Travel. He hearing that rushed suddenly out of the doors from his Friend Mr. *Blage*, without any manner of thanksgiving for his Supper, more like a Bearward, than like an honest man. When the Secretary saw the matter so extreamly to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practising or intreaty with the Bearward, as with him that seemed rather to bea Bear himself, than the Master of the Beast, determining the next morning to make the Lord *Cromwel* privy of the chance that happened.

D. Cranmer Book against the six Articles delivered to a Fodder Priest.

The Bearward willing to give Cranmer Book to the Council.

The Lord Cromwel receiveth the Book from the Bearward.

So on the next day, as the Lord *Cromwel* went to the Court, the Secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. Where is the fellow, quoth the Lord *Cromwel*? I suppose, said the Secretary, that he is now in the Court attending to deliver the Book unto some of the Councel Well, said the Lord *Cromwel*, it maketh no matter; go with me thither and I shall get you your Book again. When the Lord *Cromwel* came into the Hall of the Court, there stood the Bearward with the Book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Sir *Anthony Brown*, or unto the Bishop of *Winchester*, as it was reported. To whom the Lord *Cromwel* said, Come hither fellow, what Book hast thou there in thy hand? and with that snatched the Book out of his hand, and looking in the Book, he said, I know this hand well enough. This is your hand, said he to the Secretary. But where hadst thou this Book, quoth the Lord *Cromwel* to the Bearward? This Gentleman lost it two days ago in the Thames, said the Bearward. Dost thou know the Beare whose Servant he is, said the Lord *Cromwel*? He saith quoth the Bearward, that he is my Lords of *Canterburies* Servant. Why then didst thou not deliver to him the Book, when he required it, said the Lord *Cromwel*? who made thee so bold as to detain and withold any Book or writing from a Counsellors Servant, especially being his Secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy Bears, than with such writing, and were it not for thy Mistres sake, I would set thee fast by the tee, to teach such malapert Knaves to meddle with Counsellors matters. Had not mony been well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is, that knoweth not a Counsellors man from a Coblers man? And with those words the L. *Cromwel* went into the Kings Chamber of presence, and the Archbishops Secretary

The words of the L. Cromwel to the Archbishops Cranmer.

Secretary with him, where he found in the Chamber the Lord *Cant.* To whom he said, My Lord, I have found here good stuff for you (shewing to him the paper Book that he had in his Hand) ready to bring both you and this good fellow your Man to the halter, namely if the Knave Bearward now in the Hall might have well compassed it. At these words the Archbishop smiled and said, he that lost the Book is like to have the worst Bargain, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the Book fair again: and at these words, the Lord *Cromwel* cast the Book unto the Secretary, saying, I pray thee, *Morice*, go in hand therewith, by and by with all expedition, for it must serve a turn. Surely, my Lord, it somewhat rejoyceth me, quoth the Lord *Cromwel*, that the Varlet might have had of your Man twenty shillings for the Book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and shaked him well up for his over much malapertnes. I know the fellow well enough, quoth he, there is not a ranker Papist within this Realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so Noble a Princes. And so after humble thanks given to the Lord *Cromwel*, the said *Morice* departed with his Book, which when he again had fair written, was delivered to the Kings Majesty by the said Lord *Cromwel*, within four days after.

The Lord Cromwel *not forgetting his old Friends and Benefactors.*

IT is commonly seen, that men advanced once from base degree to ample dignities, do rise also with fortune into such insolency and exaltation of mind, that not onely they forget themselves what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of Remembrance all their old Friends and former Acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how farr the courteous condition of this Christian Earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear. As by a certain poor Woman keeping sometimes a victualling House about *Hounslow*, to whom the said Lord *Cromwel* remained in debt for certain old reckonings, to the summ of forty shillings. It happened that the Lord *Cromwel* with *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, riding through *Cheapside* towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way and there espying this poor Woman brought now in need and misery, entloons caused her to be called unto him, Who being come, after certain questions asked her if she were not such a Woman, and dwelling in such a place. At last he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of mony between him and her. To whom she with reverent obeysance confessed that he owed her mony for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpaid, whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him to require her right. Then the Lord *Cromwel* sending the poor Women home to his house, and one of his servants withal, that the Porter should let her in, after his return from the Court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived.

The gentle behaviour of the Lord Cromwel, in remembring his old friends.

Example of a grateful deisre.

The like courtesie the said Lord *Cromwel* shewed also to a certain *Italian*, who in the City of *Florence* had shewed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessity, as in this story following may appear. Which story set forth and compiled in the *Italian* Tongue by *Bandello*, and imprinted at *Luke* by *Busdrago*, *Anno*, 1554. I thought here to infert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

Exhibiteth Iniice.

A notable Story of the L. Cromwel, and an Italian.

Not many years past, saith the Author, there was in *Florence* a Merchant, whose name was *Francis*, descended from the Noble and ancient Family of the *Frescobalds*. This Gentleman was naturally indued with a Noble and liberal mind, unto whom also, through prosperous successe and fortunate luck in his affairs and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heaps of much treasure, He according to the custom of Merchants, used his Trade into many Countries, but chiefly into *England*, where long time he lived, sojourning in *London*, keeping House to his great commendation and praise.

It happened, that *Francis Frescobald* being in *Florence*, there appeared before him a poor Young Man, asking his Alms for God sake. *Frescobald*, as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tottered attire, but that his Countenance gave signification of much towardnes and vertue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pity demanded of what Country he was, and where he was born. I am Sir, quoth he, of *England*, and my name is *Thomas Cromwel*. My Father is a poor Man, and by his occupation a cloth-Shearer. I am strayed from my Countrey, and am now come into *Italy* with the Camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at *Gatilyon*, were I was the Page to a Footman, carrying after him his Pike and Burgaret. *Frescobald* partly considering the present State of this Young Man, and partly for the love he bare to the English Nation, of whom he had received in times past sundry pleasures, received him into his House, and with such courtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his Countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. He gave him both Horse and new apparel, and fixteen Duckats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his Countrey. *Cromwel*, rendring his hearty thanks, took leave of his Host and returned into *England*. This *Cromwel* was a Man of Noble Courage, and Heroical Spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberal, and a grave Counsellor, &c. But to our purpose.

Cromwel asking his Alms of *Frescobald*.

Note that this cloth-shearer was his father. in law.

Cromwel Page to a Souldier.

The gentleness of *Frescobald* shewed to Cromwel.

At what time *Cromwel* was so highly favoured of his Prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, *Francis Frescobald* (as it many times happeneth to Merchants) was by many misfortunes and great losses cast back and become very poor. For, according to Conscience and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any other from himself, but such debts as were owing unto him he could by no means obtain: yet calling further to remembrance that in *England* by certain Merchants there was due to him the summ of fifteen thousand Duckats, he so purposed with himself, that if he could recover that mony, he would well content himself, and no longer deal in his Trade of Merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

An Italian Duckate commeth as much as our English Crown.

All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards *England* at last arrived at *London*, having utterly forgotten what courtesie long before he had shewed to *Cromwel*, which is the property always of a good nature, for a Man to forget what benefits he hath shewed to other, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of other. *Frescobald* thus being now arrived at *London*, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him by the way to meet with this Noble Man, as he was riding towards the Court. Whom, as soon as the said Lord *Cromwel* had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought himself that he should be the Man of *Florence*, at whose Hands in times past he had received so gentle Entertainment, and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his Arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not *Francis Frescobald* the *Florentine*, Yea Sir, he answered, and your humble servant. My servant (quoth *Cromwel*?) no, as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not now account you other ways than my great and special Friend, assuring you that I have just reason to be sory, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should be) will not let me understand of your arriving in this Land, which known unto me, truely I should have payed part of that debt which I confess to owe you; but thanked be God, I have yet time. Well, Sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcom. But having now weighty affairs in my Princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithful mind of a Friend, that you forget not this day to come to my House to dinner, and then in remounting on his Horse, he passed to the Court. *Frescobald* greatly marvelling with himself who this Lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in *Florence*, and thereat not a little joyed especially

The words of the Lord Cromwel to the Italian Merchant.

Old friendship remembered.

especially considering how that by his means he should the better recover his due.

The hour of Dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of his honourable Counsellor, where walking a while in his base Court, he attended his coming. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this Gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admiral, and all the other Noble Men of the Court being then in his Company, did not a little marvel thereat.

Which thing when the Lord *Cromwel* perceived, he turning towards them, and holding *Frescobald* fast by the hand, do ye not marvel my Lords, quoth he, that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have atchieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you, and there declared unto them every thing in order according as before hath been recited unto you. His Tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entred his House, and coming into the Chamber, where his Dinner was prepared, he fate him down to the Table, placing his best welcomed Guest next unto him.

The courtesie of the Lord Cromwel in entertaining his old Host.

The Dinner ended, and the Lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought *Frescobald* to *London*. *Francis* in few words opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his only Portion to maintain the rest of his life was fifteen thousad Duckats which were owing him in *England*, and two thousand in *Spain*. Whereunto the Lord *Cromwel* answering again, said, Touching the things, Mr. *Frescobald* that be already past, although it cannot now be undone by mans power, nor by policy called again, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world altering to and fro; yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your self alone, but that by the bond of mutual love I must also bewail with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heavines, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive in this your heavy distress some consolation for your old courtesie shewed to me in times past, the like courtesie now requiteth of me again, that I likewise should repay some portion of that debt wherein I am bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefits on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true Friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

Example of a faithful debtor.

Then taking him by the hand, he led him into his Chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the Door. Then opening a Coffer full heaped with Treasure, he first took out sixteen Duckats, and delivering them to *Frescobald* he said; Lo here (my Friend) is your mony which you lent me at my departure from *Florence*, and here other ten which you bestowed in my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the Horse I rid away on. But considering you are a Merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to return your mony without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these four bags, and in every of them is four hundred Duckats, these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured Friend.

The Lord *Cromwels* usurie.

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb, and almost an utter decay, yet expressing the vertue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the Lord *Cromwel* for his exceeding kindness shewed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it.

Kindnesse requited with kindnesse.

This done, he caused *Frescobald* to give him a Note of the Names of all his Debtors, and the sum that every one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his Servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the Realm, and then straitly to charge them to make payment of those sums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The Servant so well performed his Masters commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum: and if it had liked *Frescobald* so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commodity as the use of his mony in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further. By which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the Lord *Cromwel*, and so highly esteemed of him.

Modesty in an Usurer.

And during all this time, *Frescobald* continually lodged in the house of the Lord *Cromwel*, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in *England*, offering him the loan of threescore thousand Duckats for the space of four years, if he would continue and make his Bank in *London*. But *Frescobald*, who desired to return into his Country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord *Cromwel*, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyned, for in the first year of his return he died

The Duckat after the Italian coyne commeth near to the English Crown.

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits full of singular gratitude and courtesie, that to rehearse all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one amongst many other I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at the lowly mind of such a Person in so High a State and place of Honour. For as he coming with other of the Lords of the Counsel and Commissioners, to the house of *Sheene*, about the examination of certain Monks which there denied the Kings Supremacy, after the examination done was there sitting at Dinner, it chanced him to spy afar off a certain poor man, which there served to sweep their Cels and Cloisters, and to ring the Bells. Whom when the Lord *Cromwel* had well advised, he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and before all the Table most lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the Lords, My Lords (quoth he) see you this poor man? This mans Father hath been a great Friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meals meat. Then said he unto the poor man, Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live. Such as were there present, and saw and heard the same, report it to be true.

An other example of the kind and lowly mind of the Lord *Cromwel*.

In this worthy and Noble Person, besides divers other eminent vertues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excelling wisedom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his Gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian Faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the Injunctions, Proclamations, and Articles above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a noble man, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Three things in the Lord *Cromwel*. 1. Zeal. 2. Wisdom. 3. Authority

Secondly, for his wisdom and policy no less singular, joyned with his Christian zeal, he brought great things to pass, as well on this side the Sea as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with forein Realms, as may be well by the Kings Letters and instructions sent by his means to his Ambassadors resident both with the Emperour, the French King, and the King of *Scots*, and also with the Pope, appear. In all whose Courts, such watch and espial he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischief kindling never so little against the King and the Realm, which he by wit and policy did not quench and keep down. And where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by mony he bought it out; so that during all the time of *Cromwels* prosperity, the King never had Wars with any forein Nation: notwithstanding, that both the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *France* and *Scotland* were mightily bent and incensed against him.

The wisdom and policy of the Lord *Cromwel*.

The Lord *Cromwel* a continual nourisher of peace.

Thus

The Authority of the Lord *Cromwel* employed to the publick commodity of the Realm.

Thus as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the Realm from forein wars; so his Authority was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: First, in hampering the popish Prelats, and disappointing their subtil devises; secondly in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the Laws. Whereby as he was a succour and refuge to all Godly Persons, so was he a terror to the evil Doers; so that not the presence of him onely, but also the hearing of the coming of *Cromwel* brake many fraies, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of Ruffians in the Street of *London* called *Pater-noster-Row*; where Carts were set on both sides, of purpose prepared to inclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened, that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord *Cromwel* coming the same time from the Court through *Pauls-Church-yard*, and entering into *Cheap*, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the Carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the little conduit, and so came upon them through *Paternier Alley*.

A skirmish or fray in Pater-noster row, stopped by the coming of the Lord *Cromwel*.

Thus as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, suddenly at the Noise of the Lord *Cromwels* coming the Camp brake up, and the Ruffians to go, neither could the Carts keep in those so couragious campers, but well was she that first could be gon. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting, onely through the Authority of the Lord *Cromwels* name.

One example more of the like affinity cometh here in mind, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certain Serving-Man of the like ruffianly order, who thinking to differer himself from the common usage of all other Men in strange newfangleness of fashions by himself (as many there be whom nothing doth please, which is daily seen and received) used to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, counterfeiting belike the wild Irish Men, or else *Crinitus Ioppas*, which *Virgil* speaketh of, as own weary of his own English fashion; or else as one ashamed to be seen like a man, would rather go like a Woman, or like to one of the *Gorgon* Sisters, but most of all like to himself, that is, like to a Ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

A Story between the Lord *Cromwel* and a Ruffian.

The Ruffian with the long hair.

As this Ruffian ruffing thus with his locks was walking the Streets, as chance was who should meet him but the Lord *Cromwel*? Who beholding the deform and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the Man to question with him whose servant he was: which being declared, then was demanded whether his Master or any of his fellows used so to go with such hair about their shoulders as he did, or no? Which when he denied, and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a Vow. To this the Lord *Cromwel* answered again, that for so much as he had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his Vow, but until his Vow should be expired, he should lye the mean time in Prison, and so sent him immediately to the *Marshalsey*, where he indured, till at length this *intonsus Cato*, being persuaded by his master to cut his hair, by suit and petition of Friends, he was brought again to the Lord *Cromwel* with his head polled according to the accustomed fort of his other fellows, and so was dismissed.

Hereunto also pertaineth the example of Frier *Bertley*, who wearing still his Friers coul after the suppression of Religious Houses, *Cromwel* coming through *Pauls Churchyard*, and espying him in *Rheines* his flops, yea said he, will not that coul of yours be left off yet? And if I hear by one a clock that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for example to all others. And so passing his Card away, he durst never weare it after.

Frier Bertley, otherwise called Dr Rowland.

In the same Lord *Cromwel*, which could not abide this Servingman so disguised in his haire, were now in these our days alive, with the same Authority which then he had, and law these new fangled fashions of attire, also here amongst us both of Men and Women,

The Monstrous slops of England lack a Cromwel.

I suppose verily that neither these monstrous ruffs; nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal or rather hyperbolical barbarous Breeches (which seem rather like Barrells than Breeches) would have any place in *England*. In which unmeasurable excesse of vesture this I have to marvel; first, how these Servingmen, which commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their Masters and Lords (who shall yeild to God account of their Servants doings) do not search and try out their Servants walks, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates which have in their Hands the ordering and guiding of good Laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, That *England* once had a *Cromwel*.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy Counsellor, by his prudent policy, his grave Authority, and perfect Zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the publick Realm, and especially in the Church of *England*, what good Orders he established, what wickednesses and vices he suppressed; what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light, what crafty jugglings, what Idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious delusions he detected and abolished out of the Church. What posterity will ever think the Church of the Pope, pretending such Religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the peoples eyes with an old rotten stock (called the Rood of Grace) whereon a Man should stand inclosed, with an hundred wyers within the Rood to make the Image goggle with the eyes, to nod with the Head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jawes, according as the view lew was of the gift which was offered? If it were a final piece of silver he would hang a frowning lip, if it were a piece of gold, then should his jawes go merrily. Thus miserably was the people of Christ abused, their Souls seduced, their sense beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this Idolatrous forgery at last by *Cromwels* means was disclosed, and the Image with all his engins shewed openly at *Pauls Cross*, and there torn in pieces by the People. The like was done by the Blood of *Hales*, which in like manner by *Cromwel* was brought to *Pauls Cross*, and there proved to be the Blood of a Duck.

Diverse corruptions in the Church detected and reformed by *Cromwel*.

The Rood of Grace goggling with his eyes.

The Blood which was brought to *Pauls* of Hailes, *Cross*.

Who would have judged, but that the Maid of *Kent* had been an holy Woman and a Prophetess inspired, had not *Cromwel* and *Cranmer* tried her at *Pauls Cross* to be a strong whore.

The holy Maid of Kent read before.

What should I speak of *Darvel Gartheren*, of the Rood of *Chester*, of *Thomas Becket*, our Lady of *Wolsingham*, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? All which stocks and blocks of curfed Idolatry *Cromwel*, stirred up by the Providence of God, removed out of the peoples way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

Stocks and blocks removed out of the way.

While the Lord *Cromwel* was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the common wealth, and purging the Church of Christ, it hapned to him, as commonly it doth to all good Men, that where any excellency of vertue appeareth, there envie creepeth in, and where true piety seeketh most after Christ, there some perfection followeth withal.

This, I say, as he was labouring in the Commonwealth and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his Enemies so wrought, continually hunting for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end they by false trains and crafty surmises brought him out of the Kings Favour.

The chief and principal Enemy against him was *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*; who ever disdaining and envying the State and Felicity of the Lord *Cromwel*, and now taking his occasion by the Marriage of Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, being a stranger and forein, put in the Kings ears what a perfect thing it were to the quiet of the Realm, and establishment to the Kings succession, to have an English Queen and Prince that

Ste. Gardiner chief enemy to the Lord *Cromwel*.

were

were meer Englifh; fo that in conclufion, the Kings affection, the more it was diminifhed from the late married *Anne of Cleve*, the lefs favour he bare unto *Cromwel*. Befides this *Gardiner*, there lacked not other Friends alfo, and ill willers in the Court about the King, which little made for *Cromwel* both for his Religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges alfo incident by the way.

Over and befides all which, it is moreover fuppofed, that fome part of difpleafure might rife againft him, by reafon of a certain talk which happened a little before at *Lambeth*, at what time the King after the making of the fix Articles, fent the faid Lord *Cromwel* his Vicegerent, with the two Dukes of *Northfolk*, and *Suffolk*, with all the Lords of the Parliament to *Lambeth*, to dine with the Archbifhop (who mightily had difputed and alledged in the Parliament againft the faid Articles) to cheer and comfort his daunted Spirits again.

The talk between the Lord Cromwel and certain of the Lords at Lambeth.

There the faid *Cromwel* with the other Noble Lords fitting with the Archbifhop at his Table in talk, as every Lord brought forth his fentence in commendation of *Cranmer*, to fignifie what good will both the King and they bare unto him; amongft the reft one of the company entring into a comparifon between the faid *Thomas Cranmer*, and *Thomas Wolfey* late Cardinal of *York*, declared in his judgment, that *Cranmer* was much to be preferred for his mild and gentle nature, whereas the Cardinal was a ftubborn and a churlifh Prelate, and one that could never abide any Noble-man, and that, faid he, know you well enough, my Lord *Cromwel*, for he was your Maifter, &c. At thefe words the Lord *Cromwel*, being fomwhat touched to hear the Cardinals fervice caft in his teeth, inferred again, faying, That he could not deny but he was Servant fometime to Cardinal *Wolfey*, neither did repent the fame, for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other Commodities; but yet he was never fo far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to *Rome*, if he had been chofen Pope, as he underftood that he would have done, if the cafe had fo fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, *Cromwel* ftill perfifted, affirming the fame, and fhewing moreover, what number of Florens he fhould have received, to be his Admiral, and to have fafe conducted him to *Rome*, in cafe he had been elected Bifhop of *Rome*. The party, not a little moved with thefe words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to me true. Upon this, great and high words rofe between them. Which contention, although it was through intreaty of the Archbifhop and other Nobles fomwhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that fome bitter Root of grudg remained behind, which afterward grew unto him to fome difpleafure. And this was *Anno* 1540. in the Month of *July*. *Ex teftimonio Secretarii Cantuar.*

Anno 1541. A Parliament. The Lord Cromwel apprehended.

After this, the next year following, which was 1541. in the Month of *April*, was holden a Parliament, which after divers prorogations was continued till the Month of *July* the faid year. In the which Month of *July*, the Lord *Cromwel* being in the Council-Chamber was fuddenly apprehended, and committed to the *Tower* of *London*. Whereat as many good Men, which knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, fo more there were on the contrary fide that rejoyced, efpecially of the Religious fort, and of the Clergy, fuch as had been in fome dignity before in the Church and now by his means were put from it. For indeed fuch was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of Popery, or of falfe Religion creeping under Hpocrifie, and lefs could he abide the ambitious pride of Popifh Prelacy, which profeffing all humility was fo elated in pride, that Kings could not rule in their own Realms for them. Thefe fnuffing Prelates he could never abide, fo they again hated him as much, which was the caufe of fhortning his days, and to bring him to his end; fo that the xix. day of the Month aforefaid, he was attainted by Parliament.

Crimes and accufations brought againft the Lord Cromwel.

In the which Attainder, divers and fundry Crimes, furmifes, objections, and Accufations were brought againft him, but chiefly and above all other he was charged and accufed of Herefie, for that he was a fupporter of them (whom they recounted for Hercticks) as *Barns*, *Clark*, and many other, whom he by his Authority and Letters written to Sheriffs and Juftices in divers fhires refcued, and difcharged out of Prifon. Alfo that he did divulgate and difperfe abroad among the Kings Subjects great numbers of Books, containing (as they faid) manifeft matter of much Herefie, diffidence, and mifbelief. *Item*, that he caufed to be tranflated into our Engliih Tongue Books compriling matter expreffly againft the Sacrament of the Altar, and that after the Tranflation thereof, he commended and maintained the fame for good and Chriftian Doctrin. Over and befides all this, they brought in certain witneffes (what they were, the attainder expreffeth not) which moft efpecially preffed (or rather oppreffed) him with hainous words fpoken againft the King in the Church of Saint *Peter* the Poor, in the Month of *March*, in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign. Which words if they be true, as the Attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. Firft, if his Adverfaries had fo fure hold and matter againft him, then what fhould move them to make fuch hafty fpeed, in all poft hafte to have him difpatched and rid out of the way, and in no cafe could abide him to come to his purgation? Which if he might have done, it is not otherwife to be thought, but he would eafily have cleared himfelf thereof.

Witneffes againft Cromwel fufpected.

A French Proverb.

Secondly, this I marvel, that if the words had been fo hainous againft the King, as his Enemies did pretend, why then did thofe witneffes which heard thofe words in St. *Peters Church*, in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign, conceal the faid words of fuch Treafon fo long, the fpace almoft of two years, and now uttered the fame in the two and thirtieth year of the Kings Reign, in the Month of *July*.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the King had known or believed thefe words to be true, and that *Cromwel* had indeed been fuch a Traitour to his Perfon, why then did the King fo fhortly after lament his death, wifhing to have his *Cromwel* alive again? What Prince will with the life of him whom he fufpecteth undoubtedly to be a Traitor to his Life and Perfon? Whereby it may appear what judgment the King had of *Cromwel* in himfelf, howfoever the Parliament by finifter information was otherwife incenfed to judg upon him.

What mifchief malicious Makebates make in a Commonwealth.

Such Malicious Makebates about Princes, and Parliaments never lacked in Commonweals. By ufurp King *Ethelftane* was incenfed to kill his Brother *Edwine*. So was King *Edward* the fecond depofed. So likewife when King *Richard* the fecond was once brought into the *Tower*, what Crimes and Accufations were laid againft him in the Parliament? So was *Humfrey* the good Duke of *Glouceffer*, the Kings uncle, by *Henry Beauford* Bifhop of *Winchefter*, and other in the Parliament holden at *Berry*, arrefted as a traytour, and falfely made away. What great Treafon was in the words of him, who dwelling in *Cheapfide* at the fign of the Crown, faid merrily to his Son, that if he lived, he would make him heir of the Crown? and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a Traytor. In the time of King *Henry* the eighth, how was that Parliament incenfed, wherein both Queen *Anne* was falfly condemned, and Queen *Elizabeth* her Daughter as falfly difherited? To omit here the Attainder of the Duke of *Buckingham*, wrought by the Cardinal of *York*; of the Lord *Cobham* likewife, and Sir *Roger Alton*: If the caufe of the Lord *Henry* late Earl of *Surrey* were well tried out, peradventure no fuch hainous purpofe of any Treafon fhould be found therein as then was made. Who incenfed the late Duke of *Somerfet* to behead his own Brother, but fuch Makebates as thefe? And afterward, when the faid Duke himfelf was attainted for a Traitor, and condemned for a Felon, a Briber, and Extortioner; how was the Parliament then incenfed? *Adam Damlip* received of Cardinal *Poole* at *Rome* but a filly Crown in way of Alms, and therefore, by means of *Stephen Gardiner*, was attainted for a Traitour. *George Egles* did but read fometimes in Woods, and by the faid *Gardiner* was alfo condemned, and fuffered as a Traitour. Not that I here fpeak or mean againft the high Courts of Parliaments of this our Realm, neceffarily affembled for the Commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due Reverence and Authority. But as it happeneth fometimes in General Councels, which though they be

Example of men falfly accufed, and wrongfully judged.

Cromwel good to his Servants.

Authority of Parliaments

be never fo general, yet notwithftanding fometimes they may and do err in weighty matters of Religion: fo likewife they that fay, that Princes and Parliaments may be mifinformed fometimes, by fome finifter Heads, in matters civil and politick, do not therein derogate or empair the high eftate of Parliaments, but rather give wholfome admonition to Princes and Parliament Men, to be more circumfpect and vigilant what Counfel they fhall admit, and what witneffes they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great ftroke in all Societies and doings of men, creepeth fometimes into fuch general Councels, and into Princes Courts alfo, either too much amplifying things that be but fmall, making Mountains of Molehils, or elfe too much extenuating things that be of themfelves great and weighty, according as it is truly faid of the Poet *Juvenal*; *Dat veniam corvis, vexat cenfura columbas*; or as our Engliih Proverb fheweth, *As a man is friended, fo is his matter ended*; *And where the Hedg is low, a man may lightly make large leaps*; or rather to fpeak after the French Phrafe; *Qui fon chien veuls tuer, la rage luy met fus*, That is *He that is difpofed to have his Dog killed, firft maketh men believe that he is mad.* And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accufation, the reft I refer to the high Parliament of that mighty King, who fhall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the mean feafon, howfoever the caufe of the Lord *Cromwel* ftandeth true or falfe, this is certain, that *Stephen Gardiner* wanted notan Head, nor yet privy Affifters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when as the King being difpofed to marry another Wife, which was the Lady *Katherine Haward*, immediately after the beheading of the Lord *Cromwel*, did repudiate Lady *Ann* of *Cleve*, which otherwife is to be thought during the life of *Cromwel* could not fo well be brought to paſs.

Lady Ann of Cleve divorced from the King.

But thefe things being now done and paſt, let us paſs them over, and return again from whence we have digreſſed, that is, to the Lord *Cromwel*, being now attainted and committed to the *Tower*. Who fo long as he went with full faſt of Fortune, how moderately, and how temperately he did ever bear himſelf in his eſtate, before hath been declared. So now the ſaid Lord *Cromwel*, always one man, by the contrary wind of adverſity being overblown, received the ſame with no leſs conſtancy, and patience of a Chriſtian heart, neither yet was he ſo unprovided of Counſel and forecaſt, but that he did foreſee this tempeſt long before it fell, and alſo prepared for the ſame; for two years before, ſmelling the conſpiracy of his Adverſaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his Servants, and there ſhewing unto them in what a ſlippery ſtate he ſtood, and alſo perceiving ſome ſtormy weather already to gather, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, left through their default any occaſion might riſe againſt him. And furthermore before the time of his apprehenſion, ſuch order he took for his Servants, that many of them, eſpecially the younger Brethren, which had little elſe to take unto, had honeſtly left for them in their Friends hands to relieve them, whatſoever ſhould him befal.

The Chriſtian Patience of the Lord Cromwel in his adverſity.

Cromwel foreſeeing and preparing for his trouble before it fell.

Briefly, ſuch a loving and kind Maſter he was to his Servants, that he provided aforehand almoſt for them all; inſomuch, that he gave to twelve Children, which were his Muſitians, twenty pounds a piece, and ſo committed them to their Friends, of whom ſome yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the ſame, and alſo gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the *Tower*, a Priſoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himſelf, how gravely and diſcreetly he anſwered, and entertained the Commiſſioners ſent unto him, it is worthy noting. Whatſoever Articles and Interogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furniſhed in every condition than they themſelves.

Amongſt the reſt of thoſe Commiſſioners which came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord *Cromwel* deſired to carry for him a Letter to the King, which when he refuſed, ſaying that he would carry no Letter to the King from a Traitor; then the Lord *Cromwel* deſired him at leaſt to do from him a meſſage to the King. To that the other was contented, and granted, ſo that it were not againſt his Allegiance. Then the Lord *Cromwel* taking witneſs of the other Lords, what he had Promiſed; You ſhall commend me, ſaid he, to the King, and tell him, By that he hath ſo well tried, and throughly proved you as I have done, he ſhall find you as faiſe a man as ever came about him.

Beſides this, he wrote alſo a Letter from the *Tower* to the King, whereof when none durſt take the carriage upon him, Sir *R. Sadler* (whom he alſo had preferred to the King before, being ever truſty and faithful unto him) went unto the King to underſtand his pleaſure, whether he would permit him to bring the Letter or not, which when the King had granted, the ſaid Maſter *Sadler*, as he was required, preſented the Letter unto the King, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, inſomuch as the King ſeemed to be moved therewith.

Sir Ralph Sadler, the Lord Cromwel truſty Friend.

Notwithſtanding by reaſon of the Act of Parliament afore paſſed, the worthy and Noble Lord *Cromwel*, oppreſſed by his enemies, and condemned in the *Tower*, and not coming to his anſwer, the twenty eighth day of *July*, *Anno* 1541, was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he ſaid theſe words following.

The Lord Cromwel brought to the Scaffold.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my ſelf, as ſome think peradventure that I will. For if I ſhould ſo do, I were a very wretch and a Miſer. I am by the Law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine Offence. For ſithence the time that I have had years of diſcretion, I have lived a ſinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveneſs. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great Travel-ler in this World, and being but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithence the time I came thereunto I have offended my Prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveneſs, and beſeech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that he here, to bear me record, I die in the Catholick Faith, not doubting in any Article of my Faith, no nor ſtandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of ſuch as have maintained evil Opinions, which is untrue. But I confeſs, that like as God by his holy Spirit doth inſtruct us in the Truth, ſo the Devil is ready to ſeduce us, and I have been ſeduced; but bleſſed be mercy-neſs that I die in the Catholick Faith of the holy Church: and I heartily deſire you to pray for the Kings Grace, that he may long live with you in health and proſperity; and that after him, his Son, Prince Edward that goodly Impe, may long Reign over you. And once again I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſh, I waver nothing in my Faith. And ſo making his Prayer, kneeling on his knees he ſpake theſe words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A true chriſtian confeſſion of the L. Cromwel at his death.

A Prayer that the Lord *Cromwel* ſaid at the hour of his death.

O Lord Jeſus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlaſting life of them which die in thee; I wretched ſinner do ſubmit my ſelf wholly unto thy moſt bleſſed will, and being ſure that the thing cannot Periſh which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked fleſh, in ſure hope that thou wilt in better wiſe reſtore it to me again at the laſt day in the reſurrection of the juſt. I beſeech thee moſt merciful Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou wilt be thy grace make ſtrong my Soul againſt all temptations, and defend me with the Buckler of thy mercy againſt all the aſſaults of the Devil. I ſee and knowledge that there is in my ſelf no hope of Salvation, but all my confidence, hope and truſt is in thy moſt merciful goodneſs. I have no merits nor good works which I may alledge before thee. Of ſins and evil works (alas) I ſee a great heap; but yet through thy mercy I truſt to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their ſins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and juſt, and to be the inheritor of everlaſting life. Thou merciful Lord wert born for my ſake, thou didſt ſuffer both hunger and thirſt for

The Prayer of the Lord Cromwel at his Death.

my ſake; thou didſt teach, pray, and faſt for my ſake; all thy holy Actions and Works thou wroughteſt for my ſake; thou ſufferedſt moſt grievous Pains and Torments for my ſake; finally, thou gaveſt thy moſt precious Body and thy Blood to be ſhed on the Croſs for my ſake. Now moſt merciful Saviour, let all theſe things profit me, which haſt given thy ſelf alſo for me. Let thy Blood cleanſe and waſh away the ſpots and fulneſs of my ſins. Let thy righteouſneſs hide and cover my unrighteouſneſs. Let the merits of thy Paſſion and blood ſhedding be ſatisfactio on for my ſins. Give me, Lord thy grace, that the Faith of my ſalvation in thy Blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and conſtant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlaſting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakneſs of my fleſh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath ſhut up the eyes of my Body, yet the eyes of my Soul may ſtill behold and look upon thee, and when death hath taken away the uſe of my Tongue, yet my heart may cry and ſay unto thee, Lord into thy hands I commend my Soul, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit, Amen.

And thus his Prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the Scaffold, he quietly committed his Soul into the hands of God, and ſo patiently ſuffered the ſtroke of the Ax, by a rat ged and butcherly Miſer, which very ungodly performed his Office.

The death of the Lord Cromwel.

Of the Bible in Engliſh, printed in the large Volume; and of Edmund Boner *preferred to the Biſhoprick of* London, *by the means of the Lord* Cromwel.

ABout the time and year when *Edmund Boner* Bp. of *Hereford*, and Embaſſadour reſident in *France*, being firſt nominate and preferred by the means of the Lord *Cromwel* to the Biſhoprick of *London*, which was *Anno* 1540. it happened that the ſaid *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel* Earl of *Eſſex* procured of the King of *England* his gracious Letters to the French King, to permit and Licence a ſubject of his to imprint the Bible in Engliſh within the Univerſity of *Paris*, becauſe Paper, was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the Realm of *England*, and alſo that there were more ſtore of good workmen for the ready diſpatch of the ſame. And in like manner at the ſame time the ſaid King wrote unto his Embaſſadour, who then was *Edmund Boner* Biſhop of *Hereford* lying in *Paris*, that he ſhould aid and aſſiſt the doers thereof in all their reaſonable ſuits. The which Biſhop outwardly ſhewed great friendſhip to the Merchants that were the Imprinters of the ſame, and moreover did diverſand ſundry times call and command the ſaid Perſons to be in manner daily at his Table both Dinner and Supper, and ſo much rejoyced in the workmanſhip of the ſaid Bibles, that he himſelf would viſit the Imprinters Houſe, where the ſame Bibles were printed, and alſo would take part of ſuch dinners as the Engliſhmen there had, and that to his coſt, which as it ſeemed he little weighed. And further, the ſaid *Boner* was ſo fervent, that he cauſed the ſaid Engliſhmen to put in print a New Teſtament in Engliſh and Latin, and himſelf took a great many of them, and payed for them, and gave them to his Friends.

The Bible of the great-eſt Volume printed in *Paris*.

The doers hereof were R. *Graſton* and Whitchurch.

Edm. Boner a great furtherer in Printing the Bible in Engliſh.

The New Teſtament in Engliſh and Latin put in Print by *Boner*.

And it chanced the mean time, while the ſaid Bible was in printing, that King *Henry* the eighth preferred the ſaid *Boner* from the ſaid Biſhoprick of *Hereford* to be Biſhop of *London*; at which time the ſaid *Boner* according to the Statute Law of *England* took his Oath to the King, knowledging his Supremacy, and called one of the foreſaid Engliſhmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterward upon the change of the world he did hate him as much, whoſe name was *Richard Graſton*; to whom the ſaid *Boner* ſaid when he took his Oath, Maſter *Graſton*, ſo it is, that the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty hath by his gracious gift preſented me to the Biſhoprick of *London*, for the which I am ſorry, for if it would have pleaſed his Grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old Biſhoprick of *Hereford*. Then ſaid *Graſton*, I am right glad to hear of it, and ſo I am ſure will be a great number of the City of *London*; for though they yet know you not, yet they have heard ſo much goodneſs of you from hence, as no doubt they will be glad of your placing. Then ſaid *Boner*, I pray God I may do that may content them. And to tell you Maſter *Graſton*, before God (for that was commonly his Oath) the greateſt fault that ever I found in *Stokeſley* was, for vexing and troubling of poor men, as *Lobley* the Book-binder and other, for having the Scripture in Engliſh; and, God willing, he did not ſo much hinder it, but I will as much further it, and I will have of your Bibles fet up in the Church of *Pauls*, at leaſt in ſundry places ſix of them, and I will pay you honeſtly for them, and give hearty thanks. Which words he then ſpake in the hearing of divers credible Perſons, as *Edmund Stile* Grocer, and other. But now Maſter *Graſton* at this time I have ſpecially called you to be a witneſs with me, that upon this tranſlation of the Biſhops Sees, I muſt according to the Statute take an Oath unto the Kings Majeſty, knowledging his Supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and ſo think him to be, and beſeech Almighty God to ſave him, and long to proſper his Grace. Hold the Book, Sirra, and read you the Oath (ſaid he to one of his Chaplains) and he laid his hand on the Book, and ſo he took his Oath: And after this he ſhewed great friendſhip to the ſaid *Graſton*, and to his partner *Edward Whitchurch*, but eſpecially to *Miles Coverdale*, who was the Corrector of the great Bible.

Boner's words to *Graſton*, when he took his Oath to the King.

Boner reproveth Biſhop Stokeſley for his Profeſſing.

Boner promiſeth to ſet forth the Scripture in Engliſh.

Boner ſuggeſteth Scripture-learning to the Kings Supremacy.

Now after that the foreſaid Letters were delivered, the French King gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof, and ſo the Printer went forward and printed forth the Book even to the laſt part, and then was the quarrel picked to the Printer, and he was ſent for to the Inquiſitors of the Faith, and there charged with certain Articles of Hereſie. Then were ſent for the Engliſh-men that were at the coſt and charge thereof, and alſo ſuch as had the correction of the ſame, which was *Miles Coverdale*: but having ſome warning what would follow, the ſaid Engliſh-men poſted away as faſt as they could to ſave themſelves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thouſand five hundred, called the Bibles of the great Volume, and never recovered any of them, ſaving that the Lieutenant Criminal having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of *Paris* (like *Smithfield*) called *Malhert* place, was ſomewhat moved with covetouſneſs, and ſold four great Dry-fats of them to a Haberdaſher to lap Caps in, and thoſe were bought again, but the reſt were burned, to the great and importunate loſs of thoſe that bare the charge of them. But notwithſtanding the ſaid loſs, after they had recovered ſome part of the foreſaid Books, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord *Cromwel*, the ſaid Engliſh-men went again to *Paris*, and there got the Preſſes, Letters, and Servants of the foreſaid Printer, and brought them to *London*, and there they became Printers themſelves (which before they never intended) and printed out the ſaid Bible in *London*, and after that printed ſundry Impreſſions of them; but yet not without great trouble and loſs, for the hatred of the Biſhops, namely *Sr. Gardiner* and his Fellows, who mightily did ſtomack and malign the printing thereof.

The Biſhops offended at the Bible tranſlated into Engliſh.

The ſale of the Bible ſtayed by the King through the Biſhops means.

The printing of the Bible ſtayed at *Paris*.

Engliſh Bibles burnt at *Paris*.

How *Graſton* and Whitchurch became Printers.

Here by the way, for the more direction to the Story, thou haſt, loving Reader, to note and underſtand, that in thoſe days there were two ſundry Bibles in Engliſh, printed and ſet forth, bearing divers Titles, and printed in divers places, The firſt was called *Thomas Matthews* Bible, printed at *Hamborough*, about the year of our Lord 1532. the Corrector of which Print was then *John Rogers* of whom ye ſhall, hear more, Chriſt willing, hereafter. The Printers were *Richard Grafton*, and *Whitchurch*. In the tranſlation of this Bible, the greateſt doer was indeed *William Tindal*, who with the help of *Miles Coverdale* had tranſlated all the Books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain Notes in the Margent which were added after. But becauſe the ſaid *W. Tindal* in the mean time was apprehended before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them which had the doing thereof, to change the name of *William Tindall*, becauſe that name then was odious, and to further it by a ſtrange name of *Thoms Mathews*, *John Rogers* the ſame time being Corrector to the Print, who

T. Mathews Bible by whom and how.

who had then tranſlated the reſidue of the *Apocrypha*, and added alſo certain Notes thereto in the Margent, and thereof came it to be called *Thomas Matthews* Bible. Which Bible of *Thomas Mathews*, after it was Imprinted and preſented to the Lord *Cromwel*, and the Lord *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who liked very well of it, the ſaid *Cromwel* preſented it to the King, and obtained that the ſame might freely paſs to be read of his Subjects with his Graces Licence; ſo that there was printed upon the ſame Book, one line in red Letters with theſe words, *Set forth with the Kings moſt Gracious Licence.*

The Bible perfected to the King by the L. *Cromwel*.

The Bible put forth with the K. priviledge.

The ſetting forth of this Book did not a little offend the Clergy, namely the Biſhops aforeſaid, both for the Prologues and eſpecially becauſe in the ſame Book was one ſpecial Table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the ſame, and chiefly about the Supper of the Lord, and Marriage of Prieſts, and the Maſs which there was ſaid not to be found in the Scripture.

Another Bible of the great volume printed at *Paris*.

Furthermore, after the reſtraint of this aforeſaid Bible *Anno* 1540. Which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The Printers whereof were the foreſaid *Richard Graſton*, and *Whit-church* which bare the charges. A great helper thereto was the Lord *Cromwel*. The chiefeſt overſeer was *Miles Coverdal*, who taking the tranſlation of *Tindal*, conferred the ſame with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

Miles Coverdale Corrector in printing the Bible of the large Volume.

In this Bible although the former Notes of *Thomas Mathews* were omitted, yet ſundry marks and Hands were annexed on the ſides, which meant that in thoſe places ſhould be made certain Notes, wherewith alſo the Clergy was offended, though the Notes were not made. After this the Biſhops, bringing their purpoſe to paſs, brought the Lord *Cromwel* out of favor, and ſhortly to his death; and not long after, great complaint was made to the King of the tranſlation of the Bible, and of the preface of the ſame, and then was the ſale of the Bible commanded to be ſtayed, the Biſhops promiſing to amend and correct it, but never performing the ſame. Then *Graſton* was called, and firſt charged with the printing of *Mathews* Bible, but he being fearful of trouble made excuſes for himſelf in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what Notes he was purpoſed to make. To which he anſwered, that he knew none. For his purpoſe was to have retained learned men to have made the Notes, but when he perceived the Kings Majeſty, and his Clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all theſe excuſes, *Graſton* was ſent to the *Fleet*, and there remained ſix weeks, and before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he ſhould neither ſell, nor imprint, or cauſe to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the King and the Clergy ſhould agree upon a Tranſlation. And thus was the Bible from that time ſtayed, during the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth.

Boner preferred to the Biſhoprick of London.

Graſton impriſoned for printing the Bible.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the Imprinters had loſt their Bibles, they continued ſuters to *Boner*, as is aforeſaid, to be a mean to obtain of the *French* King their Books again: but ſo long they continued ſuiters, and *Boner* ever fed them with fair words, promiſing them much, but did nothing for them, till at the laſt *Boner* was diſcharged of his Embaſſade, and returned home, where he was right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord *Cromwel*, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And ſo long as *Cromwel* remained in Authority, ſo long was *Boner* at his beck and Friend to his Friends, and Enemy to his Enemies: as namely, at that time to *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who never favoured *Cromwel*, and therefore *Boner* could not favour him, but he and *Wincheſter* were the greateſt enemies that might be. But ſo ſoon as *Cromwel* fell, immediately *Boner* and *Wincheſter* pretended to be the greateſt men that lived, and no good word could *Boner* ſpeak of *Cromwel*, but the lewdeſt, vileſt, and bitterest that he could ſpeak, calling him the rankeſt Heretick that ever lived: and then ſuch as the ſaid *Boner* knew to be in good favour with *Cromwel*, he could never abide their ſight. Inſomuch as the next day after that *Cromwel* was apprehended, the above named *Graſton*,

Edm. Boner a great friend to L. *Cromwel* all the time of his proſperity.

Bp. Gardiner and *Boner* of extreme hate friends to *Dr. Boner* diſcreth his Friendſhip and Religion

who before had been very familiar with *Boner*, met with the ſaid *Boner* ſuddenly, and ſaid unto him, That he was ſory to hear of the news that then was abroad. What are they, ſaid he? Of the apprehenſion of the Lord *Cromwel*, ſaid *Grafton*. Are ye ſory for that, ſaid he? It had been good that he had been diſpatched long ago. With that *Graſton* looked upon him and knew not what to ſay, but came no more to *Boner*. How beit afterward the ſaid *Graſton* being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in favour of *Cromwel*, was called before the Councel, where *Boner* was preſent, and there *Boner* charged him with the words that he ſpake to him of *Cromwel*, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord *Audley*, who then was Lord Chancellor, right diſcreetly and honourably, cut off the matter, and entred into other talk.

Dr. Boner againſt the L. *Cromwel*.

The Hiſtory of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, *and* William Hierome, *Divines.*

Rob. Barnes, Thom. Garret, Wil. Hierome Martyrs.

LIke as in forein Battles the chief point of Victory conſiſteth in the ſafety of the General or Captain: even ſo when the valiant Standardbearer and ſtay of the Church of *England*, *Thomas Cromwel* I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miſerable ſlaughter of good Men and good Women enſued thereupon; whereof we have now (Chriſt willing) to intreat. For *Wincheſter* having now gotten his full purpoſe, and free ſwing to exerciſe his cruelty, wonder it was to ſee that *Apes Caliydonias,* or (as the Scripture ſpeaketh) that *Ferus Saltus ſingularis*, what troubles he raiſed in the Lords *Vineyard*. And leſt by delays he might loſe the occaſion preſently offered, he ſtraightways made his firſt aſſaults upon *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Hierome*, whom in the very ſame Month, within two days after *Cromwels* death, he cauſed to be put to execution. Whoſe Hiſtories ſeverally to comprehend, firſt of all we will ſomewhat ſpeak of *Barnes* Doctor of Divinity, whoſe particular Story here followeth.

Fol. 40.

This *Barnes*, after he came from the *Univerſity* of *Lovain*, went to *Cambridge*, where he was made Prior and Maſter of the Houſe of the *Auguſtines*. At that time the knowledge of good Letters was ſcarcely entred into the *Univerſity*, all things being full of rudeneſs and barbariry, ſaving in very few, which were privy and ſecret. Whereupon *Barnes*, having ſome feeling of better learning and Authors, began in his houſe to read *Terence*, *Plautus*, and *Cicero*, ſo that what with his induſtry, pains, and labour, and with the help of *Thomas Parnel* his Scholar, whom he brought from *Lovain* with him, reading *Copia verborum & rerum*, he cauſed the Houſe ſhortly to flouriſh with good Letters, and made a great part of the Houſe learned (which before were drowned in barbarous rudeneſs) as Maſter *Cambridge*, Maſter *Field*, Maſter *Coleman*, Maſter *Burley*, Maſter *Coverdale*, with divers other of the *Univerſity*, that ſojourned there for learnings ſake. After theſe found actions laid, then did he read openly in the Houſe *Pauls* Epiſtles, and put by *Duns* and *Dorbel*, and yet he was a queſtionary himſelf: and onely, becauſe he would have Chriſt there taught and his Holy Word, he turned their unſavory problemes and fruitleſs diſputations to other better matter of the Holy Scripture, and thereby in ſhort ſpace he made divers good Divines. The ſame order of diſputation which he kept in his Houſe, he obſerved likewiſe in the *Univerſity* abroad when he ſhould diſpute with any man in the common Schools. And the firſt man that anſwered Doctor *Barnes* in the Scriptures, was Maſter *Stafford* for his form to be Batchelor of Divinity, which Diſputation was marvellous in the ſight of the great blind Doctors, and joyful to the godly ſpirited.

The *Univerſity* of Cambridge.

Rob. Barnes Prior of the Houſe of *Auguſtines* in Cambridge.

Th. Parnel a Londoner born, Scholar to Barnes

Mr. Cambridge, Mr. Field, Mr. Coleman, Mr. *Coverdale*, Bachelor of Divinity.

Thus *Barnes*, what with his reading, diſputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching ever againſt Biſhops and Hypocrites, and yet did not ſee his inward and outward Idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Maſter *Bilney* with other (as is aforeſaid in the life of Maſter *Bilney*) converted him wholly unto Chriſt.

The first Sermon that Dr. Barns preached in defence of the truth.

The first Sermon that ever he preached of this truth was the *Sunday* before *Christmas* day, at Saint *Edwards* Church belonging to *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge* by the *Peasse* Market; whose Theame was the *Epistle* of the same *Sunday*, *Gaudete in Domino, &c.* And so pottilled the whole *Epistle*, Following the Scripture and *Luthers* postil, and for that Sermon he was immediately accused of Heresie by two Fellows of the *Kings Hall*. Then the godly learned in Christ both of *Pembroke-Hall*, Saint *Johns*, *Peters-House*, *Queens Colledg*, the *Kings Colledg*, *Gunvel Hall*, and *Benet Colledg* shewed themselves and flocked together in open fight, both in the Schools and at open Sermons at Saint *Maries*, and at the *Austins*, and at other disputations, and then they conferred continually together.

TheHouse that they resorted most commonly unto was the white Horse, which for despite of them, to bring Gods Word into contempt, was called *Germany*. This House especially was chosen because many of them of Saint *Johns*, The *Kings Colledge*, and the *Queens Colledge* came in on the back side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The Adversaries of Doctor *Barns* accused him in the *Regent House* before the Vice-Chancellour, whereas his Articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next Convocation, and so it was done. Then Doctor *Nottoris*, a rank Enemy to Christ, moved Doctor *Barnes* to recant, but he refused so to do; which appeareth in his Book that he made to King *Henry* the eighth in English, confuting the judgment of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the residue of the Bishops Papistical, and so for the time stood stedfast. And this tragedy continued in *Cambridge*, one preaching against another, in trying out of Gods Truth, until within six days of *Shrovetide*. Then suddenly was sent down to *Cambridge* a Sergeant of Arms, called Master *Gibson*, dwelling in Saint *Thomas Apostles* in *London*, who suddenly arrested Doctor *Barnes* openly in the Convocation-House, to make all other afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for *Luthers* Books, and all the *Germans* works suddenly.

Trouble amongst the Cambridge men for the Gospel.

Dr. Barnes arrested by Mr. Gibson.

Search in Cambridge for Books.

But good Doctor *Farman* of the *Queens Colledge* sent word incontinently thereof, to the Chambers of those that were suspected, which were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by that time that the Sergeant at Arms, the Vicechancellor and the Proctors were at every mans Chamber, going directly to the place where the Books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company) and that night they studied together, and gave him his answer, which answer he carried with him to *London* the next morning, which was the *Tuesday* before *Shrovesunday*, and came on the *Wednesday* to *London*, and lay at master *Parnels* House by the Stocks. In the morning he was carried by the Sergeant at Arms to Cardinal *Wolsey* to *Westminster*, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night.

False Brethren.

Dr. Barnes brought to London.

Dr. Gardiner Secretary to the Cardinal.

Then by reason of Doctor *Gardiner* Secretary to the Cardinal, (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before) and Master *Fox* master of the Wards, he spake the same night with the Cardinal in his Chamber of Estate, kneeling on his Knees. Then said the Cardinal to them, Is this Doctor *Barnes* your man that is accused of Heresie? Yea, and please your Grace, and so truth you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise.

The talk between Cardinal Wolsey and Dr. Barnes.

What, Mr. Doctor (said the Cardinal) had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollaxes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my Crosses did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum Caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a Sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage than in a Pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves (quoth you) that I should not be cold in the midst of my Ceremonies. And he answered, I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my Conscience, and according to the old Doctors, and then did he deliver him six sheets of Paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings.

He received them smiling on him, and saying, We perceive then that you intend to stand to your Articles, and to shew your learning.

Yea, said *Barnes*, that I do intend, by Gods Grace, with your Lordships favour.

He answered, Such as you are do bear us little favour and the Catholick Church. I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this Royalty, because I represent the Kings Majesties Person in all the high Courts of this Realm, to the terror and keeping down of all Rebellious Treasons, Traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this Commonwealth, or to be as simple as you would have us, to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, which shortly will pisse it against the walls, and to pull away this Majesty of a Princely dignity, which is a Terror to all the wicked, and to follow your Counsel in this behalf?

He answered, I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the Kings Majesty maintained by your pomp and pollaxes, but by God who saith, *Per me Reges regnant, Kings and their Majesty reign and stand by me.*

Then answered he, Lo Master Doctors, here is the learned wife man that you told me of. Then they kneeled down and said, we desire your Grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable.

Then said he, stand you up; for your sakes and the *University* we will be good unto him. How say you Master Doctor, do you not know that I am *Legatus de latere*, and that I am able to dispence in all matters concerning Religion within this Realm, as much as the Pope may? He said, I know it be so.

Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the *University*.

He answered, I thank your Grace for your good will, I will stick to the Holy Scripture, and to Gods Book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.

Well, said he, thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the Law.

Then he required him that he might have Justice with equity, and forthwith he should have gone to the *Tower*, but that *Gardiner* and *Fox* became his Sureties that night, and so he came home to Mr. *Parnels* House again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not, Master *Coverdale*, Master *Goodwin*, and Master *Field* being his writers; and in the morning he came to York place to *Gardiner* and *Fox*, and by and he was committed to the Sergeant of Arms to bring him into the Chapter House at *Westminster* before the Bishops and the Abbot of *Westminster* called *Ifsip*.

The same time when Doctor *Barnes* should appear before the Cardinal, there were five *Still-yard* Men to be examined for *Luthers* Book and *Lollardy*, but after they spied *Barnes* they set the other aside, and asked the Sergeant of Arms what was his errand. He said he had brought one Doctor *Barnes* to be examined of Heresie, and presented both his Articles and his Accusers. Then immediately after a little talk, they sware him and laid his Articles to him. Who like as he answered the Cardinal before, so said he unto them; and then he offered the Book of his probations unto them. Who asked him whether he had another for himself, and he said yea, shewing it unto them. Who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the Kings Majesty, which they had to do, and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the *Still-yard* Men again one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the Master of the *Fleet*, and they were committed all to the *Fleet*. Then they called Dr. *Barnes* again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his Articles or no, and he subscribed willingly; and then they committed him and young Master *Parnel* to the *Fleet* also with the other. There they remained, till *Saturday* in the morning, and the Warden of the *Fleet* was commanded that no Man should speak with him.

Still-yard men examined for Lollardy.

The Still-yard men committed to the Fleet.

Dr. Barnes with Parnel committed to the Fleet.

On the *Saturday* he came again afore them into the Chapter House, and there with the *Still-yard* men remained till five a clock at night. And after long disputations, threatnings, and scornings, about five a clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather

Dr. Barnes and the Still-yard Men brought again before the Cardinal.

rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he said again to have the Counsel of *Guard* and *Fox*, and they perswaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do no more in time to come, and with divers other perswasions that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish Flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his Knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own Hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the Bosom of the Church as they termed it. Then they put him to an Oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil all that they commanded him, and he promised so to do.

Dr. Barns perswaded by Gardiner and Fox to abjure.

The Barnes reason of the Cardinals abrupt saying.

Then they commanded the Warden of the *Fleet* to carry him and his Fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close Prison, and in the morning to provide five Fagots for Doctor *Barnes*, and the four *Still-yard* Men. The fifth *Still-yard* Man was commanded to have a Taper of 5. pound weight to be provided for him, to offer, to the Rood of *Northen* in *Pauls*, and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he with all that he could make, with Bills and Glaves, and the Knight Marshal with all his Tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to *Pauls* and conduct them home again: In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in *Pauls Church*, the Church being so full that no man could get in. The Cardinal had a Scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six and thirty Abbots, mitred Priors and Bishops, and he in his whole pomp mitred (which *Barnes* spake against) he in his whole pomp mitred, which *Barnes* spake against) he in his whole pomp mitred (which *Barnes* spake against) he in his whole pomp mitred (which *Barnes* spake against) he in his whole pomp mitred (

And thus hitherto concerning the Hiſtory of *Barnes*. Now let us likewiſe, conſider the ſtory and doings of *Thomas Garret*.

The Story of Thomas Garret *or* Garrard, *and of his trouble in* Oxford, *teſtified and recorded by* Anthony Dalaber, *who was there preſent the ſame time.*

The Garret brought Books to Oxford.

ABout the year of our Lord 1526. Mr. *Garret*, Curate in *Henry-Lane* in *London*, came unto *Oxford*, and brought with him ſundry Books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the firſt part of *Unio diſſidentium*, and *Tindals* firſt tranſlation of the New Teſtament in Engliſh, the which Books he ſold to divers Scholars in *Oxford*.

Garret fought for at *London*.

After he had been there a while, and had diſpatched thoſe Books, News came from *London*, that he was ſearched for through all *London* to be apprehended and taken as an Heretick, and to be impriſoned for felling of thoſe heretical Books (as they termed them) becauſe they ſpake againſt the uſurped Authority and erroneous Doctrine of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his no leſs impure and filthy Synagogue. For it was not unknown to Cardinal *Wolſey*, and to the Biſhop of *London*, and to other of that ungodly Generation, that Mr. *Garret* had a great number of thoſe Books, and that he was gone to *Oxford* to make ſale of them there, to ſuch as he knew to be the lovers of the Goſpel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a privy ſearch through all *Oxford*, to apprehend and impriſon him, and to burn all and every his foreſaid Books, and him too if they could; ſo burning hot was their Charity. But yet at that time one of the foreſaid Proctors, called M. *Cole* of *Magdalen Colledge*, who after was Croſs-bearer unto Cardinal *Wolſey*, was well acquainted with Mr. *Garret*, and therefore he gave ſecret warning unto a Friend or two of Mr. *Garrets* of this privy ſearch, and willed therefore that he ſhould forthwith, as ſecretly as he could, depart out of *Oxford*; for if he were taken in the ſame ſearch, no remedy but he ſhould be forthwith ſent up unto the Cardinal, and ſo he ſhould be committed unto the *Tower*.

A privy ſearch in Oxford for Garret. M. Cole of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford.

Anthony Dalaber Scholar of *Alborne-Hall*, Reporter hereof.

The *Chriſtmas* before that time, I *Anthony Dalaber* then Scholar of *Alborne-Hall*, who had Books of Mr. *Garrets*, had been in my Country in *Dorſetſhire* at *Stalbridge*, where I had a Brother Parſon of that Pariſh, who was very deſirous to have a Curate out of *Oxford*, and willed me in any wiſe to get him one there if I could. This juſt occaſion offered, it was thought good among the Brethren (for ſo did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another) that Mr. *Garret*, changing his Name, ſhould be ſent forth with my Letters into *Dorſetſhire* to my Brother, to ſerve him there for a time, until he might ſecretly from thence convey himſelf ſome whither over the Sea. According hereunto I wrote my Letters in all haſt poſſible unto my Brother, for Mr. *Garret* to be his Curate, but not declaring what he was indeed, for my Brother was a rank Papiſt, and afterward was the moſt mortal Enemy that ever I had for the Goſpels ſake.

Brother againſt Brother.

So the *Wedneſday* in the Morning before *Shrovetide* Mr. *Garret* departed out of *Oxford* toward *Dorſetſhire*, with his Letters for his new Service. How far he went, and by what occaſion he ſoon returned, I know not. But the *Friday* next, in the Night time he came again to *Radleys* Houſe, where he lay before, and ſo after Midnight, in the privy ſearch which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his Bed by the two Proctors, and on the *Saturday* in the Morning was delivered unto one Dr. *Cottiſford* Maſter of *Lincoln* Colledge, then being Commiſſary of the Univerſity, who kept him as Priſoner in his own Chamber. There was great joy and rejoycing among all the Papiſts for his Apprehenſion, and ſpecially with Dr. *London*, Warden of the New Colledge, and Dr. *Higdon* Dean of *Frideſwides*, two Arch-Papiſts, who immediately ſent their Letters in poſt-haſt unto the Cardinal, to inform him of the apprehenſion of this notable Heretick. For the which their doing they were well aſſured to have great thanks. But of all this ſudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, ſo that I knew neither of Mr. *Garrets* ſo ſudden return, neither that he was ſo taken; until that afterward he came unto my Chamber, being then in *Glouceſter* Colledge, as a man amazed, and as ſoon as he ſaw me, he ſaid he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he ſpake unadviſedly in the preſence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He ſaid, he knew him not: but he had been to ſeek a Monk of his acquaintance in that Colledge, who was not in his Chamber, and thereupon deſired that his Servant, (not knowing my Chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me: and ſo forth declared how he was returned and taken that Night in the privy ſearch, as ye have heard, and that now when the Commiſſary and all his Company were gone to Even-ſong, and had locked him alone in his Chamber, he hearing no body ſtirring in the Colledge, went to put back the Bar of the Lock with his Finger, and ſo came ſtrait unto *Glouceſter* Colledge, to ſpeak with that Monk, if he had been within, who had alſo bought Books of him.

The miraculous deliverance of Garret out of the Commiſſaries Chamber.

Then ſaid I unto him, Alas Mr. *Garret*, by this your uncircumſpect coming unto me, and ſpeaking ſo before this young man, you have diſcloſed your ſelf, and utterly undone me. I asked him, why he went not into my Brother with my Letters accordingly. He ſaid, after that he was gone a days Journey and a half, he was ſo fearful, that his heart would no other but that he muſt needs return again unto *Oxford*; and ſo he came again on *Friday* at Night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deep ſighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away, and ſo he caſt off his Hood and his Gown, wherein he came unto me, and deſired me to give him a Coat with Sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into *Wales*, and thence convey himſelf into *Germany*, if he might. Then I put on him a fleeved Coat of mine. He would alſo have had another manner of Cap of me, but I had none but Prieſt-like, ſuch as his own was.

Garrets changeth his Apparel and ſleeth.

Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, deſiring him with plenty of tears ſo to conduct and proſper him in his Journey, that he might well eſcape the danger of all his Enemies, to the glory of his holy Name, if his good pleaſure and will ſo were; and then we embraced and kiſſed the one the other, the tears ſo abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all bewet both our faces, and ſcarcely for ſorrow could we ſpeak one to another, and ſo he departed from me apparelled in my Coat, being committed unto the tuition of our Almighty and Merciful Father.

The parting between Mr. Garret and Dalaber.

When he was gone down the Stairs from my Chamber, I ſtraightways did ſhut my Chamber-door, and went into my Study, and took the New Teſtament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep ſigh and ſalt tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth Chapter of St. *Matthew's* Goſpel: and when I had ſo done, with Prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved Brother *Garret*, earneſtly beſeeching him, in and for Jeſus Chriſts ſake his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchſafe not only ſafely to conduct and keep our ſaid dear Brother from the hands of all his Enemies; but alſo that he would endue his tender and lately born little Flock in *Oxford* with heavenly ſtrength by his holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withſtand to his glory all their fierce Enemies, and alſo might quietly, to their own ſalvation, with all godly patience bear Chriſts heavy Croſs, which I now ſaw was preſently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear ſo huge a burthen, without the great help of his Holy Spirit.

Dalaber's Prayer for Mr. Garret.

This done, I laid aſide my Book aſide, folded up Mr. *Garrets* Gown and Hood, and laid them in my Preſs among mine Apparel, and ſo having put on my ſhort Gown, ſhut up my Study and Chamber-doors, and went ſtraight toward *Friſwides*, to ſpeak with that worthy Martyr of God M. *Clark*, and others, and to declare unto them what had hapned that Afternoon. But of purpoſe I went by St. *Mary* Church, to go firſt unto *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge, to ſpeak with *Dier* and *Udal*, my faithful Brethren and Fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way

Mr. Clark a famous or worthy learned man.

M. Dier, M. Udal, M. Eden.

way with a Brother of ours, one Maſter *Eden*, fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*, who, as ſoon as he ſaw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, ſaying, that we were all undone, for Maſter *Garret* was returned again to *Oxford*, taken the laſt night in the Privy ſearch, and was in Priſon with the Commiſſary. I ſaid it was not ſo. He ſaid it was ſo. I told him it could not be ſo, for I was ſure he was gone. He anſwered me and ſaid, I know he was gone with your Letters, but he came again yeſterday in the even, and was taken in his Bed at *Radleis* this nightin the Privy ſearch; for, quoth he, I heard our Proctor Maſter *Cole* ſay and declare the ſame this day in our Colledge to divers of the Houſe. But I told him again, that I was well aſſured he was now gone, for I ſpake with him later then either the Proctor or the Commiſſary did: and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the ſame unto our other Brethren whom he ſhould meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance and to pray him alſo that he would grant him ſafely to paſs away from all his enemies, and told him that I was going unto Maſter *Clarke* of *Frideſwides*, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily that he and divers others there were in great ſorrow for this matter. Then I went ſtraight to *Friſwides*, and Even-ſong was begun, and the Dean and the other Canons were there in their gray Amices; they were almoſt at *Magnificat* before I came thither, I ſtood at the Quire Door and heard Mr. *Taverner* play, and others of the Chappel there ſing with and among whom I my ſelf was wont to ſing alſo, but now my ſinging and-maſtick was turned into ſighing and muſing.

M. *Taverner.*

The Hurlburly throughout all Oxford, and Garret taken and ſlain.

As I thus and there ſtood, in cometh Dr. *Cotiſford* the Commiſſary as faſt as ever he could go, bare headed, as pale as Aſhes (I knew his grief well enough) and to the Dean he goeth into the Quire, where he was ſitting in his Stall, and talked with him very ſorrowfully: what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truly gheſs. I went aſide from the Quire Door, to ſee and hear more. The Commiſſary and Dean came out of the Quire wonderfully troubled, as it ſeemed. About the middle of the Church met them Dr. *London* puffing, bluſtring, and blowing, like an hungry and greedy Lion ſeeking his Prey. They talkt together a while, but the Commiſſary was much blamed of them for keeping of his Priſoner ſo negligently, inſomuch that he wept for ſorrow: and it was known abroad that Maſter *Garret* was eſcaped, and gone out of the Commiſſaries Chamber at Even-ſong time, but whither no man could tell. Theſe Doctors departed, and ſent abroad their Servants and ſpies every where. Maſter *Clark* about the middle of *Compline* came forth of the Quire: I followed him to his Chamber, and declared what was happened that afternoon, of Maſter *Garrets* eſcape. He was glad, for he knew of his foretaking. Then he ſent for one Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Bets*, Fellows, and Canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the reſt of our Brethren, *Prudentiam ſerpentinam & ſimplicitatem columbinam*, for we ſhould have ſhortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Bets* were come unto him, he cauſed me to declare again the whole matter to them: then were they very glad that Maſter *Garret* was ſo delivered, truſting that he ſhould eſcape all his enemies. Then deſiring them to tell unto our other Brethren what was happened, (for there were divers other in that Colledge) I went to *Corpus Chriſti Colledge* to comfort our Brethren there being in like heavineſs. There I tarried and ſupped with them. At which Supper we were not very merry, conſidering our State and peril at hand.

M. *Cleek.* M. *Sumner.* Mr. *Bets.*

When we had ended our Supper, and committed our whole cauſe with fervent ſighs and hearty Praiers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to *Alborn-Hall*, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and ſo ſoon as I could get out of the door, I went ſtraight toward *Glouceſter Colledge* to my Chamber. It had rained that morning, and with my going I had all to be ſprinkled my hoſe and ſhoes with mire. And when I was come unto *Glouceſter Colledge*, which was about ſix of the Clock, I found the Gates faſt ſhut. Whereat I did much marvel, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the Wall there, a whole hour before the Gates were opened. In the mean while my muſing head being full of forecaſting cares, and my ſorrowful heart flowing with doleful ſighs, I fully determined in my conſcience before God, that if I ſhould chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuſe no man nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifeſtly known before. And ſo when the Gate was opened, thinking to ſhift my ſelf, and to put on a longer Gown, I went in towards my Chamber, and going up the Stairs, would have opened my Door, but I could not in a long ſeaſon do it. Whereby I perceived that my Lock had been medled withal, and therewith was ſomewhat altered. Yet at laſt with much ado I opened the Lock and went in. When I came in, I ſaw my bed all to be toſſed and tumbled, my Cloaths in my Preſs thrown down, and my ſtudy door open. Whereat I was much amaſed, and thought verily that ſome ſearch was made there that night for Mr. *Garret*, and that it was known of his being with me, by the Monks man that brought him to my Chamber.

Dalabers Chamber ſearched for M. Garret.

Now was there lying in the next Chamber unto me a Monk, who, as ſoon as he had heard me in the Chamber, came to me, and told how Mr. *Garret* was ſought for in my Chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the Commiſſary and the two Proctors, with Bills and Swords thruſt through my bed ſtraw, and how every Corner of my Chamber was ſearched for Mr. *Garret*. And albeit his Gown and his Hood lay there in my Preſs with my Cloaths, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me as ſoon as I came in, unto the Prior of the Students named *Anthony Dunſtan* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*. This ſo troubled me that I forgot to make clean my hoſe and ſhoos, and to ſhift me into another Gown, and therefore ſo all to be dirred as I was, and in my ſhort Gown, I went with him to the ſaid Priors Chamber, where I found the ſaid Prior ſtanding and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night. I told him I lay at *Alborn-Hall* with my old bedfellow *Fitzjames*, but he would not believe me. He asked me if Maſter *Garret* were with me yeſterday. I told him yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him I knew not where he was except he were at *Woodſtock*. For ſo, ſaid I, he had ſhewed me that he would go thither becauſe one of the Keepers there his Friend had promiſed him a piece of Veniſon to make merry withal the *Shrovetide*, and that he would have borrowed a Hat and a pair of high ſhoos of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This Tale I thought meeteſt, though it were nothing ſo. Then had he ſpied on my finger a big Ring of ſilver very well double gilt with two Letters A. D. ingraved in it for my name; I ſuppoſe he thought it to be Gold. He required to ſee it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he ſaid it was his Ring, for therein was his name: An *A.* for *Anthony*. and a *D.* for *Dunſtane*. When I heard him ſo ſay, I wiſhed in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his Company, as I was aſſured to be delivered from my Ring for ever.

Dalaber brought to the Prior of Glouceſter Colledge.

Anthony Dalaber ring taken from him.

Then he called for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and commanded me to write when and how *Garret* came unto me, and where he was become. I had ſcarcely written three words, but the chief Beadle with two or three of the Commiſſaries men were come unto Mr. Prior, requiring him ſtraightwaies to bring us away unto *Lincolne* Colledge to the Commiſſary, and to Doctor *London*. Whither when I was brought into the Chappel, there I found Dr. *Cotiſford* Commiſſary, Doctor *Higdon* then Dean of the Cardinals Colledge, and Doctor *London* Warden of the New Colledge, ſtanding together at the Altar in the Chappel. When I was brought unto them, after Salutations given and taken between them, they called for me. Chairs and fate down, and called for me to come to them. And firſt they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was *Anthony Dalaber*. Then they alſo asked me how long I had been ſtudent in the *Univerſity*, and I told them almoſt three years. And they asked me what

Anthony Dalaber apprehended and troubled for Mr. Garret.

what I studied. I told them that I had read *Sophistry* and *Logick* in *Alborn Hall*, and now was removed unto *Gloucester* Colledge to study the Civil Law, the which the foresaid Prior of the Students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master *Garret*, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelve Month. They asked me when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoon.

Now by this time, whiles they had me in this talk, one came unto them which was sent for, with Pen, Ink and Paper; I trow it was the Clarke of the *Vniversity*. As soon as he was come, there was a Board and Trestles with a form for him to sit on, set between the Doctors and me, and a great Mass-Book layed before me, and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such Articles and Interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it awhile at first, but afterward being perswaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me, but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my Hand on the Book, and one of them gave me my Oath, and that done commanded me to Kiss the Book. Then made they great courtesie between them who should examine me, and minister Interrogatories unto me. At the last, the rankest Papistical Pharisee of them all, Dr. *London* took upon him to do it.

The examination of *Anthony Dalaber.*

Dr. *London* Warden of *New-College* an arch Pharisee.

Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely they said I brought him going some whither this morning, for that they might well perceive by my foul shoes and dirty hosen, I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly that I lay at *Alborn Hall* with Sir *Fitzjames*, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at Evensong. I told them at *Frisweides*, and that I saw Master *Commissary*, and then Master Doctor *London* come thither at that time unto Master Dean of *Frisweides*, and that I saw them talking together in the Church there. Doctor *London* and the Dean threatned me, that if I would not tell the truth where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the *Tower* of *London*, and there be racked, and put into Little-ease. But Master Commissary prayed me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straight way. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupy and toss me almost two hours in the Chappel, sometimes with threatnings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me. Then was he that brought Mr. *Garret* unto my Chamber brought before me, and caused to declare what Mr. *Garret* said unto me at his coming to my Chamber; but I said plainly I heard him say no such thing, for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly Brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

At the last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of the which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great Chamber over Master Commissaries Chamber wherein stood a great pair of very high Stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them: in which I sate, my feet being almost as high as my head, and so departed they (I think to their abominable Mass) locked fast the Chamber Door, and leaving me alone. When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master *John Clark* my Father in Christ, who welnigh two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his Scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wheresoever he should teach or preach (the which he did daily) said unto me much after this sort, *Dalaber*, you desire you know not what, and that you are, I fear me, unable to undertake upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the Cross of persecution to try you withal, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as stubble and dross be consumed. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by Saint *Paul*: *Quod omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu persecutionem patientur.* Yea, you shall be called and judged an Heretick, you shall be abhorred of the world, your own Friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you, and you shall be cast into Prison, and no man shall dare to help or comfort you, and you shall be accused and brought before the Bishops to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful Friends and Kinsfolk. Then will ye with ye had never known this Doctrine; then will ye curse *Clarke*, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore rather than that you should do this, leave off from medling with this Doctrine, and desire not to be and continue in my company.

The vehemency of *Clarke* touching *Dalaber*.

2 Tim. 3.

The Cross commonly followeth the Gospel.

At which words I was so griev'd, that I fell down on my Knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God shewed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired, saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me and took me up in his Arms, kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me; The Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your Father, and I will take you for my Son in Christ. Now were there at this time in *Oxford* divers Graduates and Scholars of sundry Colledges and Halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy Word, which all reforted unto Mr. *Clarks* Disputations and Lectures in Divinity at all times as they might, and when they might not come conveniently, I was by Mr. *Clark* appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of the same. Which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

This foresaid forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly Martyr of God Mr *Clarke*, coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighs to cry unto God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him of his fatherly love to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my godly beloved Brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all; for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But God be blessed, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen of me. Before Dinner Master *Cotisford* came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Mr. *Garret* was, and if I would so do, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of Prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was; no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat, I told him, Yea, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his Servants asked

Dalaber strengthened and comforted with patient and quietly.

Dr. *Cotisford* persecutor of *Dalaber* and *Garret*.

asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake to me fair, and some threatned me, calling me Heretick, and so departed, locking the door fast upon me.

Thus far *Anthony Dalaber* hath profecuted this Story, who before the finishing departed, the year 1562. in the Diocese of *Salisbury*; the residue whereof as we could gather it out of ancient and credible Persons, so have we added here unto the same.

Tho. *Garret* apprehended and brought to *Oxford*.

After this, *Garret* was apprehended or taken by Master *Cole* the Proctor, or his men going Westward, at a place called *Himley*, a little beyond *Oxford*, and so being brought back again was committed to Ward: that done, he was convented before the Commissary, Doctor *London*, and Doctor *Higdon* Dean of *Frideswides* (now called Christs Colledge) into St. *Maries* Church, where they sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their Law as an Heretick (as they said) and afterward compelled him to carry a Fagot in open Procession from St. *Maries* Church to *Frideswides*, and *Dalaber* likewise with him, *Garret* having his red Hood on his shoulders like a Master of Art. After that, they were sent to *Osney*, there to be kept in Prison till further order was taken.

Dr. *London* Dr. *Higdon* Persecutors of *Garret*.

Garret and *Dalaber* have Fagots in *Oxford*.

There were suspected beside a great number to be infected with Heresie, as they called it, for having such Books of Gods Truth, as Master *Garret* sold unto them; as Master *Clark*, which died in his Chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the Communion, being in Prison, and saying these words; *Crede, & manducasti*; Master *Sumner*, Mr. *Betts*, *Tavorner* the Mustitian, *Radley*, with other of *Frideswides* Colledge; of *Corpus Christi* Colledge, as *Udal* and *Diet*, with other of *Magdalen Colledge*, one *Eden*, with other of *Glocester Colledge*, and two black Moncks, one of Saint *Austines* of *Canterbury* named *Langport*, the other of Saint *Edmunds Bury*, Monk, named *John Salisbury*, two white Monks of *Bernard* Colledge, two Canons of Saint *Maries* Colledge, one of them named *Robert Ferrar*, afterward Bishop of Saint *Davids*, and burned in Queen *Maries* time. These two Canons, because they had no place in the Univerfity with the other, they went on the contrary side of the Procession bare headed, and a Beadle before them to be known from the other. Divers other there were, whose names I cannot remember, which were forced and constrained to forsake their Colledges, and fought their Friends. Against the Procession time there was a great fire made upon the Top of *Carfaxe*, whereinto all such as were in the said Procession, either convict or suspect of Heresie, were commanded in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every man to cast a Book into the fire as they passed by.

The names of godly frequenters of Gods Word.

Ro. *Ferrar* Bishop of St. *Davids*.

After this, Master *Garret* flying from place to place escaped their Tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended and burned with Doctor *Barns* with whom also *William Hierome* sometime Vicar of *Stepney* was likewise drawn into *Smithfield*, and there together with them constantly endured Martyrdom in the fire.

W. *Hierome* burned in *Smithfield*.

Now let us add also to these the Story of *Hierome*

The life and Story of William Hierome *Vicar of* Stepney *and Martyr of Christ.*

The Story of W. *Hierome*. The Sermon of W. *Hierome*, preached at *Paules Cros* the fourth *Sunday* in Lent.

THe third Company which suffered with *Barns* and *Garret*, was W. *Hierome* Vicar of *Stepney*. This *Hierome* being a diligent preacher of Gods Word, for the comfort and edification of the People, had preached divers and sundry Sermons, wherein to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere Truth of Christian Religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to untwist and weed out the roots of mens Traditions, Doctrines, Dreams, and Fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the Adversaries of Christs Gospel.

It so happened, that the said *Hierome*, preaching at *Pauls* on the fourth *Sunday* in Lent last past, made there a Sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of *Agar* and *Sara*, declaring what these two signified. In proceis whereof he shewed further how that *Sara* and her Child *Isaac* and all they, that were *Isaacs*, and born of the free Woman *Sara*, were freely justified: contrary, they that were born of *Agar* the Bondwoman were bound and under the Law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that Saint *Paul* himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the *Gal.* 4. or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to found Doctrin, and vein of the Gospel? Now see what Rancor and malice armed with crafty and subtil Sophistry can do. This Sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the King at *Westminster*, and there accused for Erroneous Doctrin.

Gal. 4.

Quarrel picke against Hierome.

Percase thou wilt muse (gentle reader) what Erroneous Doctrin here could be picked out. Note therefore for thy learning; and he that listeth to study how to play the Sycophants, let him here take example. The knot found in this Rush was this, for that he preached Erroneously at *Pauls* Cros, teaching the People that all that were born of *Sara* were freely justified, speaking there absolutely without any condition either of Baptism or of Penance, &c. Who doubteth here but if St. *Paul* himself had been at *Pauls* Cros, and had preached the same words to the English-men, which he wrote to the *Galathians* in this behalf, *ipso facto*, he had been apprehended for an Heretick for preaching against the Sacrament of Baptism and Repentance.

Sermons.

Furthermore it was objected against him, touching matter against Magistrates, and Laws by them made. Whereto he answered again and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no Magistrate of himself could make any Law or Laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior People, unless it were by the Power, Authority and Commandment of his or their Princes to him or them given, but only the Prince. And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the Prince make Laws consenting to Gods Laws, we are bound to obey them. And if he make Laws repugnant to the Laws of God, and be an evil and wicked Prince; yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

W. Hierome accused for preaching against Magistrates.

Also concerning his Sermons, one Doctor *Wilson* entred into disputation with him, and defended that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to Salvation. To whom *Hierome* answered again, That all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God directeth the workers thereof, and yet it is not his mercy and goodness to accept them. Which to prove, Doctor *Wilson* neither could nor did deny.

Works no part of our salvation.

Good works avail not but only by imputation.

And thus much concerning the several Stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their Martyrdom, joyning them all together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their Protestations and words at their suffering.

Out of the preface of Stephen Gardiner against George Joye.

Yeheard before how *Barns*, *Hierome*, and *Garret* were caused to preach at *Easter* at the Spittle. the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by *Stephen Gardiner* writing against *George Joye*, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Stephen Gardiner hearing that the said *Barns*, *Hierome*, and *Garret* should preach the Lent following, *Anno*, 1541. at *Pauls* Cros, to stop the course of their Doctrine sent his Chaplain to the Bishop of *London*, the *Saturday* before the first *Sunday* in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at *Pauls*. Which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the *Sunday* following, which should be on the morrow; which *Sunday* was appointed before for *Barns* to occupy that room. *Gardiner* therefore, determining to declare the Gospel of that *Sunday* containing the Devils three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of Scripture amongst some, as the Devil abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the Devil, wherein he alledged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying:

The effect of Sir. Gardiners Sermon at *Paules Crosse* the firſt Sunday in *Lent*, Anno 1541.

Now adays, quoth he, the Devil tempteth the World, and biddeth them to caſt themſelves backward. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the Devil teacheth, come back from faſting, come back from praying, come back from confeſſion, come back from weeping for thy ſins, and all is backward; inſomuch that men muſt now learn to ſay their *Pater noſter* backward. For where we ſaid, *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our Debtors*; now it is, *as thou forgiveſt our debts, ſo I will forgive my Debtors*; and ſo God muſt forgive firſt, and all I ſay is turned backward,&c.

Pardon procured by the Devil, quoth Steph. *Gardiner*, *Gardiner* againſt Friers and Pardons.

Amongſt other things, moreover he noted the Devils craft and ſubtil in deceiving man: who envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleneſs with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleaſure here, and yet to have Heaven at the laſt, hath for that purpoſe procured out Pardons from *Rome*, wherein Heaven was ſold for a little Mony; and to retale that Merchandiſe, the Devil uſed Friers for his Miniſters. Now they be gone with all their Trumpery; but the Devil is not yet gone,&c. And now that the Devil perceiveth that it can no longer be born(to buy and ſell Heaven by the Friers, he hath excogitate to offer Heaven without works for it, ſo freely, that men ſhall not need for Heaven to work at all, whatſoever opportunity they have to work; marry, if they will have any higher place in Heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in Heaven needs no works at all, but only belief, only, only, and nothing elſe,&c.

Sir. *Gardiner* cannot abide only, only.

The Sermon of D. *Barns* replying to *Winceſter*.

This Sermon of *Stephen Winchester* finiſhed, Doctor *Barns*, who was put off from that *Sunday*, had his day appointed, which was the third *Sunday* next following, to make his Sermon: who taking the ſame Text of the Goſpel which *Gardiner* had done before, was on the contrary ſide no leſs vehement in ſetting forward the true Doctrine of Chriſtian Religion, than *Winchester* had been before in plucking men backward from Truth to Lies, from Sincerity to Hypocriſie, from Religion to Superſtition, from Chriſt to Antichriſt. In the proceſs of which Sermon he proceeding, and calling out *Stephen Gardiner* by name to anſwer him, alluding in a pleaſant Allegory to a Cock-fight; terming the ſaid *Gardiner* to be a fighting God, and himſelf to be another, but the Garden-Cock (he ſaid) lacked good Spurs: objecting moreover to the ſaid *Gardiner*, and oppoſing him in his Grammar Rules; thus ſaying, That if he had anſwered him in the Schools, ſo as he had there preached at the *Croſs*, he would have given him ſix ſtripes. Declaring furthermore what evil Herbs this *Gardiner* had ſet in the Garden of Gods Scripture,&c.

Sir.Gardiner complaineth to the King of D. *Barns*.

Finally, with this Sermon *Gardiner* was ſo tickled in the Spleen, that he immediately went to the King to complain, ſhewing how he, being a Biſhop and Prelate of the Realm, was handled and reviled at *Pauls Croſs*.

The King diſpleaſed againſt *Barns*.

Whereupon the King, giving too much ear to *Gardiners* grief, was earneſtly incenſed againſt *Barns*, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy Cloſet, having with him the Earl of *Southampton* which was the Lord *Wrisley*, and the Maſter of the Horſe which was *Anthony Brown*, Dr. *Cocks*, and Dr. *Robinſon*. Unto whom when *Barns* had ſubmitted himſelf; Nay, ſaid the King, yield thee not to me, I am a mortal Man, and therewith riſing up and turning to the Sacrament, and putting of his Bonnet, ſaid, Yonder is the Maſter of all, the Author of Truth, yield in truth to him, and that Truth will I defend, and otherwiſe yield thee not unto me. Much ado there was, and great matter laid laid againſt *Barns*. In concluſion this order was taken, that *Barns* ſhould go apart with *Winchester*, to confer and commune together of their Doctrine, certain witneſſes being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom one was Dr. *Cocks*, the other was Dr. *Robinſon*, with two other alſe to them aſſigned, which ſhould be Reporters to the King of the Diſputation. At the firſt entry of which talk, *Gardiner*, forgiving him (as he faith) all that was paſt, offered him the choice, whether he would anſwer or oppoſe, which was the *Friday* after that *Barns* had preached.

D. Cocks and D. Robinſon Arbiters between D. Barns and Sir. *Gardiner*.

The Queſtion between them propounded, by *Gardiners* narration was this, *Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the Grace of Juſtification, or not.* Which queſtion roſe upon a certain contention which had been between them before. For *Barns* had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our Neighbour, to obtain forgiveneſs of him; yet he ſaid that God muſt forgive us firſt, before we forgive our Neighbour; for elſe to forgive our Neighbour were ſin, by the Text which ſaith, *All that is not of faith is of ſin, &c.* Rom.14. Thus the matter being propounded, *Gardiner* to prove the contrary, came forth with his Arguments two or three: To the which Arguments (faith *Gardiner*) *Barns* could not anſwer, but deſired to be ſpared that Night, and the next Morning he would anſwer his Arguments. In the Morning *Gardiner* with the Hearers being again aſſembled, Dr. *Barns*, according to the appointment, was preſent, who then went about to aſſoil his Arguments. To his Solutions *Gardiner* again replied. And thus continued they in this altercation by the ſpace of two hours. In the end of this Cock-fight *Winchester* thus concludeth this glorious Tale, and croweth up the Triumph; declaring how *Barns* beſought him to have pity on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his Scholar: whom then the ſaid *Winchester* (as he himſelf confeſſeth) receiving, not as his Scholar, but as his Companion, offered to him a portion out of his Living, to the ſum of 40 *l.* a year. Which if it be true (as *Steph. Gardiner* himſelf reporteth) why then doth this glorious Cockatrice crow ſo much againſt *Barns* afterward, and caſt him in the Teeth, beaing all the world in hand that *Barns* was his Scholar? whereas he himſelf here refuſeth *Barns* to be his Scholar, and receiveth him as his Companion fellow-like; But to the Story.

Queſtion between D. Barns and *Gardiner*.

God forgiveth us not, before we give our Neighbour.

Gardiners Report.

Diſputation between Barns and *Gardiner*.

Sir.Gardiner offereth to D. Barns 40 pound a year.

This done, the King being advertized of the concluſion of this matter between *Barns* and *Winchester*, was content that *Barns* ſhould repair to the Biſhops Houſe at *London* the *Monday* following. Which he did, with a certain other Companion joyned unto him. Who he was, *Winchester* there doth not expreſs, only he ſaith that it was neither *Hierome* nor *Garret*. In this next meeting between *Barns* and the Biſhop, upon the foreſaid *Monday*, the ſaid Biſhop ſtudying to inſtruct *Barns*, uttered to him certain Articles or Concluſions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchesters Articles againſt *Barns*.

Winchesters Articles againſt Dr. Barns.

1. *THe effect of Chriſts Paſſion hath a Condition. The fulfilling of the Condition diminiſheth nothing the effect of Chriſts Paſſion.*

2. *They that will enjoy the effect of Chriſts Paſſion muſt fulfil the Condition.*

3. *The fulfilling of the Condition requireth firſt knowledge of the Condition, which knowledge we have by Faith.*

4. *Faith cometh of God, and this Faith is a good gift; it is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exerciſe this Faith; Ergo, by the gift of God I may do well before I am juſtified.*

5. *Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am juſtified, towards the attainment of Juſtification.*

6. *There is ever as much Charity towards God as Faith: and as Faith increaſeth ſo doth Charity increaſe.*

7. *To the attainment of Juſtification is required Faith and Charity.*

8. *Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and ſet at liberty, without any cauſe of provocation.*

9. *Faith muſt be to me the aſſurance of the Promiſes of God made in Chriſt (if I fulfil the Condition) and love muſt accompliſh the Condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the Promiſe according to Gods Truth.*

10. *A man being in deadly ſin, may have grace to do the works of Penance, whereby he may attain to his Juſtification.*

Theſe Articles, forſomuch as they be ſufficiently anſwered and replied unto by *George Joy*, in his Joynder and Rejoynder againſt *Winchester*, I ſhall not need to comber this Work with any new ado therewith, but only refer the Reader to the Books aforeſaid, where he may ſee matter enough to anſwer to theſe Popiſh Articles.

The Anſwer and the Rejoynder of Geo. Joy againſt Winch.

I told you before how the King was contented that *Barns* ſhould reſort to the houſe of the Biſhop of *Winchester*, to be trained and directed by the Biſhop: which *Barns* then hearing the talk of the People, and having alſo conference with certain Learned men, within two days after his coming to the Biſhops houſe, waxed weary thereof, and ſo coming to the Biſhop ſignified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come ſtill, but elſe he would come no more, and ſo clean gave over the Biſhop.

Dr. Barns refuſeth to come to *Gardiner* to be inſtructed of him, but only to confer with him.

This being known unto the King, through ſiniſter complaints of Popiſh Sycophants; *Barns* again was ſent for, and convented before the King; who being grievouſly incenſed againſt him, enjoyned both him, *Hierome* and *Garret*, at the ſolemn *Eaſter* Sermons at St. *Mary Spittle*, openly in writing to revoke the Doctrine which they before had taught. At which Sermon *Stephen Gardiner* alſo himſelf was preſent to hear their Recantation.

Dr. Barns deſired Winchester at his Sermon to hold up his hand.

Firſt Dr. *Barns*, according to his promiſe made to the King, ſolemnly and formally began to make his Recantation; which done, he with much circumſtance and obteſtation called upon the Biſhop (as is above touched) and asking of him forgiveneſs, required him in token of a grant to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his Charity before the world, the Biſhop alſo would declare his Charity in like manner. Which when the Biſhop refuſed to do at the firſt, as he was required, *Barns* again called for it, deſiring him to ſhew his Charity, and to hold up his hand. Which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little: then *Barns* entring into his Sermon, after his Prayer made, beginneth the proceſs of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted. Inſomuch that the Mayor, when the Sermon was finiſhed, ſitting with the Biſhop of *Winchester*, asked him whether he ſhould from the Pulpit fend him to Ward, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching contrary to his Recantation. The like alſo did *Hierome*, and *Garret* after him.

The Mayor of *London* ready to trouble Dr. Barns for his Sermon.

Barns, Garret and Hierome, committed to the Tower. Sir *Gardiner* had no acceſs to the King's Counſel a year and more before the Lord Cromwells fall.

The King had appointed before certain to make report of the Sermons. Beſides them there was one who writing to a Friend of his in the Court, in the favour of theſe Preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to ſatisfie that Recantation, and alſo in the ſame Sermons to utter out the Truth, that it might ſpread without let of the world. Wherefore partly by theſe Reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this Letter, which came to the Lord *Cromwels* hands, ſaith *Gardiner*, *Barns* with his other Fellows were apprehended, and committed to the *Tower*. *Stephen Gardiner*, in his foreſaid Book againſt *George Joy*, would needs clear himſelf, that he was in no part nor cauſe of their caſting into the *Tower*, and giveth this reaſon for him, for that he had then no acceſs, nor had after, ſo long as *Cromwels* time laſted, to the Kings ſecret Counceil; yet notwithſtanding the ſaid *Gardiner* cannot perſwade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the King, and his ſecret whiſperings in his Friends ears, and his other workings by his Factors about the King, was a great ſparkle to fet their Fagots a fire.

Proceſs againſt Barns, Hierome and Garret.

Thus then *Barns*, *Hierome* and *Garret*, being committed to the *Tower* after *Eaſter*, there remained till the 30th day of *July*, which was two days after the death of the Lord *Cromwel*. Then enſued Proceſs againſt them by the Kings Counſel in the Parliament, to the which Proceſs *Gardiner* confeſſeth himſelf that he was privy amongſt the reſt. Whereupon all thoſe three good Saints of God, the 30th day of *July*, not coming to any anſwer, nor yet knowing any cauſe of their condemnation, without any publick hearing were brought together from the *Tower* to *Smithfield*, where they preparing themſelves to the Fire, had there at the Stake divers and ſundry Exhortations, among whom D. *Barns* firſt began with this Proteſtation following.

The proteſtation of Dr. Barns at the Stake.

I am come hither to be burned as an Heretick, and you ſhall hear my Belief, whereby you ſhall perceive what erroneous Opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneus Doctrine, but only thoſe things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my Sermons I never maintained any Error, neither moved nor gave occaſion of any Inſurrection. Although I have been ſlandered to preach that our Lady was but a Saffron-Bag, which I utterly proteſt before God that I never meant it, nor preached it; but all my ſtudy and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that Doctrine, as are the Anabaptiſts, which deny that our Saviour Chriſt did take any fleſh of the bleſſed ſtainleſs Virgin Mary, which Sects I deteſt and abhor. And in this place there have been burned ſome of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I ſtudy to ſet forth the glory of God, the obedience to our Sovereign Lord the King, and the true and ſincere Religion of Chriſt, and now hearken to my Faith. Dr. Barns ſlandered falſly of Anabaptiſme.

I believe in the holy and bleſſed Trinity, three Perſons and one God, that created and made all the World, and that this bleſſed Trinity ſent down the ſecond Perſon, Jeſus Chriſt, into the womb of the moſt bleſſed and pureſt Virgin Mary. And here bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and deteſtable Opinion of the Anabaptiſts, which ſay that Chriſt took no fleſh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without mans will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and took fleſh of her, and that he ſuffered hunger, thirſt, cold, and other paſſions of our Body, ſin excepted, according to the ſaying of St. Peter, He was made in all things like to his Brethren, except ſin. And I believe that this his death and paſſion was the ſufficient ranſom for the ſin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame Sin, Death, and Hell, and that there is none other ſatisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and paſſion only, and that no work of man did deſerve any thing of God, but only his Paſſion, as touching our juſtification, for I know the beſt work that ever I did is impure and unperfect. Dr. Barns Confeſſion.

And with this he caſt abroad his hands, and deſired God to forgive him his Treſpaſſes. *For although perchance*, ſaid he, *you know nothing by me, yet do I confeſs, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beſeech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgement with me, according to the ſaying of the Prophet* David, Non intres in judicium cum ſervo tuo, Domine, i. Enter not into judgment with thy Servant, O Lord. *And in another place*, Si iniquitates obſervaveris Domine, quis ſuſtinebit? Lord, if thou ſtraitly mark our Iniquities, who is able to abide thy Judgment? *Wherefore I truſt in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Chriſt. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. Take me not here that I ſpeak againſt good works, for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not ſhall never come into the Kingdom of God. We muſt do them, becauſe they are commanded us of God, to ſhew and ſet forth our Profeſſion, not to deſerve or merit; for that is only the death of Chriſt.* All mens works imperfect. Pſal.142. Pſal.130. Good works are to be done.

I believe that there is a holy Church, and a company of all them that do profeſs Chriſt; and that all that have ſuffered and confeſſed his Name be Saints, and that all they do praiſe and laud God in Heaven, more than I or any mans Tongue can expreſs; and that always I have ſpoken reverently, and praiſed them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I ſay, was a Virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that ſhe is the moſt pure Virgin that ever God created, and a veſſel elect of God, of whom Chriſt ſhould be born. Then ſaid Mr. Sheriff, You have ſaid well of her before. And being afraid that Mr. Sheriff had been or ſhould be agrieved with any thing that he ſhould ſay, he ſaid, *Mr. Sheriff, If I ſpeak any thing that you ſhall not, do no more but beckon me with your hand, and I will ſtraitway hold my peace, for I will not be diſobedient in any thing, but will obey.* Dr. Barns obedient to Magiſtrates.

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to Saints. Then ſaid he, *Now of Saints you ſhall hear my Opinion. I have ſaid before ſomewhat I think of them, how that I believe they are in Heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But I ſay throughout Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any Saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that Saints ought to be prayed unto; for then ſhould I preach unto you a Doctrine of mine own head. Notwithſtanding whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if Saints do pray for us, then I truſt to pray for you within this half hour*

Pray not to Saints.

bem, Mr.Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the Faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a Saint. Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.

Well, have you any thing more to say? Then spake he to Mr.Sheriff, and said, *Have ye any Articles against me for the which I am condemned?* And the Sheriff answered, No. Then said he, *Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any Errour? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer.* And no man answered. Then said he, *Well, I am condemned by the Law to die, and as I understand, by an Act of Parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for Heresie, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven my self. And* Dr. Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester *that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death.*

No cause shewed why Dr. Barns died.

And if any of the Council, or any other have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their Ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the Kings Grace, as I have done ever since I was in Prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward *may so reign, that he may finish those things that his Father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of Sedition and Disobedience unto the Kings Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the Commandment of God to obey your Prince with all humility, and with all your hearts, yea, not so much as in a look to shew your selves disobedient unto him, and that not only for fear of the Sword, but also for Conscience sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the King should command you any thing against Gods Law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it.*

Dr. Barns praying for his Enemies.

Then spake he to the Sheriff and said, *Mr.Sheriff, I require you on Gods behalf to have me commended unto the Kings Grace, and to shew him that I require of his Grace these five Requests: First, that where his Grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the Abbies.* Then the Sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered Mr Sheriff, *I warrant you I will speak no harm, for I know it is well done that all such Superstition be clean taken away, and the Kings Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a whole King, and obeyed in his whole Realm as a King (which neither his Father nor Grandfather, neither his Ancestors that reigned before him ever had) and that through the preaching of us and such other Wretches as we are, which always have applied our whole Studies, and given our selves for the setting forth of the same, and this is now our reward. Well, it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his Grace to bestow the said Goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor Subjects, which surely have great need of them.*

D. Barns prayeth for the King. Five Requests of Dr Barns to the King. The 1. Request, That the King of England made a whole King by poor Preachers.

The 2. Requeſt of D. Barns to the King.

The second that I desire his Grace, is, that he will see that Matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every light cause invented cast not off their Wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

The third Requeſt.

The third, That the abominable Swearers may be punished and straightly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous Oaths. Then desired he Mr.*Pope* to have him commended to M.*Edgar*, and to desire him for the dear Blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable Swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

Dr. Barns requeſt to Mr. Edgar to leave Swearing.

The fourth Requeſt.

The fourth, That his Grace would set forth Christs true Religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his Grace to look on Gods Word himself. for that it hath been obscured with many Traditions invented of our own Brains. Now, said he, *how many Petitions have I spoken of?* And the People said, four. *Well,* said he, *even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the Kings Grace may be certified of, and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false Preachers and Teachers and evil Counsel, for Christ saith, that such false Prophets shall come in Lambs skins.*

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him, and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil Opinions and Doctrines against the Word of God, and that he died in the Faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his Cloaths, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

Dr. Barns clenseth himself of all Hereſie.

The like Confession made also *Hierome* and *Garret*, professing in like manner their Belief, reciting all the Articles of the Christian Faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every Article, as the time would suffer; whereby the People might understand that there was no cause nor error in their Faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned; Protesting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their Sovereign Lord the King, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear Son Prince *Edward*. Which done, *Hierome* added this Exhortation in few words following.

The Protestation and Confession of Hierome and Garret.

I say unto you, good Brethren, that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most precious Blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth, to fulfil his Commandments, that is, Love your Brethren. Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy Neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if you were in necessity, thou wouldest gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your Cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander and reproach he suffered of his Enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his meer goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adams *breaking of Gods Precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as* Adam *broke the Precepts, and was driven out of Paradise so wese we break Gods Commandments, shall have damnation, if we donot repent and ask mercy. Now therefore let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their Works, but in the Blood of Christ, to whom I commit my Soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my Brethren here present with me, that our Souls leaving these wretched Carkasses may constantly depart in the true Faith of Christ.*

The Barons exhortation to Hierome the People.

In much like sort *Garret* also protesting and exhorting the People, after his Confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth.

I also detest, abhor and refuse all Heresies and Errors, and if either by negligence or ignorance I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy, Or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire him, and all other persons which I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against Gods holy Word, or contrary to the true Faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his Laws, and also the Kings accordingly. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the Kings Grace good and godly Counsel, to his glory, to the Kings honour, and the increase of vertue in this his Realm. And thus now I yield my Soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and

Tho. Garret clenseth himself.

Garret prayeth for the King.

The Martyrdome of D. Robert. Barns, Tho: Garret, and William Hierome, in Smithfield, An. 1541.

and believing that he of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the Blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour, Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me of all my sins, whereby I have most grievously from my youth offended his Majesty; wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and dye stedfastly in true Faith, perfect Hope, and Charity.

Anno 1541.

The patience of Barns, Garret, and Hierome.

And so after their Prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their Affliction, and to establish them with perfect Faith, Constancy, and Patience through the Holy Ghost, they taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the Tormentors, and so took their death both christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testifie the goodness of their Cause, and quiet of their Conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his Grace and Fortitude in the hearts of his Servants, especially in such which causeless suffer with a guiltless Conscience for Religions sake, above other which suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they which suffer as Malefactors, are commonly wont to go heavy and pensive to their death; so the other with heavenly alacrity and chearfulness do abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right-well to note, not only in these three godly Martyrs above mentioned, but also in the Lord *Cromwel*, who suffered but two days before, the same no less may appear. Who although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the Parliament, yet what a guiltless Conscience he bare to his death, his Christian patience well deserved.

Difference between them that suffer for Gods truth, and other that suffer for their own desers.

The chearful patience in the Lord Cromwel at his death.

Who first calling for his Breakfast, and chearfully eating the same, and after that passing out of his Prison down the Hill within the *Tower*, and meeting there by the way the Lord *Hungerford*, going likewise to his Execution (who for other matter here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with chearful countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was so heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; for (said he) *there is no cause for you to fear; for if you repent and be heartily sorry for that you have done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who for Christs sake will forgive you, and therefore be not dismayed. And though the Breakfast which we are going to be sharp, yet trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful Dinner.* And so went they together to the place of Execution, and took their deaths patiently.

The comfortable words of the Lord Cromwel to the Lord Hungerford, they both going to their deaths.

A note of three Papists executed the same time with Barnes, Hierome, *and* Garret.

THe same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, three other also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, for denying the Kings Supremacy, whose names were *Powel*, *Fetherstone*, and *Abel*. The which spectacle so happening upon one day, in two so contrary parts or factions brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their Religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts so to suffer, the one for Popery, the other against Popery, both at one time. Insomuch that a certain Stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side, and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words, *Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt gentes? hic suspendantur Papistæ, illic comburuntur Antipapistæ.* But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from the Posterity, whereby they shall the less marvel how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed. Which happened by reason of a certain division and discord among the King's Counsel, which were so divided among themselves in equal parts, that the one half seemed to hold with the one Religion, the other half with the contrary.

Three Papists executed.

Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel.

The words of a stranger, seeing both Papists and Protestants to suffer.

The Names of whom, although it were not necessary to express, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands.

Protestants.

Canterbury,
Suffolk,
Vicount *Beauchamp,*
Vicount *Lisle,*
Russel, Treasurer,
Paget,
Sadler,
Audley.

The Council divided in Religion.

Papists.

Winchester,
Duresme,
Norfolk,
Southampton,
Anthony Brown,
William Paulet,
John Baker,
Richard, Chancellour of the Augmentation.
Wingfield, Vice-Chancellor.

This division and separation of the Councel amongst themselves, caused both these parts above mentioned, the one for one Religion, the other for another, to suffer together. For as the one part of the Council called upon the execution of *Barnes*, *Garret*, and *Hierome*, so the other part likewise called upon the execution of the Law upon *Powel*, *Fetherstone*, and *Abel*. Which six being condemned and drawn to the place of Execution, two upon a Hurdle, one being a Papist, the other a Protestant, thus after a strange manner were brought into *Smithfield*, where all the said six together for contrary Doctrine suffered death, three by the fire for the Gospel, the other three by hanging, drawing, and quartering for Popery.

Two together laid upon the Hurdle, the one a Papist, the other a Protestant.

Lellon Cope.

Allen Cope in his worshipful Dialogues, making mention of these three aforesaid, *Powel*, *Fetherstone*, and *Abel*, amongst other which died in King *Henries* days in the like Popish quarrel, that is, for the like Treason against their Prince, (being in all to the number of twenty four) extolleth them not only in words, but with miracles also, up to the height of Heaven, among the crowned Martyrs and Saints of God. To the which *Cope*, because in this haste of story I have no leisure at this present to give attendance, I shall wait attendance (the Lord willing) another time, to joyn in this issue with him more at leisure. In the mean time it shall suffice at this present to recite the names only of those twenty four Rebels, whom he of his Popish Devotion so dignified with the pretensed Title of Martyrs. The names of which Monkish Rebels be these here following:

Traitors made Martyrs.

John Houghton.
Robert Laurence.
Augustine Webster.
Reginold of Syon.
John Hayle.
John Rochester.
Jac. Wannere.
John Stone.
John Traverse.
William Hom.
Powel.
Fetherstone.
Abel.

84. Neither good Martyrs to God, nor good Subjects to the King.

Besides these were other nine *Carthusian* Monks which died in the Prison of *Newgate*. To the which number if you add Mr. *More* and the Bishop of *Rochester*, the said *summa totalis* cometh to twenty four, whom the said *Cope* unjustly crowned for Martyrs. But of these more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Thus having discoursed the order of the six Articles, with other matter likewise following in the next Parliament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord *Cromwel*, of Dr. *Barnes* and his Fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this History) consider what great disturbance and vexations ensued after the setting forth of the said Articles, through the whole Realm of *England*, especially among the godly sort. Wherein first were to be mentioned the streight and severe Commissions sent forth by the Kings Authority, to the Bishops, Chancellors, Officials, Justices, Maiors, and Bailiffs in every Shire, and other Commissioners by name in the same Commissions expressed; and amongst other, especially to *Edmund Boner* Bishop of *London*, to the Maior, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of the same, to enquire diligently upon all Heretical Books, and to burn them. Also to enquire upon all such Persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such Felonies, Heresies, Contempts, or Transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the foresaid Act set forth of the six Articles. The tenor of which Commissions being sufficiently expressed in ancient Records, and in the Bishops Registers, and also partly touched before, therefore for tediousness I here omit, only shewing forth the Commission directed to *Edmund Boner* Bishop of *London*, to take the Oath of the Maior of *London*, and of others, for the execution of the Commission aforesaid; the tenor whereof here followeth.

Great disturbance in *England* after the six Articles.

Read before.

The Commission for taking the Oath of the Maior of London *and others, for the execution of the Act aforesaid.*

HENRY *the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of* England *and of* France, *Defender of the Faith, and Lord of* Ireland, *and in Earth supream Head of the Church of* England, *unto the Reverend Father in Christ* Edmund Boner *Bishop of* London, *and to his welbeloved the Bishops Chancellor, health. Know ye that we have given you jointly and severally, Power and Authority to receive the Oaths of* William Roch *Maior of* London, John Allen *Knight*, Ralph Warren *Knight*, Richard Gresham *Knight*, Roger Cholmley *Knight*, Serjeant at Law, John Gresham, Michael Dormer *Archdeacon of* London, *the Bishops Commissary and Official*, Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Brook, *and* John Morgan, *and every of them our Commissioners for Heresies, and other Offences done within our City of* London *and Diocese of the same, according to the tenour of a certain Schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore We command that you receive the Oaths aforesaid, and when you have received them, to certifie us into our* Chancery *under your Seals, returning this our Writ.* Teste me ipso *at* Westminster *the twenty ninth of* January, *in the* 32. *year of our Reign.*

Commission directed to Edm. Boner Bishop of London, from the King.

What the Oath was of these Commissioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

A Note how Boner *sate in the* Guildhall *in Commission for the six Articles. And of the condemning of* Mekins.

UPon this Commission given unto *Edmund Boner*, he coming to the *Guildhall* with other Commissioners, to sit upon the Statute of the six Articles, began by effsoons to put in execution his Authority after a rigorous sort, as ye shall hear. And first he charged certain Juries to take their Oath upon the Statute aforesaid; who being sworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict. At the which day they Indicted sundry Persons, which shortly after were apprehended and brought to Ward; who, after a while remaining there, were by the King and his Councel discharged at the *Star-Chamber*, without any further punishment.

The Boyes of St. Mikes condemned by Boner.

Not long after this, Sir *William Roch* being Maior, *Boner* with other Commissioners sate at the *Guildhall* aforesaid, before whom there were a certain number of Citizens warned to appear, and after the Commission read, the said Parties were called to the Book, and when five or six were sworn, one of the said Persons being called to the Book, *Boner* seemed to mislike, and said, *Stay a while, my Masters*, (quoth he) *I would ye should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the King, and the wealth of the Realm, and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence than here.* Then commuued the Commissioners with *Boner* about that man, so that at length he was called to the Book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two Juries were sworn, *Boner* taketh upon him to give the Charge unto the Juries, and began with a Tale of *Anacharsis*, by which example he admonished the Juries to spare no Persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his Charge, he brought forth to the Bar a Boy, whose name was *Mekins*, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking of certain words against the State, and of the death of Dr. *Barnes*, and produced into the said Court two Witnesses, which were there sworn in the face of the Court.

Rich. Mekin produced by Boner.

So

So a day was assigned upon which the Juries aforesaid should give up their Verdict; at which day both the Commissioners and the said Juries met at *Guildhall* aforesaid. Then the Clerk of the Peace called on the Juries by their Names, and when their Appearance was taken, *Boner* bade them put in their Presentments. Then said the Foreman of that Jury, whose name was *William Robins*; *My Lord* (with a low courtesie) *we have found nothing.* At which words he fared as one in an Agony, and said, *Nothing? have ye found nothing? What nothing? By the faith I owe to God* (quoth he to the Foreman) *I would trust you upon your Obligation, but by your Oath I will trust you nothing.* Then said some of the Commissioners; *My Lord, give them a longer day. No,* (quoth he) *in* London *they ever find nothing. I pray you what say you to* Mekins? *My Lord*, quoth the Foreman, *we can say nothing to him, for we find the Witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the Sacrament was nothing but a Ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification. Why* (quoth *Boner*) *did he not say that* Barnes *died holy.* Then pausing a while, he bade call the other Jury. *Put in your Verdict*, (quoth he.) *My Lord*, said one, *we have found nothing. Jesus!* (quoth he) *is not this a strange case?*

Wil. Robins Juror.

Then spake one of the same Jury, whose name was *Ralph Foxley*, and said, *My Lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the Parsons and Curates of every Parish to give us instructions, and it was denied us.* Then stood up the Recorder, and said, *It was true indeed that he had spoken*; and there withal said, *This last year were charged two Juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the Kings people, and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you. Nay, nay,* quoth *Boner*, *this was the cause; If the Parson or Curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my Confession to Knave-Priest, and he shall go by and by and open it. What*, said my Lord Maior, *there is no man (I trow) that will say so? Yes, by my truth,* quoth *Boner*, *Knave-Priest, Knave-Priest.* Then said my Lord Maior somewhat smiling, *There be some of them sippery Fellows; and as men find them; so will they of-times report. Boner* not well contented with those words, said to the Jury, *My Masters, what say you to* Mekins? They answered, *The Witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them. Why* (quoth *Boner*) *this Court hath allowed them.* Then said one of the Jury to the Recorder, *Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this Court do allow them? Yea*, said the Recorder, *it is sufficient*; and said, *Go you aside together awhile, and bring in your Verdict.* After the Jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the Bar again with their Indictment, which at *Boners* hand was friendly received; so both they and the other Jury were discharged, and bidden take their ease. Thus ended the Court for that day. Shortly after they fate for Life and Death. *Mekins* being brought to the Bar, and the Indictment read, *Boner* said to him; Mekins, *confess the truth, and submit thy self unto the Kings Law, that thy death may be an example to all other.*

Raff Foxley Juror.

This Boner did was Sir Ro. Chalmley.

Against Popish Priests of London.

Boner calleth upon the condemnation of Mekins.

Mekins brought to the Bar.

This *Richard Mekins* being a Child, which passed not the Age of fifteen years (as *Hall* reporteth) as he had heard some other Folks talk, so chanced he to speak against the Sacrament of the Altar. Which coming to *Boners* ears, he never left him (as afore doth plainly appear) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor Father nor Mother for fear durst aid him with any relief, whereby he there indured in great misery. At what time he was brought unto the Stake, he was taught to speak much good of the Bishop of *London*, and of the great Charity he shewed to him, and to defie and detest all Hereticks and Heresies, but specially Dr. *Barnes*, unto whom he imputed the learning of that Heresie, which was the cause of his death. The poor Lad would for safeguard of his life have gladly said that the twelve Apostles had taught it him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But for this deed many spake and said, *It was great shame for the Bishop, whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, than to procure that terrible Execution, seeing that he was such an ignorent Soul, that he knew not what the assoyling of Heresie was.*

Ex Ed. Hall.

And how could he tell that learning of Dr. Barnes, when Dr. Barnes was never of that Opinion.

Richard Spencer, Ramsey, *and one* Hewet, *suffered at* Salisbury.

ABout the same time also a certain Priest was burned at *Salisbury*, who leaving his Papistry had married a Wife, and became a Player in Enterludes, with one Ramsey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned; against whom, and specially against *Spencer*, was laid matter concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. He suffered at *Salisbury*.

Spencer, Ramsey, and Hewet, Martyrs.

Although this Inquisition above mentioned was meant properly and especially concerning the six Articles, yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts began to rise, and to be moved by the Quest, whether they might enquire as well of all other Opinions, Articles, and Causes of *Lollardy*, or for speaking against the holy Bread, holy Water, or for favouring the cause of *Barnes*, of *Friers*, of *Ward*, Sir *Thomas Rose*, &c. Whereupon great perturbation followed in all Parishes almost through *London* in the year aforesaid, which was 1541. as here ensueth in a brief Summary Table to be seen.

Ex Regist. Lond.

Frier, Ward, Sir Tho. Rose.

A brief Table of the Troubles at London *in the time of the six Articles.*

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Dixe.

THis *Dixe* was noted never to be confessed in *Lent*, nor to receive at *Easter*, and to be a Sacramentary.

S. Albons Parish in London.

Rich. Chepeman.

Chepeman for eating flesh in *Lent*, and for working on holy days, and not coming to the Church.

Mrs. *Cicely Marshall.*

Cicely, for not bearing her Palm, and despising holy Bread and holy Water.

Michael Haukes.

Haukes for not coming to the Church, and receiving young men of the new Learning.

Mr. *John Browne.*

Browne, for bearing with *Barnes*.

Annes, Bedikes Wife.

Bedikes Wife, for despising our Lady, and not praying to Saints.

Andrew Kempe. Will. Paben. Rich. Maneral.

Kempe, Paben, Maneral, for disturbing the Service of the Church with brabling of the New Testament.

William Wyders.

Wyders denied two years before the Sacrament to be Christs Body, and said that it was but only a sign.

The Parish of Trinity the less.

William Stokesly.

Stokesly, for rebuking his Wife at the Church for taking holy Water.

Roger Davy.

Davy for speaking against worshipping of Saints.

Mr. *Blage.*

Mr. *Blage* for not coming to his Parish Church, not Confessing, nor Receiving.

William Clinch.

For saying, when he seeth a Priest preparing to the Mass, *Ye shall see a Priest now go to masking. Item*, For calling the Bishop of *Winchester*, *False flatterer*

S. John Baptist in Walbrooke.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

ing Knave. Item, For burying his Wife without Dirge, and cauſing the Scot of S. *Katherines* to preach the next day after the Burial.

William Plaine.

Plaine ſeeing a Prieſt going to Maſs, ſaid, *Now you ſhall ſee one in masking. Item,* When he came to the Church, with loud reading the Engliſh Bible he diſturbed the Divine Service.

Herman Johnſon. *Hierome Akon.*
Giles Hoſteman. *Richard Bonfield.*
Thomas Cowper. *Humphrey Skinner.*]
John Sneudnam. *Richard Philips.*
John Celos.

S. Botolphs at Billingsgate. These nine Perſons were preſented, for that they were not Confeſſed in *Lent*, nor had Received at *Eaſter.*

John Jones. *William Wright.*
Peter Butcher. *Roger Butcher.*

S. Nicholas in the ſhith Shambles. These four were preſented for not keeping the Divine Service in the holy days.

Briſleys Wife.

Briſleys Wife, for buſie reaſoning on the new Learning, and not keeping the Church.

Mrs. *Caſtle.*

S. Andrews in Holborn. Mrs. *Caſtle*, For being a medler and a reader of the Scripture in the Church.

Mr. *Galias* of *Bernards Inn.*

Mr. *Galias*, for withſtanding the Curate cenſing the Altars on *Corpus Chriſti* Even, and ſaying openly that he did naught.

Mr. *Pates* of *Davids Inn.*

Mr. *Pates* and Mr. *Galias*, for vexing the Curate in the Body of the Church, in declaring the Kings Injunctions, and reading the Biſhops Book, ſo that he had much ado to make an end.

Wil. Beckes and his Wife.

S. Mildredis Breadſtreet. *Beckes* and his Wife ſuſpected to be Sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the Croſs on *Good Friday.*

Thomas Langham. *Wil. Thomas.*
Rich. Beckes. *Wil. Beckes.*

These four were preſented for interrupting the Divine Service.

Ralph Symonds.

Symonds, for not keeping our Ladies Maſs, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith Apprentice.

Smith, for ſaying that he had rather hear the crying of Dogs, than Prieſts ſinging Mattens or Evenſong.

Thomas Bele *John Sturgion.*
John Willſhire. *Thomas Symon.*
Ralph Clervis and his Wife.
James Banaſter. *Nicholas Barker.*
John Sterky. *Chriſtopher Smith.*
Thomas Net.

S. Magnus Parish. These eleven Perſons of S. *Magnus* Pariſh were preſented and accuſed for maintaining of certain Preachers (as then it was called) of the new Learning, as *Wiſedom, Roſe, Fvier, Ward*, Sir *William Smith*, *alias Wright.*

Nicholas Philips.

For maintaining Hereſies and Scripture Books, and for uſing neither faſting nor Prayer.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

Richard Bigges.

Bigges, for doſpiſing holy Bread, putting it in the throat of a Bitch, and for not looking up to the Elevation.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Statham.*

For maintaining in her Houſe *Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Hierome*, and divers other. S. Mary Magdalene in Milkſtreet.

John Duffet.

Duffet, for marrying a woman which was thought to be a Nun.

W. Hilliard.

Hilliard and *Duffet*, for maintaining *Barnes, Hierome*, and *Garret*, with other more. S. Owens Pariſh in Newgate Market.

Grafton. Whitchurch.

Grafton and *Whitchurch* ſuſpected not to have been Confeſſed.

John Greene. Mother *Palmer.*
Chriſtopher Coats. *Will. Selly.*
Alexander Frere. *Will. Bredi.*
John Buſh. *W. Somerton.*
George Durant. *M. Davids* Apprentice.

All theſe being of the Pariſh of S. *Martins*, at the Well with two Buckets, were preſented for contemning the Ceremonies of the Church. Alſo ſome for walking in the facing time with their Caps on. Some for turning their heads away, ſome for ſitting at their doors when Sermons were in the Church, *&c.* S. Martinrat the Well with two Buckets.

Robert Andrew.

Andrew, for receiving Hereticks into his Houſe, and keeping diſputation of Hereſie there. S. Michaelis Woodſtreet.

John Williamſon. *Thomas Ruge.*
Thomas Gilbert. *W. Hickſon.*
Rob. Daniel. *Robert Smitton.*

These other ſix were ſuſpected to be Sacramentaries and rank Hereticks, and Procurers of Hereticks to preach, and to be followers of their Doctrine.

John Mayler.

To be a Sacramentary, and a railer againſt the Maſs. S. Botolphs at Billingsgate.

Richard Billy Draper.

Billy preſented for ſaying theſe words, *That Chriſt is not preſent in the bleſſed Sacrament.*

Henry Patinſon. *Anthony Barber.*

These two were detected for maintaining their Boyes to ſing a Song againſt the Sacrament of the Altar. Alſo *Patinſon* came not to Confeſſion. S. Giles's without Cripplegate.

Robert Norman.

Norman alſo refuſed to come to Confeſſion, ſaying, *That none of his Servants ſhould be ſhriven of a Knave-Prieſt.*

John Humfrey.

For ſpeaking againſt the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

William Smith and his Wife.
John Cooke and his Wife.

These two Couples were preſented for not coming to Service in their Pariſh Church, and for ſaying it was lawful for Prieſts to have Wives.

Wil. Gate or *Cote.* *Wil Aſton.*
John Humfrey. *John Cooke.*

To theſe four it was laid, for ſaying, *That the Maſs was made of pieces and patches.* Alſo for depraving of Mattins, Maſs, and Evenſong.

John

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

John Miles and his Wife. *John Millen.*
John Robinſon. *Richard Millar.*
John Green and his Wife. *Arnold Cheſ.*

All theſe were put up for railing againſt the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Croſdall. Joh. Clerke. Jo. Owel.

S. Giles's without Cripplegate. These three labouring men, for not coming to Divine Service on Holy-days, and for labouring on the ſame.

Thomas Grangier. *John Dicher.*

Noted for common Singers againſt the Sacraments and Ceremonies.

John Sutton and his Wife. *John Segar.*

These three were noted to be Deſpiſers of Auricular Confeſſion.

John Rawlins. *John Shiler.*
William Chalinger. *John Edmonds.*
John Richmond and his Wife.

For deſpiſing holy Bread and holy Water, and letting Divine Service.

Margaret Smith.

For dreſſing Fleſh-meat in *Lent.*

Thomas Trentham.

For reaſoning againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, and ſaying that the Sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

Robert Granger. *William Petingale.*
William May and his Wife.
John Harriſon and his Wife.
Robert Welch. *John Bengloſſe.*
John Pitley. *Henry Foſter.*
Robert Cauſy. *William Pinchbeck* and his Wife.

S. Thomas the Apoſtle. All theſe thirteen were put up by the Inquiſition, for giving finall reverence at the ſacring of the Maſs.

Martyn Biſhops Wife.

S. Bennet Finch. She was preſented by her Curate for being not ſhriven in *Lent*, nor receiving at *Eaſter.* Alſo ſhe did ſet light by the Curate, when he told her thereof.

Robert Plat and his Wife.

These were great Reaſoners in Scripture, ſaying, That they had it of the Spirit; and that Confeſſion availeth nothing; and that he, not able to read, would uſe no Beads.

Thomas Aduet. John Palmer. Robert Cooke.

S. Michael at Queenhithe. The cauſe laid to theſe three perſons, was for reaſoning of the Scripture, and of the Sacraments.

The Regiſter ſaith, That they denied all the Sacraments: But this Popiſh Hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with Popiſh practiſes, ſitteth to be the Judge.

John Cockes.

This man was noted for a great ſearcher out of new Preachers, and maintainer of *Barnes's* Opinions.

John Boultes.

For forbidding his Wife to uſe Beads.

Thomas Kelde.

He refuſed to take Penance and Abſolution, and did eat fleſh upon a *Friday* before *Lent.*

Nicholas Newell.

S. Mary Woolchurch. *Newell* a French man, preſented to be a man far gone in the new Sect, and that he was a great jeſter at the Saints and at our Lady.

Perſons preſented, with the cauſes.

John Hawkins and his Servant.
Thomas Chamberlaine and his Wife.
John Curteys. Mr. *Diſſel*, his Wife and his Servant.

These eight were great Reaſoners and Deſpiſers of Ceremonies. Ex Regiſt. Lond.

The Curate of S. *Katherine Coleman.*

He was noted for calling of ſuſpect perſons to his Sermons by a Beadle, without ringing of any Bell, and when he preached he left his matters doubtful. S. Katherine Coleman.

Item, For preaching without the commandment of his Parſon.

Item, For that he was a Scotiſh Frier, driven out of his Country for Hereſie.

Tulle Buſtre, his Wife and his Son in Law.

These were noted for coming ſeldom to the Church, and many times were ſeen to labour upon the Holy-days.

William Ettis and his Wife.

Ettis and his Wife were noted for maintaining certain Preachers; and for cauſing one *Taverner*, being a Prieſt, to preach againſt the Kings Injunctions. S. Matthews Pariſh.

Meriſield and his Son in Law.
Nicholas Ruſſel. The good man of the *Saracens Head* in *Friday-ſtreet. William Callaway.*
Thomas Gardiner with three Apprentices.

Againſt this Company preſentation was made for gathering together in the Evening, and for bringing ill Preachers, that is to ſay, good Preachers amongſt the People.

Thomas Plummer.

This *Thomas* was preſented for ſaying, That the bleſſed Sacrament was to him that doth take it, ſo; and to him that doth not, was not ſo.

Shermons.

Shermons, Keeper of the *Carpenters Hall* in *Chriſts* Pariſh, was preſented for procuring an Enterlude to be openly played, wherein Prieſts were railed on, and called Knaves. Shoreditch.

Lewes Morall a Servant.
James Ogule and his Wife.

Noted not to have been Confeſſed certain years before. S. Bevis at Pauls wharf.

Thomas Babam.

Accuſed not to have been Confeſſed nor Houſled in his Pariſh Church. S. Margarets in Fishſtreet.

The Parſon and Curate of S. *Antholines.*

For not uſing the Ceremonies in making holy Water, nor keeping their Proceſſions on *Saturdays.* S. Antholines.

Lewis Bromfield.

For not taking his Houſel, and for abſenting himſelf from the Church on Holy-days.

John Sempe. John Goſſe.

For diſpraiſing a certain Anthem of our Lady, beginning *Te matrem, &c.* ſaying that there is Hereſie in the ſame. S. Mary-hill.

Gilbert Godfrey.

For abſenting himſelf from the Church on Holy-days.

Tho. Cappes.

For ſaying theſe words, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lords Death. S. Mary Magdalen in Old Fiſhſtreet.

John Mailer Grocer.

For calling the Sacrament of the Altar the baken God, and for ſaying that the Maſs was called beyond the Sea *Miſs*, for that all is amiſs in it. S. Botolphs at Billingsgate.

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Hardyman Priest.

S. Martins in Ironmonger Lane. *Hardyman*, Parson of S. *Martyns* in *Ironmonger Lane*, presented for preaching openly, that Confession is Confusion and Deformation; and that the Butcherly Ceremonies of the Church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, What a mischief is this to esteem the Sacraments to be of such vertue? for in so doing they take the glory of God from him: and for saying That Faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other Sacraments to justifie.

Ex Regist. Lond.

Christopher Dray Plummer.

S. Bridgets in Fleetstreet. For saying of the Sacrament of the Altar, That it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the Body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification of the thing.

Robert Ward Shoomaker.

S. Andrews in Holborn. Presented by three Witnesses for holding against the Sacrament of the Altar: he died in Prison in *Bread-street*.

Nicholas Otes.

Allhallows Barking. For not coming to the Housel at *Easter*, he was sent to *Newgate*.

Herman Peterson. James Gosson.

For not coming to Shrift and Housel at the time of *Easter*. These were committed to Prison in *Bread-street*.

Richard White Haberdasher.

S. Olives in the Old Jury. For saying, That he did not think that Christ was in the Sacrament of the Altar within the Sepulchre, but in Heaven above.

Giles Harrison.

S. Botolph without Aldgate. *Harrison* being in a place without *Aldgate*, merrily jesting in a certain Company of Neighbours, where some of them said, *Let us go to Mass: I say, tarry*, said he; and so taking a piece of Bread in his Hands, lift it up over his head: and likewise taking a Cup of Wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a Cross over the Cup, and so taking the said Cup in both his hands, lift it over his head, saying these words, *Have ye not heard Mass now?* For the which he was presented to *Boner*, then Bishop of *London*. Against whom came these Witnesses,

Thomas Castle. *Andrew Morice.*
William Greene. *John Margetson,*
Witnesses against him.

Richard Bostock Priest.

For saying that Auricular Confession hath killed more Souls then all the Bills, Clubs, and Halters have done sithence King *Henry* was King of *England*, &c. Also for saying, That the Water in the *Thames* hath as much virtue as the Water that the Priests do hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth.

For having no reverence to the Sacrament at sacring time. *Item*, For instructing of Maids, and being a great Doctress.

John Leicester. *W. Raynold.*
Christ. Townesend. *Th. David Skinner.*
Tho. Mabs. *Thom. Starckey.*
Christ. Holybread. *Martyn Donam.*
W. Derby.

Aldermanbury. All these noted and presented for maintaining of *Barnes*, and such other Preachers, and many of their Wives for not taking holy Bread, nor going in Procession on *Sundays*.

Lawrence Maxwel Bricklayer.

For speaking and reasoning against Auricular Confession.

Persons presented, with the causes.

John Cosyns, or *Livelende.*

For holding against the Sacrament of the Altar, and not receiving at *Easter*. S. Martins the Great.

Gerard Frise.

Presented by two Witnesses, for affirming that a Sermon preached is better than the Sacrament of the Altar, and that he had rather go to hear a Sermon than to hear a Mass. S. Clements without Temple Bar.

Dominick Williams, a French man.

For not receiving the Sacrament of the Altar at *Easter*. S. Katherines.

Th. Lancaster, Priest.

He lay in the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, for compiling and bringing over Books prohibited.

Gough.

Item, *Gough* the Stationer troubled for reforting unto him.

Frier *Ward.*

Laid in the *Compter* in *Breadstreet*, for marrying one *Elizabeth* to his Wife, after his Vow made of Chastity.

Frier *Wilcock.*

Wilcock, a Scotish Frier, prisoned in the *Fleet*, for preaching against Confession, holy Water, against praying to Saints, and for Souls departed, against Purgatory, and holding that Priests might have Wives, *&c.*

John Taylor Dr. in Divinity.

Dr. *Taylor* presented for preaching at S. *Bridgets* in *Fleetstreet*, that it is as profitable to a man to hear Mass and see the Sacrament, as to kiss *Judas*'s mouth, which kissed Christ our Saviour, *&c.*

W. Tolwine Parson of S. *Antholines.*

Presented and examined before *Edmund Boner*, for permitting *Alexander Seton* to preach in his Church, having no licence of his Ordinary, and also for allowing the Sermons of the said *Alexander Seton*, which he preached against Dr. *Smith*.

To the said *Tolwine* moreover it was objected, That he used, the space of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general Exorcisme, beginning *Exorcisso te, &c.* using these words for the same, *Benedicite, Dominus. Ab eo sit benedicta, à cujus latere fluxit sanguis & aqua:* Adjoyning thereto, *Commixtio salis & aquæ fiat in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti.*

Tolwine mixeth holy Water.

The like usage of making holy Water was also used in *Aldermary* Church, where Dr. *Crome* was, and in *Hony Lane*.

Against this Objection thus *Tolwine* defended himself, saying, That he took occasion so to do by the Kings Injunctions, which say, That Ceremonies should be used, all Ignorance and Superstition set apart.

In the end, this *Tolwine* was forced to stand at *Pauls Cross* to recant his Doctrine and doings. The recantation of W. Tolwin.

Robert Wisedom, Thomas Becon, Preachers.

The same time also *Robert Wisedom*, Parish Priest of S. *Margarets* in *Lothbury*, and *Thomas Becon*, were brought to *Pauls Cross*, to recant and to revoke their Doctrine, and to burn their Books.

Sir *George Parker*, Parson of S. *Pancrace.*

This Priest and Parson of S. *Pancrace*, and Curate of *Little Allhallows*, was noted, suspected, and convented before the Ordinary for certain Books, especially for having *Unio dissidentium*, *&c.* Little Allhallows.

Sir *John Byrch*, Priest.

John Byrch, Priest of S. *Botolphs Lane*, was complained of by one Mr. *Wilson*, for being a busie reasoner in certain Opinions, which agreed not with the Popes Church.

Alex-

Persons presented, with the causes.

Alexander Seton *a Scotish, and a worthy Preacher.*

Alexander Seton was denounced, detected, and presented, by three Priests of whom one was fellow of *Whittington Colledge* called *Richard Taylor*; another was *John Smith*; the third was *John Huntingdon*, who after was converted to the same Doctrine himself.

Alex. Seton Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk. This *Seton* was Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and by him was made free Denison. In his Sermon Preached at Saint *Antholines*, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which for example I thought here to exhibit to the Reader, to the intent that men may see, not only what true Doctrine *Seton* then Preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving that is right, or in wresting that is well meant, or in carping that they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none is, as by these their sinister cavillations may appear.

Certain places or Articles gathered out of Setons *Sermons by his Adverſaries.*

Articles gathered of Alex. Setons Sermons by his Adversaries. THe sayings and Words of *Alexander Seton*, spoken and Preached by him in his Sermon, made the thirteenth day of *November*, at afternoon, in the Parish Church of Saint *A.* in *London*; *Paul* saith, *of our selves we can do nothing*; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than *Paul*, *James*, *Peter*, and all the Apostles? Hast thou any more Grace than they? Tell me now if thy will be any thing or nothing. If it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say to do ill, I will grant thou hast a greater deal. If thou say to do good, I ask whether is more, somewhat or nothing? For *Paul* said he could do nothing, and I am sure thou hast no more Grace, than *Paul* and his Companions.

Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is will the other two are consent and deed. The first, that is will, God worketh without us, and besides us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us. And here he alledged Saint *Augustine*, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, thou hast not one jot, no not one tittle to do any good. 1. Will. 2. Consent. 3. Deed. No will in man of himself to do good.

There is nothing in Heaven or Earth, creature or other, that can be any mean towards our justification, nor can any man satisfie God the Father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his Blood. Our works merit nothing to Salvation.

He that Preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our Salvation, or any part of our justification, Preacheth a Doctrine of the Devil.

If any thing else, save only Christ, by any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ only justifie us.

I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier, and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two Servants, the one is called *John*, and the other *Robert*, and I promise to send you such a day twenty pound by *John* my Servant, and at my day I send you by *Jo.* my servant, *xix.li.xix.s.xi.d.ob.q.* and there lacketh but one farthing, which *Robert* doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pound, every penny and farthing. Yet, will I ask if I be true of my promise, or no, and thou must say nay. And why, because I promised to send thee that whole twenty pound by *John* and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which *Robert* brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together.

One Scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe, to prove that Christ was only promised to be our only justifier, our only mean, and that is in the two and twentieth of *Genesis*, where it is written, *In thy seed shall all people be blessed*, meaning thereby only Christ, and he said not in thy seeds, nor in the works of thy seeds. Wherefore all they that preach, that works be any part or mean toward our justification, do make God false of his promise.

They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of justice; wrought by him that is already a just man, which cannot chuse but bring forth good fruit.

I would ask a question, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad, for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot chuse but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he cannot bring forth no fruit, but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit. Good fruits make not a good man, but a good man cannot chuse but make good fruits.

He that faith that works do merit any thing towards our Salvation, doth make works checkmate with Christ and plucketh from Christ that is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the Glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that faith that good works are to be done for any other cause, than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say he lieth and believe him not. Mans works made checkmate with Christ.

He that can shew me in any Scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first Scripture I will (without any further judgment) lose both mine ears, for the second, my Tongue, and for the third my Neck. For if I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle: Wherefore believe them not.

Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lye on us, we deny nothing but Popish works, and Popish fasting, and Popish Prayer; and he is as much that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a Popish Doctrine. The Papists belie the Protestants, as though they denied good works

If you ask me when we shall leave preaching of works? even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier, and only mean to our justification; and till then we will not cease in Gods Cause to set forth only Christ to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction.

If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I say yea, and with no less than eternal Glory, but for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise sake, and he will not break his promise. Good works cannot they be rewarded.

Other Articles gathered out of Setons *Sermons.*

Other Articles out of Setons Sermons. TOuching reconciliation spoken of by Doctor *Smith*, preaching in the forenoon at *Pauls Cross*, *Alexander Seton* preaching at afternoon at Saint *Anthonies*, and reciting his sayings and Scriptures, reproved him for alledging this saying, *Reconciliamini Deo*, and English- 2 Cor. 5. ing the same thus, *Reconcile your selves to God*; because it is there spoken passively, and not actively, so that there should be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also reproving the said Doctor *Smith*, for that the said D. said that man by his good works might merit. Which saying of Doctor *Smith* the said *Alexander Seton* reproved in the Pulpit at S. *Anthonies* the 13. day of *November*, the year of our Lord. 1541. as naughtily spoken.

Moreover the said *Alexander Seton* said in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous Doctrine, as to say that works should merit, adducing, *Non sunt condigne passiones, &c. Et post quam feceritis omnia, &c.*

Finally *Seton* said, peradventure ye will say the Church hath determined this matter touching works. And I say, quoth he, that it is *Ecclesia Malignantium*, so determining any thing against Scripture.

To these pretensed Objections of his Adversaries he made his Answer again by writing, first denying many things there presented, taking upon his Conscience, that he never spake divers of those words; and again many things that he never meant to such end or purpose, as in the said Register may appear. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the Ordinary proceeded in his consistory judgment, ministring to

to him certain Interrogatories (after the Popish course) to the number of 10. Articles. The greatest matter laid against him, was for preaching free justification by Faith in Christ Jesus, against false confidence in good works, and Mans free will. Also it was laid unto him, for affirming that private Masses, Dirigies, and other Prayers profited not the Souls departed; so that in the end, he with *Tolwine* aforesaid, was caused to recant at *Pauls Cross*, 1541.

Boner burning a fagot at *Pauls Cros.*

Add to these aforesaid, *Doctor* Taylor, *Parson of S.* Peters *in* Cornhill.

South, *Parish Priest of* Alhallows *in* Lombardstreet.

Some, *Priest.*

Giles *the Kings Beer-brewer, at the* Red Lion *in Saint* Katherines.

Thomas Lancaster, Priest. All which were imprisoned likewise for the six Articles.

To be short, such a number out of all Parishes in *London*, and out of *Calais*, and divers other quarters, were then apprehended through the said Inquisition, that all Prisons in *London* were too little to hold them, in so much that they were fain to lay them in the Halls. At the last, by the means of good Lord *Audley*, such pardon was obtained of the King, that the said Lord *Audley* then Lord Chancellor, being content that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the *Star-Chamber* the next day after *All-Souls*, there to answer if they were called; but neither was there any person called, neither did any appear.

All Prisons in London too little to hold them that were taken for the six Articles. The Lord Audley L. Chancellor of *England.*

The Story of John Porter, *cruelly Martyred for reading the Bible in* Pauls.

A Story of John Porter, Martyr.

IN the number of these forenamed cometh the remembrance of *John Porter*, who in the same year, 1541. for reading the Bible in *Pauls Church*, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear. It was declared in this History above how *Edmund Boner* Bishop of *London* (in the days of the Lord *Cromwel*) being then Embassadour at *Paris*, was a great doer in setting forward the printing of the Bible in that great Volume: promising moreover, that he would for his part have six of those Bibles set up in the Church of S. *Paul* in *London*. Which also at his coming home he no less performed, according to the Kings Proclamation set forth for the same, whereof read afore.

The Bible commanded by the King to be set in Churches.

Read afore.

The Bibles thus standing in *Pauls* by the Commandment of the King, and the appointment of *Boner* the Bishop, many well disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an Audible Voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, so long as the days of *Cromwel* lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly disposed persons, which frequented there the reading of the foresaid Bible, that one *John Porter* used sometimes to be occupied in that Godly Exercise, to the edifying as well of himself, as of other. This *Porter* was a fresh young man, and of a big stature: Who by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such Sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters forth of Gods Truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up by *Boners* Commandment upon divers Pillars in *Pauls Church*, fixed unto the same with Chains for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this *Porter*, because he could read well, and had an Audible Voice. *Boner* and his Chaplains being grieved withal (and the World beginning then to frown upon the Gospellers) sent for the foresaid *Porter*, and rebuked him, very sharply for his reading. But *Porter* answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the Law, neither contrary to his advertisements which he had fixed in Print over every Bible.

Anno 1541.

To Porter a great reader in the Bible at Pauls.

Boner & his Chaplains grieved with the Bibles which he before caused to be set up himself.

Boner then laid unto his charge that he had made Expositions upon the Text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make Tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him. But in fine *Boner* sent him to *Newgate*, where he was miserably fettered in Irons both Legs and Arms, with a Collar of Iron about his Neck fastened to the Wall in the Dungeon, being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose Name is also *Porter*, and yet alive, and can testifie that it is true, and dwelleth yet without *Newgate*. Who, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, intreated *Jewet*, then Keeper of *Newgate*, that he might be released out of those cruel Irons, and so through friendship and money had him up among other Prisoners, which lay there for Felony and Murder, where *Porter* being amongst them, hearing and seeing their Wickedness and Blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of Life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned of the Scriptures; for which his so doing he was complained on and so carried down, and laid in the lower Dungeon of all, oppressed with Bolts and Irons, where within six or eight days after he was found dead.

J. Porter sent to Newgate by Boner.

This Porter was olive at the writing hereof.

The cruel handling of J. Porter in Newgate.

It is signified to us by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the same place of the Prison where *Porter* lay, did hear him pitifully to groan and make a lamentable noise, where some *suppose* that he was put in certain strait Irons which be there in the House, called, *The Devil on the neck*, being after an horrible sort devised, for straining and wrinching the Neck of a man with his Legs together; in such sort, as the more he striveth in it the straiter is prefferth him, so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a Mans back and body in pieces. In which devillish Torment, whether *John Porter* was slain or no, it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is aforesaid) in the Dungeon, with such groaning and pitious noise heard the night before in the said Dungeon as is declared.

The Death and Martyrdom of John Porter.

A Note of one Thomas Sommers, *imprisoned for the Gospel.*

AMongst these *Londoners* thus troubled by the Clergy, (we will add also (though a little out of place) another Note of a Merchant called *Thomas Sommers*, who dyed in the *Tower* of *London* for constituing of the Gospel. Which *Thomas* being a very honest Merchant and Wealthy, was sent for by the Lord Cardinal, and committed to the *Tower*, for that he had *Luthers* Books (as they termed them) and after a great sute made for him to the said Cardinal, his judgment was, that he should ride from the *Tower* into *Cheapside*, carrying a new Book in his hand, and be hanged with Books round about him, with three or four other Merchants after the same order, which was done. And when Master *Sommers* should be set on a Colliars Nagg, as the rest of his fellow Prisoners were, a friend of his called Master *Copland* brought him a very good Gelding, fair dressed with Bridle and Saddle; and when the Bishops Officers came to dress him with Books, as they had trimmed the other, and would have made holes in his Garment to have thrust the strings of the Books therein; Nay, said *Sommers*, I have always loved to go handsomly in my Apparel, and taking the Books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar, and being on Horsback, rode forthwith through the Streets, till they came about the Standard in *Cheapside*, where a great fire was made to burn their Books in, and a Pillory set up there for four persons, in token that they had deserved it.

The Penance of Tho. Sommers.

M. Latimer Books burnt in Cheapside.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a bason, at the noise whereof M. *Sommers* Horse, being a lofty Gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he which rung the bason, being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great space before that any Horseman followed after. At length when they came to the fire, every of them having a Book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their Books into the Fire. But when Master *Sommers* saw that his new Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire which was seen by some of Gods Enemies, and brought to him again commanding him to cast it into the fire, which he would not do

The Parish burnt the new Testament.

do, but cast it through the fire. Which thing was done three times. But at last a stander by took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the said Master *Sommers* was cast again into the Tower by the Cardinal, through the cruelty of the Bishops and their adherents, who soon after died in the said prison for the testimony of his faith.

T. Sommers died in the Tower.

What trouble and vexation happened amongst the godly Brethren in *London*, for the six Articles, hitherto we have discoursed. Albeit neither have I comprehended all which were molested thorow all the Parishes of *London*, neither again did this rigorous Inquisition so cease within the precincts of this City only, but also extended further to *Salisbury*, *Norfolk*, *Lincoln*, and through all other Shires and quarters of the Realm; so that whereas any Popish Prelate most bare stroke, there most persecution increased. The Bishop of *Lincoln* the same time was *John Longland*, and Doctor *Dracot* his Chancellor. Of whose rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His ready diligence in all Popish quarrels as it never lacked before, so now in the execution of these six Articles it was not far behind: in whose Diocese divers good Men and Women, namely, about *Buckingham* and *Amersham*, and quarters thereabouts, were grievously disquieted, appearing yet in the same register; as one.

Be Rogish Lincoln.

Elinore Godfrey.

Of great Marlow.

For laughing and speaking certain words against one *Thomas Collard*, who, like a Pope-holy Hypocrite in the Church of *Marlow*, used at Mass time to crouch behind the Children, and when the Priest crossed his head with the saucer (as he termed it) he would cross his head likewise. And for these words he was convented before the Bishop, and miserably vexed.

W. Hart.

Of great Brickhill.

For saying these words; Thinketh thou that God Almighty will abide over a knave Priests head?

Christopher Erle

Of Risborough.

Because he did no reverence unto the Sacrament coming to the Church; and for looking upon his book at the time of Elevation; and that he would not come to see the Elevation, &c. Item, as he was working upon a piece of Fustian on an holy day, and being asked why he kept not the holy day, he answered, That was no work, and that it was better to do that, than to sit at the Alehouse drinking drunk.

W. Fastendich.

Of Wooburn.

For speaking certain words against the Sacrament of the Altar, and because he believed not that it was the very Body of Christ.

W. Garland.

Of West Wycombe.

William Garland, talking of extream Unction, said that those things were godly signs, but there were but two Sacraments, &c.

W. Web.

Because he set the Image of a headless Bear in the Tabernacle of S. *Roke*.

Thomas Bernard *and* James Morton, *Martyrs.*

The Bernard, Jame. Martyrs.

ABout the same time *John Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, burned two upon one day, the one named *Thomas Bernard*, and the other *James Morton*: the one for teaching the Lords Prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of Saint *James* translated into English.

In *Oxford* also the same time, or much thereabout, recanted one Master *Barber*, Master of Art of that University, a man excellently learned. Who being called up to *Lambeth* before the Archbishop *Thomas Cranmer*, was in his Examination so stout in the cause of the Sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them which yet be alive, and were present thereat) neither *Cranmer* himself, nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of *Augustine*. Wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the Archbishop, with the residue of his company were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding, by compulsion of the time and danger of the six Articles, at last he relented, and returning again to *Oxford* was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but ware away. *Ex testimonio Rad. Moris.*

The Recantation of M. Barber at Oxford.

A merry and pleasant narration, touching a false fearful imagination of fire, raised among the Doctors and Maisers of Oxford *in Saint* Maries Church, *at the recantation of Maister* Malary M. *of Art of* Cambridge.

THis Recantation of Master *Barber* aforesaid, in the Univerity of *Oxford*, bringeth me in remembrance of another Recantation likewise, happening not long before in the said University, which I thought here not to overpass, and namely, for that the same carrieth with a merry ridiculous spectacle, not unworthy to be remembred, and here to be inserted, somewhat to recreate and refresh by the way the weary mind of the Reader, after so many bloody and lamentable stories, executions, recantations, and tragedies above passed. The story is this.

There was one Master *Malarie*, Master of Art of *Cambridge*, Scholar of *Christs Colledge*, who for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the Catholick Determination of holy Mother Church of *Rome*, that is, for the right truth of Christs Gospel, was convented before the Bishops, and in the end sent to *Oxford*, there openly to recant, and to bear his fagot, to the terror of the Students of that University. The time and place was appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into Saint *Maries Church* upon a *Sunday*, where a great number of the Head Doctors and Divines, and other of the University were together Assembled; beside a great multitude of Citizens and Town-dwellers, which came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual Sermon, for the holding up of the Mother Church of *Rome*, Doctor *Smith*, reader then of the Divinity Lecture, was appointed to make the Sermon at this Recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this Sermon there was assembled a mighty Audience of all sorts of degrees as well of Students as other. Few almost were absent which loved to hear or see any news: Insomuch that there was no place almost in the whole Church which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

The Recantation of Malarie, Master of Arte of Cambridge, who for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the Catholick Determination of holy Mother Church of *Rome*, that is, for the right truth of Christs Gospel, was convented before the Bishops, and in the end sent to *Oxford*, there openly to recant, and to bear his fagot, to the terror of the Students of that University. The time and place was appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into Saint *Maries Church* upon a *Sunday*, where a great number of the Head Doctors and Divines, and other of the University were together Assembled; beside a great multitude of Citizens and Town-dwellers, which came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual Sermon, for the holding up of the Mother Church of *Rome*, Doctor *Smith*, reader then of the Divinity Lecture, was appointed to make the Sermon at this Recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this Sermon there was assembled a mighty Audience of all sorts of degrees as well of Students as other. Few almost were absent which loved to hear or see any news: Insomuch that there was no place almost in the whole Church which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

Malary brought into S. Maries Church with his fagot.

Doctor Smith Preached at the Recantation of Malary.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, cometh forth *Malarie* with his Fagot upon his shoulder. Not long after also proceedeth the Doctor into the Pulpit, to make his Sermon, the purpose and Argument whereof was wholly upon the Sacrament. The which Doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy Catholick Cake, and the Sacrament of the Altar, there to hang by a string before him in the Pulpit. Thus the Doctor with his God Almighty, entring his Godly Sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof, the People giving great silence, with all Reverence unto his Doctrine, but suddenly was heard into the Church the voice of one crying in the Street, Fire, fire. The party which thus cried first in the Street was called *Hensiter*. The occasion was this, for that he coming from *Allhallows Parish* saw a Chimney on fire, and to passing in the Street by Saint *Maries Church*, cried Fire, fire, as the fashion is, meaning no hurt.

The Sacrament of the Altar brought into the Pulpit.

A masse making Doctor dumb. Audience in Oxford.

This found of Fire being heard in the Church, first of them which stood outermost next to the Church door, so encreased and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the Doctors, and at last to the Preacher himself. Who as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marvelling what the matter should mean, began to look up into the top of the Church, and to behold the Walls. The residue seeing them look up, looked up also. Then began they in the midst of the Audience to cry out with a loud Voice, Fire, fire. Where fore one? Where saith another. In the Church, saith one. The mention of the Church was scarcely pronounced, when as in one moment there was a common cry amongst them, the Church is on Fire, the Church is on Fire by Heretick, &c. And albeit no man

Saint Maries Church in Oxford falsely supposed to be set on fire by Heretick.

did

did see any fire at all, yet forasmuch as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse and tumult of people, through the whole Church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

Deluded or fooled. We are great Clerks how they are deceived sometimes in small trifles.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indeed) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles on burning: so here upon a small occasion of one mans word kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion running in every mans head within the Church, thinking the Church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders, that is, that these great Doctors and wise men of the Schools, which think themselves so wise in Gods matters as though they could not err, should see by their own sences and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were in these so small matters and sensible trifles.

What strong imagination can do in deluding mans Senses.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the Church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard encreased this suspition in them, to make it seem most true, which was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this suspition, was the Heretick there bearing his Fagot, which gave them to imagine that all other Hereticks had conspired with him to set the Church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it shewed as it had been the smoke of fire. Which thing, together with the outcry of the people; made all men so afraid, that leaving the Sermon, they began all together to run away. But such was the preſs of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the leſs they could get out. For whilſt they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man ſtriving to get out firſt, they thruſt one another in ſuch ſort, and ſtuck ſo faſt, that they which were without, neither could get into the Church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So the one door being ſtopped, they ran to another little wicket on the North-ſide, toward the College called *Bruſen-noſe*, thinking ſo to paſs out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people cluſtering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many into their end, by bruiſing of their Bones or Sides. There was yet another door towards the Weſt, which albeit it was ſhut and feldom opened; yet now ran they to it with ſuch fury, that the great bar of Iron (which is incredible to be ſpoken) being pulled out and broken by force of mens hands, the door notwithſtanding could not be opened for the preſs or multitude of people.

Much hurt done in the throng, whereof some died, some yet are alive whole. Mothers arms were there broken.

At the laſt, when they were there alſo paſt all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the Hereticks which had conſpired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more ſmoke and duſt roſe in the Church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never ſuch a tumultuous hurly burly riſing ſo of nothing heard of before, nor ſo great a fear where was no cauſe to fear, nor peril at all: ſo that if *Democritus* the merry Philoſopher ſitting in the top of the Church, and ſeeing all things in ſuch ſafety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden ſo great a number, ſome howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad men, now hither now thither, as being toſſed to and fro with Waves or Tempeſts, trembling and quaking, raging and raving, without any manifeſt cauſe, ſpecially if he had ſeen thoſe great Rabbins the Doctors laden with ſo many badges or cogniſances of wiſdom, ſo fooliſhly and ridiculouſly ſeeking holes and corners to hide themſelves in, gaſping, breathing, and ſweating, and for very horror being almoſt beſide themſelves. I think he would have ſatisfied himſelf with this one laughter for all his life time, or elſe rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilſt one ſaid that he plainly heard the noiſe of the fire, another affirmed that he ſaw it with his eyes, and another ſware that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and ſhoulders. Such is the force of Imagination, when it is once graſted in mens hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himſelf more modeſtly than the Heretick that was there to do Penance; who caſting his fagot off from his ſhoulders upon a Monks head that ſtood by, kept himſelf quiet, minding to take ſuch part as the other did.

Democritus was a Philoſopher which uſed to laugh at all things, as Heraclitus uſed to weep at all things.

Some fry that the Monks had was broken with them.

All the other, being careful for themſelves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earneſtly than the Doctor that preached (who was, as I ſaid, Doctor *Smith*) who in manner firſt of all cried out in the Pulpit, ſaying, Theſe are the trains and ſubtilties of the Hereticks againſt me: Lord have mercy upon me, Lord have mercy upon me. But might not God, as it had been (to ſpeak with *Job*) out of a Whirlwind, have anſwered again unto this Preacher thus, Thou doſt now implore my mercy, but thou thy ſelf ſheweſt no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren. How doth thy fleſh tremble now at the mention of fire? But think it a ſport to burn other ſimple Innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning ſeem ſo grievous a matter unto you, and to ſuffer a torment of fire; then you ſhould alſo have the like conſideration in other mens perils and dangers, when as you do burn your fellows and brethren.

Job 40.

Proſopopeia.

Or if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go too now, do you alſo with like courage contemn, and with like patience ſuffer now the ſame torments your ſelves. And if ſo be it I ſhould now ſuffer you with the whole Church to be burned to aſhes, what other thing ſhould I do unto you, than you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore ſince you ſo little eſteem the death of others, be now content that other men ſhould alſo little regard the death of you. With this, I ſay, or with ſome other like anſwer, if that either God, or humane Charity, either the common ſenſe of nature would expoſtulate with them, yea if there had been a fire indeed (as they were more feared then hurt) who would have doubted but that it had happened unto them according to their deſerts? But now worthy it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of thoſe Catholicks either was deluded, or how their cruelty was reproved, whereby they, being better taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, which they themſelves here ſo much abhorred.

A juſt expoſtulation againſt thoſe burners of Godlyeople

A good warning for the Papiſts to know what burning meaneth.

But to return again to the deſcription of this Pageant, wherein (as I ſaid before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in ſuch fear, as if preſent death had been over their heads.

In all this great maze and garboyl there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this ſudden terror and fear, which took from them all Reaſon and Counſel out of their minds, to behold what practiſes and ſundry ſhifts every man made for himſelf, it would make not only *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* alſo to laugh, but rather a Horſe welnear to break his halter. But none uſed themſelves more ridiculouſly, than ſuch as ſeemed greateſt wiſe men, ſaving that in one or two peradventure ſomwhat more quietneſs of mind appeared. Among whom was one *Claymond* preſident of *Corpus Chriſti Colledge* (whom for reverence and learnings ſake I do here name) and a few other aged perſons with him, which for their age and weakneſs durſt not thruſt themſelves into the throng amongſt the reſt, but kneeled down quietly before the high Altar, committing themſelves and their lives unto the Sacrament. The other, which were younger and ſtronger, ran up and down through the preſs, marvelling at the uncivility of men, and waxt angry with the unmannerly multitude that would give no room unto the Doctors, Bachelors, Maſters, and other Graduates and Regent Maſters. But as the terror and fear was common unto all men, ſo was there no difference made of Perſons or Degrees, every man ſcambling for himſelf. The Violet Cap, or Purple Gown did there nothing avail the Dr. neither the Maſters Hood nor the Monks Coul was there reſpected.

Claymonds Preſident of Corpus Chriſti Colledge.

Yea if the King or Queen had been there at that preſent and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long ſtriven and aſſayed all manner of ways and ſaw no remedy, neither by force, neither authority to prevail, they fell to intreating and of-

fering of rewards, one offering twenty pound, another his ſcarlet gown, ſo that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears.

Some ſtood cloſe unto the pillars, thinking themſelves ſafe under the Vaults of Stone for the dropping of the lead. Otherſome, being without money and unprovided of all ſhifts, knew not which way to turn them. One being a Preſident of a certain Colledge (whoſe name I need not here to utter) pulling a board out from the pues, covered his head and ſhoulders therewith againſt the ſcalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the Church. Now what a laughter would this have miniſtred unto *Democritus* amongſt other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who ſeeing the doors ſtopped and every way cloſed up, thought by another com pendious means to get out through a glaſs Window if it might be by any ſhift? But here the Iron Grates letted him, notwithſtanding his greedy mind would needs attempt if he could happily bring his purpoſe to paſs. When he had broken the glaſs, and was come to the ſpace between the Grates where he ſhould creep out, firſt he thruſt in his head with the one ſhoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other ſhoulder after, but there was a great labour about that, and long he ſtuck by the ſhoulders with much ado. For what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten. But by what part of his Body he did ſtick faſt, I am not certain, neither may I ſain, forſomuch as there be yet witneſſes which did ſee theſe things, which would correct me if I ſhould ſo do. Notwithſtanding this is moſt certain that he did ſtick faſt between the Grates, and could neither get out nor in.

A boy got into a Monks Coul.

Thus this good man being indeed a Monk, and having but ſhort hoſe, by the which way he ſuppoſed ſooneſt to eſcape, by the ſame he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For if the fire or lead had fallen on the outſide, thoſe parts which did hang out of the Window had been in danger; and contrariwiſe if the flame had raged within the Church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did ſtick faſt in the windows, ſo did the reſt ſtick as faſt in the doors, that ſooner they might have been burned, than they could once ſtir or move one foot. Through the which preſs at the laſt there was a way found, that ſome going over their heads gat out.

Plenо ridet Calphurnian os Horæ.

Here alſo happened another Pageant in a certain Monk (if I be not miſadviſed) of *Gloceſter Colledge*, whereat *Calphurnius* might well laugh with an open Mouth. So it hapned, that there was a young lad in this Tumult, who ſeeing the doors faſt ſtopped with the preſs or multitude, and that he had not way to get out climbed up upon the door, and there ſtaying upon the top of the door was forced to tarry ſtill. For to come down into the Church again he durſt not for fear of the fire, and to leap down toward the ſtreet he could not without danger of falling. When he had terried there a while, he adviſed himſelf what to do; neither did occaſion want to ſerve his purpoſe. For by chance, amongſt them that got out over mens heads, he ſaw a Monk coming towards him which had a great wide Coule hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occaſion for him to eſcape by. When the Monk came near unto him, the boy which was on the top of the door came down and prettily conveighed himſelf into the Monks Coul, thinking (as it came to paſs indeed) that if the Monk did eſcape, he ſhould alſo get out with him. To be brief, at the laſt the Monk gat out over Mens heads, with the boy in his Coul, and for a great while felt no weight or burthen.

At the laſt, when he was ſomewhat more come to himſelf, and, did ſhake his ſhoulders, feeling his coul heavier then it was accuſtomed to be, and alſo hearing the voice of one ſpeaking behind in his Coul, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking in very deed, that the evil ſpirit which had ſet the Church on fire had flien in his Coul. By and by he began to play the Exorciſt; in the Name of God (ſaid he) and all Saints, I command thee to declare what thou art that art behind at my back. To whom the boy anſwered, Iam *Bertrams* boy (ſaid he) for that was his Name. But I (ſaid the Monk) adjure thee in the Name of the unſeparable Trinity, that thou wicked ſpirit do tell me who thou art, from whence thou comeſt, and that thou get hence. I am *Bertrams* boy (ſaid he,) good maſter let me go: and with that his Coul began with the weight to crack upon his ſhoulders. The Monk when he perceived the matter, took the boy out and diſcharged his Coul. The boy took his legs and ran away as faſt as he could.

Among other, one wiſer than the reſt ran with the Church door key, beating upon the ſtone walls, thinking therewith to break an hole thorow to eſcape out.

In the mean time thoſe that were in the ſtreet looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this ſudden outrage, and made ſighs and tokens to them that were in the Church to keep themſelves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But forſomuch as no word could be heard by reaſon of the noiſe that was within the Church, thoſe ſigns made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the Church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they ſhould rather tarry ſtill within the Church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the ſpace of certain hours.

The next day, and alſo all the week following there was an incredible number of Bills ſet upon the Church doors, to inquire for things that were loſt, in ſuch variety and number, as *Democritus* might here again have juſt cauſe to laugh. If any man have found a pair of Shoes yeſterday in S. *Mary Church*, or knoweth any man that hath found them, &c. Another Bill was ſet up for a Gown that was loſt. Another intreated to have his Cap reſtored. One loſt his purſe and girdle with certain money; another his ſword. One inquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be ſhort, there was few in this garboil, but that either through negligence loſt, or through oblivion leſt ſome thing behind them.

Thus have you hitherto heard a Tragical Story of a terrible fire which did no hurt. The deſcription whereof although it be not ſo perfectly expreſſed according to the worthineſs of the matter, yet becauſe it was not to be paſſed with ſilence, we have ſuperficially ſet forth ſome ſhadow thereof, whereby the wiſe and diſcreet may ſufficiently conſider the reſt, if any thing elſe be lacking in ſetting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the Heretick, becauſe he had not done his ſufficient Penance there by occaſion of this hurly burly, thereof the next day following he was reclaimed into the Church of Saint *Frideſwide*, where he ſupplied the reſt that lacked of his Plenary penance.

The fourth and fifth Marriage of King Henry *the eighth.*

Anno 1541.

THe ſame year and month next following, after the apprehenſion of the Lord *Cromwel*, which was *Ann* 1541. the King immediately was divorced from the Lady *Ann* of *Cleve*. The cauſe of which ſeparation being wholly committed to the Clergy of the Convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the King being freed from that pretenſed Matrimony (as they called it) might marry where he would, and ſo might ſhe likewiſe; who alſo conſenting to the ſame divorcement her ſelf, by her own Letters, was after that taken no more for Queen, but only called *Ann* of *Cleve*. Which things thus diſcuſſed by the Parliament and Convocation-houſe, the King the ſame Month was married to his fifth Wife, which was the Lady *Katherine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Daughter to the Lord *Edmund Howard* the Dukes Brother. But his marriage likewiſe continued not long.

Auguſt. The Lady Ann of Cleve divorced from the King.

The King permitted to marry after his divorce.

The King married to the Lady Katherine his fifth Wife.

In the ſame Month of *Auguſt*. and the ſame year, I find moreover in ſome Records, beſides the four and twenty chapter houſe Monks above recited, whom Cope doth ſanctifie for holy Martyrs, for ſuffering in the Popes Devotion, againſt the Kings Supremacy, other ſix which were alſo brought to *Tyborn* and there executed in the like caſe of Rebellion. Of whom the firſt was the Prior of *Doncaſter*; the ſecond a Monk of the *Charterhouſe* of *London*, called *Giles Horn*, ſome call him *William Horn*; the third one *Thomas Iſpam* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, who had his Monks Garment pluckt from his

Six Popiſh Monks for denying the Kings Supremacy executed.

his back, being the last Monk in King *Henries* days that did wear that Monkish weed; the fourth one *Philpot*; the fifth one *Carew*; the sixth was a Frier. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blind Superstition once rooted in Mans Heart by a little custom.

Anno 1542.

Now as touching the late marriage between the King and the Lady *Howard*, ye heard how this Matrimony indured not long; for in the year next following 1542. the said Lady *Katherine* was accused to the King of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with *Francis Dereham*, but also of spousebreach, after her marriage, with *Thomas Culpeper*. For the which both the men aforesaid by Act of Parliament were attainted and executed for high Treason, and also the Lady *Katherine*, late Queen, with the Lady *Jane Rochford* Widow, late Wife to *George Boleyne* Lord *Rochford*, Brother to Queen *Ann Boleyne*, were beheaded for their deserts within the *Tower*. *Ex Hallo & aliis.*

It is reported of some, that this Lady *Rochford* forged a false Letter against her Husband and Q. Anne his sister, by the which they were both cast away: which, if it be so the judgment of God then is here to be marked.

After the death and punishment of this Lady his fifth Wife, the King calling to remembrance the words of the Lord *Cromwel*, and misling now more and more his old Counsellour, and partly also dwelling somewhat the ways of *Winchester*, began a little to set his foot again in the Cause of Religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the Life of *Cranmer*) yet now the more he misled the Lord *Cromwel*, the more he inclined to the Archbishop, and also to the right cause of Religion. And therefore in the same year and in the Month of *October*, after the Execution of this Queen, the King understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about Pilgrimages and Idolatry, and other things more besides to be corrected within his Dominions, directed his Letters unto the foresaid Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for the speedy redress and reformation of the same. The tenour of which Letters hereafter fully ensueth, in these words.

The King minding Reformation of Religion.

The Kings Letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatry.

The Kings Letters to the Archbishop for reforming of Idolatry.

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we did not only cause the Images and Bones of such as they reverred and offered unto, with the Ornaments of the same, and all such Writings and Monuments of fained Miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of the Realm, but also by our Injunctions commanded that no offering or setting up of Tights or candles should be suffered in any Church, but only to the blessed Sacraments of the Altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the Shrines, coverings of Shrines, and Monuments of those things do yet remain in sundry places of this Realm, much to the slander of our Doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our Subjects to their former Hypocrisie and Superstition, and also that our Injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy Reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our Letters expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receit hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the Cathedral Church for those things, and if any Shrine, covering of Shrine, Table, Monument of Miracles, or other Pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away, as there remain no memory of it, but also that you shall take order with all the Curates, and other having charge within your Diocess to do the semblable, and to see that our Injunctions be duly kept, as apperteineth without failing, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

Shrines and Monuments of Idolatry abolished by the King.

Given under our Signet at our Town of *Hull*, the fourth day of *October* in the 33. year of our Reign.

Furthermore, the next year after this ensuing, which was 1543. in the Month of *February*, followed another Proclamation given out by the Kings Authority, wherein the Popes Law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in *Lent*, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behoof of the Kings Subjects. The Copy of which Proclamation I thought here good also to be remembred.

A Proclamation concerning eating of white meats, made the ninth of *February*, the 34. year of the Reign of the Kings most Royal Majesty.

Anno 1543.

The eating of white meats in Lent set at liberty.

For as much as by divers and sundry occasions, as well Herrings, Lings, Saltfish, Salmond, Stockfish, as other kinds of Fish have been this year scant & all so inhaunsed in prices above the old rate and common estimation of their value, so that if the Kings loving Subjects should be inforced only to buy and provide Herring and other salt store of Fish for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maintenance of their household and families all this holy times of Lent, according as they have been wont in times past to do, and should not be by some other convenient means relieved therein, the same might and should undoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detriment; and forasmuch as his Highness considereth how this kind and manner of fasting, that is to say to abstain from Milk, Butter, Eggs, Cheese, and other white meats, is but a mere positive Law of the Church, and used by a Custom within this Realm, and of none other force or necessity, but the same may be upon considerations and grounds altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the publick Authority of Kings and Princes, whensoever they shall perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: The Kings Highness therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the Wealth and Commodity of his people, both thought good for the considerations above rehearsed, to release and dispence with the said Law and Custom of abstaining from white meats this holy time of Lent, and of his especial grace and meer motion giveth and granteth unto all and singular his Subjects within this his Realm of England, Wales, Calez, Guisnes, and Hammes, and in all other his Graces Dominions, free liberty, faculty and licence, to eat all manner of white meats, as Milk, Eggs, Butter, Cheese, and such like, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of Conscience, any Law, Constitution, Use, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Wherein nevertheless his Highness exhorteth, and in the Name of God requireth all such his Faithful Subjects, as may, will, or shall enjoy this his said grant or faculty, that they be in no wise scrupulous or doubtful thereof, nor abuse or turn the same into a fleshly or carnal liberty, but rather endeavour themselves to their possible powers, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to observe also that fast which God must specially requireth of them, that is to say, to renounce the World and the Devil, with all their pomps and works, and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their Vow and Profession made at the font stone, for in these points especially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian Man; thus to indure and continue from year to year, till the Kings Highness pleasure shall by his Majesties Proclamation be published to the contrary.

The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor-men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Person, *and* John Marbeck, *persecuted for Righteousness sake, and for the Gospel.*

COming now to the Story and time of the four *Windsor* Men troubled and persecuted for the true Testimony of Gods Word, whereof three were Martyred and Sacrificed in Fire, the fourth (which was *Marbeck*) had his Pardon: First I have to shew the original of their troubles in several parts, secondly the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was *Anno* 1544. Thirdly, to answer partly in purgation of my self, against certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleasure in railing against my former Edition of Acts and Monuments, for mistaking the name of *Marbeck*, whom in one place I reported to have been burned, albeit in the end of the Story, correcting my self again I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore to stop the brawling mouths of such quarrellers, I thought here

Anno 1544.

here to set forth the full Narration, both of the said *Marbeck* and of his Fellows, in truth, as I trust none of them shall have just cause to quarrel thereat.

The Original of Testwoods *trouble.*

Persecutors.	*Persons persecuted.*
Mr. *Ely.*	*Robert Testwood.* *Henry Filmer.* *Anthony Pearsom.* *John Marbeck.* *Robert Benet.* Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Wife. Sir *Thomas Cardine* and his Wife. Mr. *Edmund Harman.* Mr. *Thomas Weldon.* *Sneball* and his Wife, of the Kings Chamber.
Dr. *London.*	Dr. *Crosses* Dean of *Exeter.* At *Windsor*, Anno 1544.

The Causes.

The first beginning of Testwoods trouble.

IN the Year of our Lord 1544. there was one *Robert Testwood* dwelling in the City of *London*, who for his knowledge in Musick had so great a name, that the Musicians in *Windsor* Colledge thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they enformed Doctor *Sampson* (being then their Dean) of him. But forsomuch as some of the Canons had at that time heard of *Testwood*, how that he smelled of the new Learning (as they called it) it would not be consented unto at the first. Notwithstanding, with often sute of the foresaid Musicians, made to one Doctor *Tate* (who, being half a Musician himself, bare a great stroke in such matters) a room being void, *Testwood* was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the Quire men, he was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after setled in *Windsor*, with his Houshold, and had in good estimation with the Dean and Canons a great while: but when they had perceived him by his often talk at their Tables (for he could not well dissemble his Religion) that he leaned to *Luthers* Sect, they began to mislike him. And so passing forth among them, it was his chance one day to be at Dinner with one of the Canons, named Doctor *Rawson*. At the which Dinner, among all other, was one of King *Edwards* four Chantry Priests, named Mr. *Ely*, an old Batchelor of Divinity. Which *Ely* in his talk at the Board began to rail against Lay-men, which took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English Tongue) then they which had been Students in the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* all the days of their lives. Then *Testwood*, perceiving he meant that by him, could forbear his railing no longer, but said, Mr. *Ely*, by your patience, I think it be no hurt for Lay-men, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures.

Which of you (quoth *Ely*) that be unlearned, knoweth them, or understandeth them? S. *Paul* saith, *If*

Persecutors.	*Persons persecuted, and the Causes.*
Mr. *Facbel* of *Reding.*	*thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink, and in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.* Now Sir, quoth *Ely*, what meaneth S. *Paul* by those coals of fire? *Marry* Sir, quoth *Testwood*, he meaneth nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning Charity, that by doing good to our Enemies we should thereby win them. Ah sirra, quoth he, you are an old Scholar indeed.
Bucklayer the Kings Attorney	After this they fell into further communication of the Pope, whose Supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the Parliament House as it was. And in their talk *Ely* demanded of *Testwood*, Whether the Pope ought to be Head of their Church, or no? Against the which *Testwood* durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But when they were both well stricken in an heat, *Testwood* forgetting himself, chanced to say, That every King, in his own Realm and Dominion, ought to be the Head of the Church under Christ. At the which words *Ely* was so chafed, that he rose up from the Table in a great fume, calling him Heretick, and all that naught was, and so went brawling, and chiding away to the great disquieting of all the Company that were there.
Filmers Brother.	
Hide, a Jurate dwelling beside *Abington.*	
Robert Ockham a Lawyer.	

Every King in his own Realm and Church is Head under Christ.

Then was *Testwood* very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously. Whereupon after Dinner he went and fought Mr. *Ely*, and found him walking in the Body of the Church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so to have been at one again; but ever as *Testwood* pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but spit at him; saying to others that walked by, Beware of this Fellow, for he is the greatest Heretick and Schismatick that ever came in *Windsor*.

Now began the matter to brew. For after that *Ely* had made his Complaint to the Deans Deputy, and other of the Canons, they were all against *Testwood*, purposing surely at the Deans coming home (if all things had chanced even) to have put him to his trump. But see the fortune, It was not twelve days after, e're that the Kings Supremacy passed in the Parliament House. Whereupon the Dean (Dr. *Sampson*) came home suddenly in the night late, and forthwith sent his Verger about to all the Canons, and Ministers of the Colledge, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the *Charter-house* by eight of the Clock in the morning. Then *Ely* consulted with the Canons overnight (as late as it was) and thought on the next day to have put *Testwood* to a great plunge: *But he that layeth a snare for another man, saith Solomon, shall be taken in it himself.* And so was *Ely*. For when the Dean, and every man were come and placed in the *Chapter House*, and that the Dean had commended the Ministers of the Church for their diligence in tending the Quire, exhorting them also to continue in the same; he began, contrary to every mans expectation, to inveigh against the Bishop of *Romes* Supremacy and usurped Authority, confounding the same by manifest Scriptures and probable Reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the Parliament House, the Popes Supremacy was utterly abolished out of this Realm of *England* for ever, and so commanded every man there, upon his Allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but Bishop of *Rome*, and whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his Cause by any manner of means, he should not only lose the benefit of that House, but be reputed as an utter

The first news of the Kings Supremacy brought to Windsor.

Testwood removed into Windsor.

Mr. Ely Precentor.

enemy to God, and to the King. The Canons hearing this, were all stricken in a dump. Yet notwithstanding *Elies* heart was so great, that he would fain have uttered his cankared stomach against *Testwood:* but the Dean (breaking his tale) called him old Fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the Dean commanded all the Popes Pardons which hanged about the Church to be brought into the *Chapter House*, and caft into the *Chimney*, and burnt before all their faces, and so departed.

Mr. *Ely* thinking to complain of other, was called fool for his labour.

Another cause of Testwoods *trouble.*

Another trouble of *Testwood.*

AS it chanced *Testwood* one day to walk in the Church at Afternoon, and beheld the Pilgrims, specially of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, how they came in by Plumps without Candles and Images of Wax in their hands, to offer to good King *Henry* of *Windsor*, as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great Idolatry committed, and how vainly the People had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old Hat set upon their Heads; insomuch that he could not refrain, but (seeing a certain company which had done their Offring, stand gazing about the Church) went unto them, and with all gentleneſs began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb Creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright, putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his People for running a whoring to such Stocks and Stones, and so would plague them and their Posterity, if they would not leave it.

Idolatry to King Henry of Windsor.

Testwood dehorteth the people from Idolatry.

After this sort he admonished them so long, till at last his words, as God would, took such place in some of them, that they said they never would go a Pilgrimage more. Then he went further, and found another sort licking and kissing a white Lady made of Alablaster, which Image was mortreſt in a wall behind the high Altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging Apples and Flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the Image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their heads and faces, as though there had been great vertue in touching the Picture, he up with his hand, in the which he had a Key, and smote a piece of the border about the Image, down, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to break off the Images nose. Lo, good People (quoth he) you see what it is, nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help it self, and how then will you have it to help you? For Gods sake, Brethren, be no more deceived. And so he gat him home to his House, for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the Image how it was defaced. And among all other, came one *William Simons* a Lawyer, who seeing the Image so be- raied, and to lack her nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the Pavement, he spied the Images nose where it lay, which he took up and put in his Purse, saying it should be a dear nose to *Testwood* one day.

Idolatry to an Image of a white Lady made of Alablaster in Windsor.

Testwood defaceth the Image.

W. *Simons* a perfecutor. O blind Popery to seek the death of a living man, for the nose of a dead stock.

Now were many offended with *Testwood*, the Canons for speaking against their profit, the Wax-sellers for hindering their Market, and *Simons* for the Images nose. And more then that, there were of the Canons men that threatned to hill him. Whereupon *Testwood* kept his House, and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter in writing by his Wife, to Mr. *Cromwel* the Kings Secretary, who was his special Friend. The Canons hearing that *Testwood* would send to *Cromwel*, they sent the Verger unto him, to will him The Papists of Windsor afraid of Cromwel. to come to the Church; who sent them word again that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldeſt Petty Canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, That he had no such truſt in their promises, but would complain to his Friends. Then wiſt they not what shift to make, for of all men they feared *Cromwel*, but sent in poſt haſte for old Mr. *Ward*, a Justice of Peace, dwelling three The Canons of Windsor glad to fall in again with Testwood. or four miles off, who being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to *Testwood*, and had much ado to perſwade him, but at the laſt he did faithfully promiſe him, by the Oath he had made to God and the King, to defend him from all danger and harms, that *Testwood* was content to go with him.

And when Mr. *Ward* and *Testwood* were come into Testwood in danger of his life. the Church, and were going toward the *Chapter House*, where the Canons abode their coming, one of the Canons men drew his dagger at *Testwood*, and would have been upon him, but Mr. *Ward* with his man refiſted, and got *Testwood* into the *Chapter House*, causing the Serving-man to be called in, and sharply rebuked of their Maſters, who strictly commanded them upon pain of losing their service, and further displeaſure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now *Testwood*, being alone in the *Chapter House* with the Canons and Mr. *Ward*, was gently entreated, and the matter so pacified, that *Testwood* might quietly come and go to the Church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Another Cause of Testwoods *trouble.*

Another cause of *Testwoods* trouble. The Beskets Ketcher. made a Relick.

UPon a Relick Sunday (as they named it) when every Minister after their old custom ſhould have born a Relick in his hand about a Proceſſion, one was brought to *Testwood*. Which Relick, as they ſaid, was a Rochet of Bishop *Beckets*. And as the Sexton would have put the Rochet in *Testwoods* hands, he puſhed it from him, saying, if he did give it to him, he would wipe his tail withal, and so the Rochet was given to another. Then came the Verger down from the high Altar with S. *Georges* Dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a Relick. Marry, quoth *Testwood*, give it to Mr. *Hake*, who ſtood next him, for he is a pretty man of his hands, and so the Dagger was given unto him. Now *Testwood* perceiving the Dagger in Mr. *Hake's* hand, and being merrily diſpoſed (as he was a merry conceited man) ſtepped forth out of his place to Dr. *Clifton*, ſtanding directly before him in the midſt of the Quire, with a glorious golden Cope upon his back, having the Pix in his hand, and ſaid, Sir, Mr. *Hake* hath S. *Georges* Dagger. Now if he had his Horſe, and S. *Martins* Cloak, and Mr. *John Shorns* boots, with King *Henries* Spurs, and his Hat, he might ride when he would, and ſo ſtepped into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wiſt not what to say.

S. *Georges* Dagger made a Relick.

Another Cause of Testwoods *Trouble.*

IN the days of Mr. *Franklen*, who ſucceeded Doctor *Sampſon* in the Deanery of *Windſor*, there was on a time ſet up at the Quire door a certain fooliſh printed Paper in Meeter, all to the praiſe and commendation of our Lady, aſcribing unto her our Juſtification, our Salvation, our Redemption, the Forgiveneſs of Sins, &c. to the great derogation of Chriſt. Which Paper, one of the Canons, called Mr. *Magnus* (as it was reported) cauſed to be ſet up in deſpite of *Testwood* and his Sect. When *Testwood* ſaw this Paper, he plucket it down ſecretly. The next day after was another ſet up in the ſame place. Then *Testwood* coming into the Church, and ſeeing another Paper ſet up, and alſo the Dean coming a little way off, made haſte to be at the Quire door, while the Dean ſtaid to take holy Water, and reaching up his hand as he went, plucket away the Paper with him. The Dean, being come to his Stall, called *Testwood* unto him, and ſaid, That he marvelled greatly how he durſt be ſo bold to take down the Paper in his preſence? *Testwood* anſwered again, That he marvelled much more, that his Maſterſhip would ſuffer ſuch a blaſphemous Paper to be ſet up, beſeeching him not to be offended with that he had done, for he would ſtand unto it. So Maſter Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no more Papers ſet up, but poor *Testwood* was eaten and drunken amongſt them at every meal, and an Heretick he was, and would roſt a Pagot for this geer one day.

Mr. Franklen Dean of Windsor. Blaſphemy and Idolatry to our Lady.

Testwood tareth down the blaſphemous Paper.

Now Mr. *Magnus* being ſore offended with *Testwood* for plucking down his Papers, to be revenged on him, deviſed with the Dean and the reſt of the Canons, to ſend their Letters to Dr. *Chamber*, one of their Brethren, and the Kings Phyſician, who lay, for the moſt part, at the Court, to ſee what he would do againſt *Testwood*. Testwood.

M. Magnus magnus Idolatres. Conſpiracy of the Prieſts of Windſor againſt

Which Letters being made, were ſent with ſpeed. But whatſoever the cauſe was, whether he durſt not meddle for fear of *Cromwel*, or what elſe, I cannot tell, their ſute came to none effect. Then wiſt they not what to do, but determined to let the matter ſleep, till S. *Georges* Feaſt, which was not far off.

Now in the mean time there chanced a pretty ſtory, between one *Robert Philips*, Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and *Testwood*. Which ſtory, though it was but a merry prank of a ſinging man, yet it gried his Adverſary wonderfully. The matter was this: *Robert Philips* was ſo notable a ſinging man (wherein he gloried) that wherefoever he came, the beſt and longeſt Song, with moſt Counterverſes in it, ſhould be ſet up at his coming. And ſo his chance being now to be at *Windſor*, againſt his coming to the Anthem, a long Song was ſet up, called *Lauda vivi*. In which Song there was one Counterverſe toward the end, that began on this wiſe, O *redemptrix & ſalvatrix*: Which verſe, of all other, *Robert Philips* would ſing, becauſe he knew that *Testwood* could not abide that Ditty. Now *Testwood* knowing his mind well enough, joyned with him on the other part: and when he heard *Robert Philips* begin to fetch his flouriſh with, O *redemptrix & ſalvatrix*, repeating the ſame one in anothers neck, *Testwood* was as quick on the other ſide to anſwer him again with *Non redemptrix, nec ſalvatrix*, and ſo ſtriving there with O and *Non*, who ſhould have the maſtery, they made an end of the verſe. Whereat was good laughing in ſleeves of ſome, but *Robert Philips* with other of *Testwoods* enemies, were ſore offended.

A blaſphemous Anthem, calling the Virgin Mary our Saviour and Redeemer. A merry contention between Robert Philips of the Kings Chappel, and Testwood, about O *Redemptrix*, & *non redemptrix*.

Within fourteen days after this, the Lords of the Garter (as there cuſtom is yearly to do) came to *Windſor* to keep S. *Georges* Feaſt, at which Feaſt the Duke of *Norfolk* was Preſident: unto whom the Dean and Canons made a grievous complaint on *Testwood*. Who being called before the Duke, he ſhook him up, and all to reviled him, as though he would have ſent him to hanging by and by. Yet nevertheleſs, *Testwood* ſo behaved himſelf to the Duke, that in the end he let him go without any further moleſting of him, to the great diſcomfort of the Dean and Canons.

Testwood complained of to the old Duke of Norfolk.

Here you have heard the cauſes which have moved *Testwoods* enemies to ſeek his deſtruction, and could not attain their purpoſe, till that wicked *Haman*, Dr. *London* came, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Proceſs following.

The Original of Henry Filmers *Trouble.*

Filmers trouble beginneth.

ABout the Year of our Lord, 1541. after all the Orders of ſuperſtitious and begging Friers were ſuppreſſed and put down, there chanced one Sir *Thomas Melſter*, which had been a Frier before, and changed his Friers Coat (but not his Friers heart) to be Vicar of *Windſor*. This Prieſt on a time made a Sermon to his Pariſhioners, in the which he declared ſo many fond and Friersih tales, as that our Lady ſhould hold out her Breaſts to S. *Bernard*, and ſpout her milk into his eyes, with ſuch like Feſtival Tales, that many honeſt men were offended therewith, and eſpecially this *Henry Filmer*, then one of the Churchwardens: who was ſo zealous to Gods Word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Chriſt ſo defaced with ſuperſtitious Fables. Whereupon he took an honeſt man or two with him, and went to the Prieſt, with whom he talked ſo honeſtly and ſo charitably, that in the end the Prieſt gave him hearty thanks, and was content at his gentle admonition to reform himſelf without any more ado, and ſo departed friendly the one from the other.

Frier Melſter Vicar of Windſor.

Our Lady ſpouting milk in S. Bernards eyes.

Now there was one in the Town, called *William Simons* a Lawyer (as is aforeſaid) who hearing that *Filmer* had been with the Prieſt, and reproved him for his Sermon, took Pepper in the Noſe, and got him to the Vicar, and did ſo animate him in his doing, that he ſlipped quite away from the promiſe he had made to *Filmer*, and followed the mind of *Simons*: who meeting with *Filmer* afterward, all to reviled him, ſaying, He would bring him before the Biſhop, to teach him to be ſo malapert. Then *Filmer* hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been ſuppreſſed, ſtood againſt *Simons*, and ſaid, That the Vicar had preached falſe and unſound Doctrine, and ſo would he ſay to the Biſhop whenſoever he came before him. Then *Simons* ſlipt not the matter, but went to the Maior, and procured of him and his Brethren a Letter, ſignified with their own hands in the Prieſts favour, as much as could be deviſed; and ſo departed himſelf, with other his Friends, to go to the Biſhop, (whoſe name was Dr. *Capon*) and to take the Prieſt with them; which was a painful Journey for the ſilly poor man, by reaſon he had a ſore Leg.

Simons conſpiracy of Filmer to Dr. Capon, Bp. of Sarum.

Now *Filmer*, hearing how *Simons* went about to put him to a foil, conſulted with his Friends what was beſt to do; who concluded to draw out certain Notes of the Vicars Sermon, and to prepare themſelves to be at *Salisbury* as ſoon as *Simons* or before him, if it might be poſſible. Thus both the parties being in a readineſs, it chanced them to ſet forth of *Windſor* all in one day. But by reaſon the Prieſt, being an impotent man, could not indure to ride very faſt, *Filmer* and his Compaſſing got to the Town an hour and more before *Simons*, went to the Biſhop and delivered up their Bill unto him; which Bill, when the Biſhop had ſeen and peruſed well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, ſaying, It did behove him to look upon it, for the Prieſt had preached Hereſie, and ſhould be puniſhed.

Filmer forced to complain to the Bp. of Sarum.

Then *Filmer* declared unto the Biſhop the form of his talk he had with the Prieſt, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by *Simons*, forced him and his Company to trouble his Lordſhip therewith. Well, ſaid the Biſhop, ye have done like honeſt men. Come to me ſoon again, and ye ſhall know more; and ſo they departed from the Biſhop to their Inn. And while they were there repoſing themſelves, *Simons*, with his Company, came to the Town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the Biſhop in all poſt haſte, taking the Prieſt with them.

Simons and the Vicar came to Salisbury.

The Biſhop, hearing of more *Windſor* men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the Vicar of the Town, with other more, he cauſed the Vicar to be brought in. To whom he ſaid, Are you the Vicar of *Windſor*? Yea forſooth, my Lord; quoth he. How chanceth it, quoth the Biſhop, that you are complained on? for there have been with me certain honeſt men of your Town, which have delivered up a Bill of erroneous Doctrine againſt you. If it be ſo, I muſt needs puniſh you; and opening the Bill, he read it unto him. How ſay you, quoth the Biſhop, is this true or no? The Vicar could not deny it, but humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhops Correction. Then was his Company called in, and when the Biſhop ſaw *Simons*, he knew him well, and ſaid, Wherefore come ye, Mr. *Simons*? Pleaſeth it your Lordſhip, quoth he, we are come to ſpeak in our Vicars cauſe, which is a man of good converſation and honeſty, and doth his duty ſo well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd Fellow we have in our Town, called *Filmer*, which is ſo corrupt with Hereſie, that he is able to poiſon a whole Country: and truly, my Lord, quoth *Simons*, there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to controll it, and to ſay it is ſtark naught. Wherefore we ſhall beſeech your Lordſhip he may be puniſhed, to the enſample of others; that our Vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this buſie Fellow troubled him. And that your Lordſhip ſhall the better credit my ſayings, I have brought with me theſe honeſt men of the Town; and beſide all that, a teſtimonial from the Maior and his Brethren to confirm the ſame, and ſo he held the writing out in his hand.

The Vicar of Windſor troubled of the Biſhop.

The words of Simons to the Biſhop.

Then ſaid the Biſhop, ſo God help me, Mr. *Simons*, ye are greatly to blame, and moſt worthy to be puniſhed of all men, that will ſo impudently go about to maintain your Prieſt in his Error, which hath preached Hereſie, and hath confeſſed it; wherefore I may not nor will not ſee it unpuniſhed. And as for that honeſt man, *Filmer*, on whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly he hath in this point ſhewed himſelf a great deal more honeſter man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your Vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things at this time, ſaving that he ſhall the next *Sunday* recite his Sermon openly before all his Pariſhioners in *Windſor* Church; and ſo the Biſhop called in *Filmer* and his Company which waited without, and delivered

Bp. Capons anſwer to Simons.

Frier Mabee called to recant his Sermon.

The grudge of Simons against Filmer.

the Priests Recantation unto them; with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then *Simons* took his leave of the Bishop, and departed with a flea in his ear, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed of the foil. For this cause *Simons* could never brook *Filmer*, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger (as his manner was were he ought displeasure) and say, I will be even with you one day, trust me.

The Original of Anthony Pearsons *trouble.*

The trouble of Anthony Pearson, Priest.

THere was a certain Priest, named *Anthony Pearson*, which frequented much to *Windsor*, about the year of our Lord 1540. and using the Talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the People, who flocked so much to his Sermons which he made both in the Town and Country, that the great Priests of the Castle, with other Papists in the Town, specially *Simons*, were fore offended: insomuch that *Simons* at the last began to gather of his Sermons, and to mark his Auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a year and more after, a Minister of Satan, called Dr. *London*, Warden of the *New-Colledge* in *Oxford*, was admitted one of the Prebendaries of *Windsor*, who, at his first coming to *Windsor*, began to utter his stomach and to shew his affection. For at his first residence dinner which he made to the Clerks (which Company for the most part at that time favoured the Gospel,) all his whole talk to two Gentlemen strangers at his board (till the Table was taking up) was nothing else but of Hereticks, and what a desolation they would bring the Realm unto, if they might be so suffered. And by S. *Mary*, Masters, (quoth he to the Clerks at last) I cannot tell, but there goeth a threwd report abroad of this House. Some made answer, it was undeserved. I pray God it be, quoth he. I am but a stranger, and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this House, that will neither have Prayer nor Fasting.

W. Simons perfecutor of Anthony Pearson, and of many other. Dr. London Warden of New-Colledge in Oxford, a Minister of Satan.

Dr. Londons words to the Clerks of Windsor.

Testwood answereth for the Clerks.

Then spake *Testwood*, By my troth, Sir, quoth he, I think that was spoken of malice: for Prayer, as your Mastership knoweth better than I, is one of the first Lessons that Christ taught us. Yea marry, Sir, quoth he, but the Hereticks will have no Invocation to Saints, which all the old Fathers do allow. What the old Fathers do allow, quoth *Testwood*, I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our Petitions of him in Christs Name. Then you will have no mean between you and God, quoth Dr. *London*: Yes, Sir, quoth *Testwood*, our mean is Christ, as S. *Paul* saith, *There is one Mediator between God and Man, even Jesus Christ*. Give us water, quoth Dr. *London*. Which being set on the board, he said Grace and washed, and so falling into other Communication with the strangers, the Clerks took their leave and departed.

Gospellers tallly dandered of the Papists.

When Dr. *London* had been at *Windsor* a while among his Catholick Brethren, and learned what *Testwood* was, and also of *Simons* (who shewed him our Ladies Nose, as he called it) what a sort of Hereticks were in the Town and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty Priest, called *Anthony Pearson*, he was so maliciously bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the Devil to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the foresaid *Simons*, a meet Clerk to serve such a Curate, and other of like sort, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the Arch-hereticks, as they termed them, in *Windsor* and thereabout, indicted of Heresie, and so to procerd further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six Articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First they drew out certain notes of *Anthony Pearsons* Sermons, which he had preached against the Sacrament of the Altar, and their Popish Mass. That done, they put in Sir *William Hobby* with the good Lady his Wife, Sir *Tho. Cardine*, Mr. *Edmund Horman*, Mr. *Thomas Weldon*, with *Snowball* and his Wife, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of *Anthony Pearson*. And also they noted Dr. *Haynes* Dean of *Exeter*, and a Prebendary of *Windsor*, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted *Anthony Pearsons* Sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the Gospel, or did but smell thereof.

Dr. London malicious Perfecutor. Dr. London and W. Simons inflamed with malice against the good men of Windsor. Sir Philip Hobby and his wife. Sir Thomas Cardine and his wife. Mr. Edmund Harman, Mr. Thomas Weldon. Snowball and his wife. Dr. Haynes Dean of Exeter.

Then had they privy Spies to walk up and down the Church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the Sacrament, at the elevation time, and to bring his name to Dr. *London*. And of these Spies some were Chantry Priests; among the which there was one notable Spy, whose name was called Sir *William Bows*, such a fleering Priest as would be in every corner of the Church pattering to himself, with his Portuise in his hand, to hear and to note the gesture of men towards the Sacrament. Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect Book thereof, Dr. *London* with two of his Catholick Brethren more, gave them up to the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Stephen Gardiner*, with a great complaint against the Hereticks that were in *Windsor*, declaring unto him how the Town was fore disquieted through their Doctrine and evil Example. Wherefore they besought his Lordships help, in purging the Town and Castle of such wicked persons. The Bishop hearing their complaint, and seeing their Book, praised their doings, and bade them make Friends and go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nail, sparing for no money nor pains taking, as *Marbeck* saith that he himself heard one of them say, who is a greater doer herein, and afterward sorry for that he had done, that the fute thereof cost him that year, for his part only, an hundred Marks, beside the death of three good Geldings.

Mr. Bows Priest. Dr. London sir. Stephen Gardiner.

Now Bishop *Gardiner*, which had conceived a further fetch in his brain than Dr. *London* had, made *Wrisley* and other of the Councel on his side, and spying a time convenient, went to the King, complaining what a fort of Hereticks his Grace had in his Realm, and how they were not only crept into every corner of his Court, but even into his Privy Chamber, beseeching therefore his Majesty that his Laws might be profecuted: the King, giving credit to the Councels words, was content his Laws should be executed on such as were Offenders. Then had the Bishop that he desired, and forthwith procured a Commission for a private search to be had in *Windsor* for Books and Letters that *Anthony Pearson* should send abroad, which Commission the King granted to take place in the Town of *Windsor*, but not in the Castle.

Wriothesley Secretary to the King and after Lord Chancellor.

Winchesters reason, the Concordance in English would destroy the Latin Tongue.

What cost the Papists can be at, to trouble their even Christian.

Winchester and Wrisley complain to the King of the Gospellers.

Winchester procures a privy search in Windsor.

At this time the Canons of *Exeter* (specially *Sutbran*, Treasurer of the Church, and Dr. *Brurewood* the Chancellor) had accused Dr. *Haynes* their Dean to the Councel, for preaching against holy Bread, and holy Water, and that he should say in one of his Sermons (having occasion to speak of Matrimony) that marriage and hanging were destiny; upon the which they gathered Treason against him, because of the Kings marriage. The Bishop of *Winchester* (at the same time) had also informed the Councel of Mr. *Hobby*, how he was a bearer of *Anthony Pearson*, and a great maintainer of Hereticks. Whereupon both he and Dr. *Haynes* were apprehended and sent to the *Fleet*. But it was not very long after, e're that by the mediation of Friends they were both delivered.

Dr. Haynes Dean of Exeter, accused to the Councel. Mr. Hobby and Haynes sent to the Fleet.

Now, as touching the Commission for searching for Books, Mr. *Ward* and *Fachel* of *Reading* were appointed Commissioners, who came to *Windsor* the *Thursday* before *Palm-Sunday*, in the year of our Lord 1543. and began their search about eleven of the Clock at night. In the which search were apprehended *Robert Benet*, *Henry Filmer*, *John Marbeck*, and *Robert Testwood*, for certain Books and Writings found in their Houses against the six Articles, and kept in ward till *Monday* after, and then fetcht up to the Councel, all save *Testwood*, with whom the Bailiffs of the Town were charged, because he lay sore diseased of the Gout. The other three, being examined before the Councel, were committed to Prison, *Filmer* and *Benet* to the Bishop of *Londons* Goal, and *Marbeck* to the *Marshalsey*; whose Examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the Councel, and the cruelty of the Bishop.

The first search began at Gninneth. Filmer, Testwood, and Marbeck apprehended for Books against the six Articles.

The

The first Examination of John Marbeck, *before the Councel, on the Monday after Palm-Sunday*, 1544.

The first Examination of Marbeck.

THis *Marbeck* had begun a great Work in English, called *The Concordance of the Bible*: Which Book being not half finished, was among his other Books taken in the search, and had up to the Councel. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole Work lay before the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Steph. Gardiner*, at the upper end of the board. Who beholding the poor man a while, said; *Marbeck*, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for? No, my Lord, quoth he. No, quoth the Bishop? that is a marvellous thing. Forsooth, my Lord, quoth he, unless it be for a certain search made of late in *Windsor*, I cannot tell wherefore it should be. Then thou knowest the matter well enough, quoth the Bishop; and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, Understandest thou the Latin Tongue? No, my Lord, quoth he, but simply. No, quoth the Bishop. And with that spake Mr. *Wrisley*, (then Secretary to the King) he said Book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance, and so began to declare to the reft of the Councel, the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the Learned men for the ease of Preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a Book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin Tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another Book, which was the Book of *Esay* the Prophet, and turning to the last Chapter, gave the Book to *Marbeck*, and asked him who had written the note in the Margent. The other looking upon it, said, Forsooth, my Lord, I wrote it. Read it, quoth the Bishop. Then he read it thus, *Heaven is my seat, and the Earth is my foot-stool*. Nay, quoth the Bishop, read it as thou hast written it. Then shall I read it wrong, quoth he, for I had written it false. How hadst thou written it, quoth the Bishop. I had written it, quoth he, thus; *Heaven is my seat, and the Earth is not my foot-stool*. Yea marry, quoth the Bishop, that was thy meaning. No, my Lord (quoth he) it was but an overfight in writing; for, (as your Lordship seeth) this word (*Not*) is blotted out. At this time came other matters in to the Councel, so that *Marbeck* was had out to the next Chamber. And when he had stood there a while, one of the Councel, named Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Captain of the Guard, came forth, and calling for *Marbeck*, committed him to one *Polson* of the Guard, saying unto him on this wife, Take this man and have him to the *Marshalsey*, and tell the Keeper that it is the Councels pleasure that he shall intreat him gently, and if he have any Money in his Purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the Prisoners do take it, and minister it unto him as he shall have need. And so the Messenger departed with *Marbeck* to the *Marshalsey*, and did his Commission both faithfully and truly, both to the Keeper and to the Prisoner, as he was commanded.

Wingfield, Captain of the Guard.

Marbeck sent to the Marshalsey.

The second Examination of Marbeck, *before the Bishops Gentleman in the* Marshalsey.

The second Examination of Marbeck.

ON the next day, which was *Tuesday*, by eight of the Clock in the Morning, there came one of the Bishop of *Winchesters* Gentlemen into the *Marshalsey*, whose man brought after him two great Books under his arm, and finding *Marbeck* walking up and down in the Chappel, demanded of the Keeper why he was not in Irons. I had no such Commandment, quoth he, for the Messenger which brought him yesternight from the Council, said, It was their pleasure he should be gently used. My Lord (quoth the Gentleman) will not be content with you; and so taking the Books of his man, he called for a Chamber, up to the which he carried the Prisoner, and casting the Books from him upon a Bed, sate him down and said, *Marbeck*, my Lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed left thou cast away thy self wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thy self much good; if not, thou shalt do thy self much harm. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, for as much as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thy self, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great fort of Hereticks, as *Hobby* and *Haines*, with other more, and knowest much of their secrets; if thou wilt now open them at my Lords request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living.

Talk between Winchesters Gentleman and Marbeck in Prison.

The name of this Gentleman was Mr. Knight.

Alas, Sir, quoth he, what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with Mr. *Hobby* or Mr. *Haines*, to know any part of their minds. Well (quoth the Gentleman) make it not so strange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what estimation they had both thee and *Anthony Pearson*, for your Religion. For *Anthony Pearson*, quoth he, I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life. And as for my self, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and shewed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am.

Peradventure (quoth the Gentleman) thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy Friends, left they hearing thereof might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee: which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee any more, nor any man else.

Marbeck cannot be perswaded left they should withdraw their friendship from others.

With that the water stood in *Marbecks* eyes. Why weepest thou, quoth the Gentleman? Oh Sir, quoth he, I pray you pardon me; these men have done me good, wherefore I befeech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted my self.

Well (quoth the Gentleman) I perceive thou wilt play the fool; and then he opened one of the Books, and asked him if he understood any Latin. But a little, Sir, quoth he. How is it then (quoth the Gentleman) that thou hast translated thy Book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the Tongue? I will tell you (quoth he) in my youth I learned the Principles of my Grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small. Then the Gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the Books, and so departed, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Chamber, the door fast shut unto him.

Another talk between Winchesters Gentleman and Marbeck how Winchester hunteth for Dr. Haynes.

About two hours after, the Gentleman came again, with a sheet of Paper folded in his hand, and set him down upon the Beds side, (as before) and said, By my troth, *Marbeck*, my Lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last with *Haines*? Forsooth, quoth he, about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him. And what talk, quoth the Gentleman, had he at his board? I cannot tell now, quoth he. No? quoth the Gentleman, thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space. Yes, Sir, quoth he, such familiar talk as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten, and so it was with me. Didst thou never, quoth the Gentleman, talk with him, nor with any of thy Fellows of the Mass, or of the blessed Sacrament? No, forsooth, quoth he. Now forsooth, quoth the Gentleman, thou liest; for thou hast been seen to walk with *Testwood*, and other of thy Fellows, an hour together in the Church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you, and ever as they have drawn near you, ye have staied your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear whereof you talked. I deny not, quoth he, but I have talked with *Testwood* and other of my Fellows, I cannot tell how oft, which maketh not that we talked either of the Mass, or of the Sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not that every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best. Well, quoth the Gentleman, thou must be plainer with my Lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weenest. How plain will his Lordship have me to be, Sir, quoth he? There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe Conscience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordships pleasure. What telleth thou me, quoth the Gentleman, of thy Conscience? Thou maist with a safe Conscience utter those that be

Conscience liable pulled of among these Papists.

Hereticks, and so doing, thou canst do God and the King no greater service. If I knew, Sir, quoth he, who were an Heretick indeed, it were a thing; but if I should accuse him to be an Heretick that is none, what a worm would that be in my Conscience so long as I lived? yea it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment. In faith, quoth the Gentleman, thou knowest as well who be Hereticks of thy Fellows at home, and who be none, as I do know this Paper to be in my hand; but it maketh no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I warrant thee. And what a foolish Dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they bee, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth? Whatsoever, quoth he, they shall say of me, let them do it in the Name of God, for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know. Marry, quoth the Gentleman, if thou wilt so do, my Lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now peradventure thy Wits are troubled. So that thou canst not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee Ink and Paper, that thou mayest excogitate with thy self, and write such things as shall come to thy mind. O Lord, quoth *Marbeck*, what will my Lord do? Will his Lordship compel me to accuse men I wot not whereof? No, quoth the Gentleman, my Lord compelleth thee not, but gently intreateth thee to say the truth; therefore make no more ado, but write, for my Lord will have it so, and so laid down the Ink and Paper, and went his way.

Mark here the wiles of Winchester.

Marbeck, unged to accuse his brethren.

Marbeck brought to great distress.

Now was *Marbeck* so full of heaviness and wo, that he wist not what to do, nor how to set the Pen to the Book to satisfie the Bishops mind, unless he did accuse men to the wounding of his own Soul. And thus being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down with weeping tears, and said,

Marbeck's Prayer to God.

O most merciful Father of Heaven, thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor Prisoner which is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special Grace, that to save this frail and vile Body, which shall turn to corruption at his time, I have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my Christian Brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake.

Marbeck's words written in Winchesters Paper.

Then he rose up and began to search his Conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words: *Whereas your Lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my Fellows at home; please it your Lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing wherby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence; more than this I know not.*

Winchesters Gentleman returneth the third time to *Marbeck.*

Now the Gentleman, about his hour appointed, came again, and found *Marbeck* walking up and down the Chamber. How now, quoth he, hast thou written nothing? Yes Sir, quoth he, as much as I know. Well said, quoth the Gentleman; and took up the Paper. Which when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lords Body, that he would not for twenty pound carry it to his Lord and Master. Therefore, quoth he, go to it again, and advise thy self better, or else thou wilt set my Lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone. By my troth, Sir, quoth *Marbeck*, if his Lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said. Then wilt thou repent it, quoth the Gentleman; and so putting up his Penner and Inkhorn, departed with the Paper in his hand.

Well Sworn, and like a right Papist.

The third Examination of Marbeck *before the Bishop of* Winchester *himself in his own House.*

The third Examination of *Marbeck.*

THe next day, which was *Wednesday*, by eight of the Clock in the Morning, the Bishop sent for *Marbeck* to his House at S. *Mary Overies*, and as he was entring into the Bishops Hall, he saw the Bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a Roll in his hand, and going toward the great Window, he called the poor man unto him, and said, *Marbeck*, wilt thou cast away thy self? No, my Lord, quoth he, I trust. Yes, quoth the Bishop, thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a Devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy Vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it. Yes, my Lord, quoth he, I do esteem it, and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me. And why the Devil, quoth the Bishop, didst thou not hold thee there? And with that he flang away from the Window out of the Hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long Gallery, and being there, the Bishop began on this wise; Ah sirra, quoth he, the Nest of you is broken, I trow. And unfolding his Roll, (which was about an Ell long,) he said, Behold, here be your Captains, both *Hobby* and *Haynes*, with all the whole pack of thy Sect about *Windsor*, and yet wilt thou utter none of them. Alas, my Lord, quoth he, how should I accuse them, by whom I know nothing? Well, quoth the Bishop, if thou wilt needs cast away thy self, who can let thee? what helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy Book? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, none. None, quoth the Bishop, how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help. Truly, my Lord, quoth he, I cannot tell in what part your Lordship doth take it, but howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, save God alone. Nay, quoth the Bishop, I do not discommend thy diligence, but what shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertaineth not to thee?

Christ calls Scriptures and *Winchester* saith, the Devil makes men meddle with the Scriptures.

Marbeck brought again from *Winchesters* House to the *Marshalsey.*

A cruel Porter of the *Marshalsey*, but yet good to *Marbeck.*

Marbeck charged for setting forth the Concordance.

And in speaking of these words, one of his Chaplains (called Mr. *Medcue*) came up, and stayed himself at a Window, to whom the Bishop said, Here is a marvellous thing; this Fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which Book when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen Learned men at the least, and yet will he bear me in hand, that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt, quoth the Bishop, except God himself would come down from Heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it: And so going forth to a Window where two great Bibles lay upon a Cushion, the one in Latin, and the other in English, he called *Marbeck* unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, Canst thou English this Sentence? Nay, my Lord, quoth he, I trow I be not so cunning to give it a perfect English, but I can fetch out the English thereof in an English Bible. Let's see, quoth the Bishop. Then *Marbeck* turning the English Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the Bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up and told him the Priest was ready to go to Mass.

Mr. Chaplain cometh again to *Marbeck.*

And as the Bishop was going, said the Gentleman which had examined *Marbeck* in the *Marshalsey* the day before; Shall this Fellow write nothing while your Lordship is at Mass, for he passeth not of it? It maketh no matter, quoth the Bishop, for he will tell nothing; and so went down to hear Mass, leaving *Marbeck* alone in the Gallery. The Bishop was no sooner down, but the Gentleman came up again with Ink and Paper. Come, sirra, quoth he, my Lord will have you occupied till Mass be done; perswading him with fair words, that he would not be disparched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. Alas, Sir, quoth he, what would my Lord have me to do? For more than I wrote to his Lordship yesterday, I cannot. Well, well, go too, quoth the Gentleman, and make speed, and so went his way. There was no remedy but *Marbeck* must now write something; wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the Bishop was come from Mass, and had looked on the writing, he pusht it from him, saying, What shall this do? It hath neither head nor foot. There is a marvellous Sect of them, quoth the Bishop to his men, for the Devil cannot make one of them to bewray another. Then was there nothing among the Bishops Gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the Court, but *Crucifige* upon the poor man. And when the Bishops white Rochet was on him, and all, Well *Marbeck* (quoth he) I am now going to the Court, and was purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the Kings Majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine House; but seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go the Devil for me.

Marbeck proffered again to enter his Fellows.

Then was he carried down by the Bishops men, with many railing words. And coming through the great Chamber, there stood Dr. *London*, with two more of his Fellows, waiting the Bishops coming, and passing by them into the Hall, he was there received of his Keeper, and carried to Prison again. It was not half an hour after, e're that the Bishop sent one of his Gentlemen to the under Keeper, called *Stokes*, commanding him to put Irons upon *Marbeck*, and to keep him fast shut in a Chamber alone, and when he should bring him down to Dinner or Supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own Wife) to come and see him, or minister any thing unto him. When the Porter (who was the cruellest man that might be to all such as were laid in for any matter of Religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this commandment from the Bishop, he clapped Irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the House, that no man should speak or talk to *Marbeck*, whensoever he was brought down, and so continued the space of three weeks or more, till his Wife was suffered to come unto him.

The Sute of Marbecks *Wife to the Bishop of* Winchester.

Marbecks Wife, at the time of her Husbands apprehension, had a young Child of a quarter old sucking upon her breast; and when her Husband was taken from her, and had away to the Councel not knowing what should become of him, she left the Child and all, and gat her up to *London*, and hearing her Husband to be in the *Marshalsey*, goeth thither: But when she came there, she could in no wise be suffered to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrow. Then, by counsel of Friends, she gat her to the Bishop of *Winchester*, (for other help was there none to be had at that time) making great sute to have his licence to go and see her Husband, and to help him with such things as he lacked. Nay, quoth the Bishop, thy Husband is acquainted with all the Hereticks that be in the Realm, both on this side the Sea and beyond, and yet will he utter none of them. Alas, my Lord (quoth she) my Husband was never beyond the Seas, nor any great Traveller in the Realm, to be so acquainted, and therefore good my Lord, let me go see him. But all her earnest sute from day to day would not help, but still he put her off, harping always upon this string, Thy Husband will utter nothing. At the last, she finding him in the Court at S. *James*, going towards his Chamber, was so bold to take him by the Rochet, and say, Oh my Lord, these eighteen days I have troubled your Lordship; now for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my Husband. And as she was standing with the Bishop and his men, in a blind corner going to his Chamber, one of the Kings Servants, called *Henry Carrike*, and her next Neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk between the Bishop and her, desired his Lordship to go back and speak to the poor woman, which had her own Mother lying bedrid upon her hands, beside five or six Children. I promise you (quoth the Bishop) her Husband is a great Heretick, and hath read more Scripture than any man in the Realm hath done. I cannot tell, my Lord (quoth *Carrike*) what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honest a quiet Neighbour as ever I dwelt by. He will tell nothing, quoth the Bishop; he knoweth a great sort of false Harlots, and will not utter them. Yes, my Lord, quoth *Carrike*, he will tell, I dare say, for he is an honest man. Well, quoth the Bishop, (speaking to the Wife) thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou love thy Husband well, go to him, and give him good counsel, to utter such naughty Fellows as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall have what I can do for him; for I do fansie him well for his Art, wherein he hath pleased me as well as any man; and so, stepping into his Chamber, he said she should have his Letter to the Keeper. But his mind being changed, he sent out his Ring by his Gentleman, which Gentleman delivered the Ring to his man, charging him with the Bishops message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, and took boat, who never rested railing on her Husband all the way, till they came to the Prison; which was no small cross to the poor woman.

Marbecks Wife faith to Winchester for her Husband.

Marbecks Wife desired a great while to go to her Husband.

How Carrike playeth the part of a good Neighbour.

Winchesters Argument. He hath read much Scripture: Ergo, he is an Heretick.

Marbecks Wife permitted at last to go to her husband.

And when they were come to the *Marshalsey*, the Messenger shewed the Bishops Ring to the Porter, saying, Mr. *Stokes*, my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to have recourse to her Husband; but he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both coming and going, lest she bring or carry any Letters to or fro, and that she bring no body unto him, nor any word from any man. Gods blood, quoth the Porter, (who was a foul swearer) what will my Lord have me to do? Can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her Husband, or let her not go; for I see nothing by him but an honest man. The poor woman, fearing to be repulsed, spake the Porter fair, saying, Good Master be content, for I have found my Lord a very good Lord unto me. This young man is but the Gentlemans servant which brought the Ring from my Lord, and I think doth his Message a great deal more straiter than my Lord commanded the Gentleman, or than the Gentleman his Master commanded him: but nevertheless, good Master, (quoth she) I shall be contented to stirp my self before you both coming and going, so far as an honest woman may do with honesty; for I do intend no such thing, but only to comfort and help my Husband. Then the Messenger said no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who from that time forth was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

Like master like man.

The part of a good Wife and an honest Matron.

The fourth Examination of Marbeck, *before the Commissioners in the Bishop of* Londons *House.*

The fourth Examination of *Marbeck.*

ABout three weeks before *Whitsunday* was *Marbeck* sent for to the Bishop of *Londons* House, where sat in Commission Dr. *Capon* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Skip* Bishop of *Hereford*, Dr. *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Oking*, Dr. *May*, and the Bishop of *London's* Scribe, having before them all *Marbecks* Books of Then said the Bishop of *Salisbury*; *Marbeck*, we are here in Commission, sent from the Kings Majesty to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly. I am content, my Lord, quoth he, to tell you the truth so far as I can, and so took his Oath. Then the Bishop of *Salisbury* laid forth before him his three Books of Notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other mens works, six years ago. For what cause, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*, didst thou gather them? For none other cause, my Lord, but to come by knowledge. For I being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought by reading of Learned mens Works to come the sooner thereby: and where as I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye see, with a Letter of his name in the Margent, that had set out the Work. So me think, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, (who had one of the Books of Notes in his hand all the time of their sitting) thou hast read of all sorts of Books, both good and bad, as seemeth by the Notes. So I have, my Lord, quoth he. And to what purpose, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*? By my truth, quoth he, for no other purpose but to see every mans mind. Then the Bishop of *Salisbury* drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the Bishop of *Hereford*, who looking upon it a while, lifted up his eyes to Dr. *Oking*, standing next him, and said, This man hath been better occupied then a great sort of our Priests. To the which he made no Answer.

Mr. Clarke, Dr. Goodrick B. of *Ely*. Dr. *Oking*. Dr. *May*.

Then said the Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose help hadst thou in setting forth this Book? Truly, my Lord, quoth he, no help at all. How could st thou, quoth the Bishop, invent such a Book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an Instructor? I will tell your Lordship, quoth he, what Instructor I had to begin it. When *Thomas Matthew's* Bible came first out in print, I was much desirous to have

The occasion why *Marbeck* began the Concordance in English.

have one of them: and being a poor man not able to buy one of them, determined with my self to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of *Moses* in fair great paper, and was entred into the book of *Josua*, my friend Master *Turner* chanced to steal, upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause: Tush, quoth he, thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English. A Concordance, said I, what is that? Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the Letter, and that there was such an one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about such a thing. Enough, quoth he, for that matter, for it requireth not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so painful a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exercise for thee. And this my Lord is all the instruction that ever I had before or after, of any man. What is that *Turner*, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*? Marry, quoth Doctor *May*, an honest learned man, and a Batchelor of Divinity, and sometime a Fellow in *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*. How couldst thou, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*, with this instruction bring it to this order and form, as it is? I borrowed a Latin Concordance, quoth he, and began to practice my Wit, and at last with great labour and diligence brought it into this order, as your Lordship doth see. A good Wit with diligence, quoth the B. of *Hereford*, may bring hard things to pass. It is great pity, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, he had not the Latin Tongue. So it is, quoth Doctor *May*. Yet cannot I believe, quoth the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that he hath done any more in this work, than written it out after some other that is learned.

M. Pollard Turner of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford, and elector of Windsor, a godly learned man and a good Preacher: who in Q. Maries time fled into Germany and there died.

Marbecks words to the Bishops.

My Lords, quoth *Marbeck*, I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and grant to my request if it shall seem good unto you. Say what thou wilt, quoth the Bishop. I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so much examined for this book, and where I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other to be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone. Ye see that I am yet but at the letter *L.* beginning now at *M.* and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words in a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other.

By my truth, *Marbeck*, quoth the Bishop of *Ely*, that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspition. That he shall, quoth they all. Then they bade Doctor *Oking* draw out such words as he thought best in a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with *Marbeck* (as the Bishop of *Ely* and *Hereford* were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst) who perceiving the Bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. I, shall I tell thee *Marbeck*, quoth the Bishop of *Sarum*? Thou art in a better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give fourty pound to be in no worse case than thou art, whose sayings the other affirmed. Then came Doctor *Oking* with the words he had written, and while the Bishops were perusing them over, Doctor *Oking* said to *Marbeck*, very friendly, on this wise: Good Master *Marbeck* make haft, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered. And as the Bishops were going away, the Bishop of *Hereford* took *Marbeck* a little aside, and informed him a word which Doctor *Oking* had written false, and also to comfort him, said, Fear not, there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done, for if you had written a thousand Heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the Law cannot hurt you. And so went they all with the Bishop of *Sarum* to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the Hall at the Stewards board; and besides that had Wine and Meat sent down from the Bishops Table.

The Bishop of Salisbury and Hereford like well the case of Marbeck.

D. Sup. commendable words unto Marbeck.

When Dinner was done, the Bishop of *Sarum* came down into the Hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to *Marbeck*, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the Bishop, what time his Lordship would appoint him to do it in? Against to morrow this time, quoth the Bishop, which was about two of the Clock, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his Prison-Chamber, fell to his business, and so applied the thing, that by the next day when the Bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more. The which when he had delivered to the Bishop of *Sarum*, Doctor *Oking* standing by, he marvelled and said, Well *Marbeck*, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee, quoth he, (putting up the paper into his bosom) the King shall see this e're I be 24. hours older; but he dissembled every word, and thought nothing less than so. For afterward, the matter being come to light, and known to his Grace what a Book the poor man had begun, which the Bishops would not suffer him to finish, the King said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So *Marbeck* departed from the Bishop of *Sarum* to Prison again, and heard no more of his Book.

A false dissembling Bishop.

The fifth Examination of Marbeck, *before Doctor* Oking *and Master* Knight, *Secretary to the Bishop of* Winchester *in S.* Mary Overies *Church.*

The fifth examination of Marbeck.

UPon *Whitsunday* following at afternoon, was *Marbeck* sent for once again to Saint *Mary Overies*, where he found Doctor *Oking* with an other Gentleman in a Gown of *Damask*, with a Chain of Gold about his Neck (no more in all the Church but they two) fitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the Church door, looking upon an Epistle of M. *John Calvins*, which *Marbeck* had written out; and when they saw the Prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side Altar, leaving his Keeper in the body of the Church alone. Now as soon as *Marbeck* saw the face of a Gentleman (which before he knew not by reason of his apparel) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the *Marshalsey*, and did also cause him to write in the Bishops Gallery, but never knew his name, till now he heard Doctor *Oking* call him Master *Knight*. This Master *Knight* held forth the Paper to *Marbeck*, and said, Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is. When *Marbeck* had taken the Paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the Notes in the Margent. Then I perceive, quoth *Knight*, thou wilt not go from thine own hand. No Sir, quoth he, I will deny nothing that I have done. Thou dost well in that, quoth *Knight*, for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides to try out thy hand by: but I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the first leaf? That I cannot tell you, quoth *Marbeck*. Then how camest thou by it, quoth *Knight*? Forsooth I will tell you, quoth he.

This Gentleman of Winchester was M. Knight.

There was a Priest dwelling with us upon five or six years ago, called *Marshal*, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written, desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared past an hour or two, and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again.

And how came this hand in the Margent, quoth he, which is a contrary hand to both the other? That I will tell you, quoth *Marbeck*: When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haft of it, that I understood not the matter, whereof I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation, and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the Margent as ye see. And shortly after this it was chance to go beyond the Seas (where he lived not long) by reason whereof the Epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the Notes in the Margent were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell. Tush, quoth Doctor *Oking* to Master *Knight*, he knoweth well enough that the Notes be *Heynes* own hand. If you know so much, quoth *Marbeck*, ye know more than I do, for I tell you truly I know it not. By my Faith, *Marbeck*, quoth *Knight*, if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell. By my truth Sir, quoth *Marbeck*, if ye do tear the whole Body in pieces (I trust in God) you shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully. If thou be so stubborn, quoth Doctor *Oking*, thou wilt dye for it. Dye, Master *Oking*, quoth he? Wherefore should I dye? You told me the last day before the Bishops, That as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took me, I should be delivered, and shall I now dye? this is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend, and I know the cause, ye have read the ballad I made of *Moses* Chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not but I shall dye Gods true Man and the Kings. How so, quoth *Knight*? How canst thou dye a true Man unto the King, when thou hast offended his Laws? Is not this Epistle, and most of thy Notes thou hast written, directly against the six Articles? No Sir, quoth *Marbeck*, I have not offended the Kings Laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance (which is almost six years ago) I have been occupied in nothing else. So that both this Epistle, and all the Notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six Articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the Kings General Pardon. Trust not to that, quoth *Knight*, for it will not help thee. No I warrant him, quoth Doctor *Oking*; and so going down to the Body of the Church, they committed him to his Keeper, who had him away to Prison again.

The Kings General Pardon claimed.

The sute of Filmers *Wife to the Bishops which sate in Commission, for her Husband.*

Filmers wife laboureth for her Husband.

IN like manner the Wife of *Filmer*, knowing her Husbands trouble to be only procured of malice by *Simons* his old enemy, made great sute and labour unto the Bishops which were Commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodness to examine her Husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her only requeſt to every of the Bishops from day to day, wheresoever she could find them. Insomuch that two of the Bishops (*Ely* and *Hereford*) were very sorry (considering the importune and reasonable Sute of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus travelling long up and down from one to another, to have her Husband examined, it was her chance at last to find the Bishops all three together in the Bishop of *Ely* his Place: unto whom she said, O good my Lords, for the love of God, let now my poor Husband be brought forth before you, while you be here all together.

The words of Filmers Wife to the Bishops.

For truly my Lords, there can nothing be justly laid against him, but that of malicious envy and spite *Simons* hath wrought him this trouble. And you my Lord of *Salisbury*, quoth the poor Woman, can testifie, (if it will please your Lordship to say the truth) what malice *Simons* bare to my Husband when they were both before you at *Salisbury* (little more than a year ago) for the Vicar of *Windsors* matter. For as your Lordship knoweth, when my Husband had certified you of the Priests Sermon, which you said was plain Heresie, then came *Simons* (after the Priest himself had confessed it) and would have defended the Priests error before your Lordship, and have had my Husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to commend and praise my Husband for his honesty, and to rebuke *Simons* for maintaining the Priest in his error, and thereupon commanded the Priest to recant his Heresie, at his coming home to *Windsor*. This (my Lord) you know to be true. And now my Lord, quoth the Woman, it is most certain, that for this cause only did *Simons* evermore afterward threaten my Husband to be even with him. Therefore good my Lords, call my Husband before you, and hear him speak; and if you find any other matter against him than this that I have told you, let me suffer death. Is this so my Lord, quoth the Bishops of *Ely* and *Hereford*? And the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latin to the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and he to them, and so departed. For the matter was so wrought between Doctor *London* and *Simons*, that *Filmer* could never be suffered to come before the Commissioners to be examined.

Filmer could not come to his answer.

The manner of their Condemnations, and how they dyed.

WHen the time drew nigh that the Kings Majesty (who was newly married to that good and vertuous Lady *Katherine Parre*) should make his progress abroad, the forefaid *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* had so compassed his matters, that no man bore so great a swing about the King as he did. Wherewith the Gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked every hour to be clapt in the neck. For the saying went abroad, that the Bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head Deer. But in the mean time three or four of the poor Rascals were caught, that is to say, *Anthony Pearſon*, *Henry Filmer*, and *John Marbeck*, and sent to *Windſor* by the Sheriffs men, the *Saturday* before Saint *James* day, and laid fast in the Town Jayl; and *Testwood* (who had kept his bed) brought out of his House upon Crutches, and laid with them; but as for *Benet* (which should have been the fifth man) his chance was to be sick of the Peſtilence, and having of a great sore upon him, he was left behind in the Bishop of *Londons* Jayl, whereby he escaped the fire.

Anno 1544.

The King married to the Lady Katherine Parre.

Sr. Gardiner went about the King. *Sr. Gardiner* bent his bow to shoot at the head Deer. *Pearſon, Filmer, and Marbeck* sent to *Windſor*. *Testwood* brought out of his bed upon Crutches into Prison.

Benet sick of the peſtilence at *London*.

Now these men being brought to *Windſor*, there was a Seſſions (specially procured to be holden the *Thursday* following, which was Saint *Annes* day. Against the which Seſſions (by the Counsel of Doctor *London* and *Simons*) were all the Farmers belonging to the Colledge of *Windſor*, warned to appear, because they could not pick out Papists enough in the Town to go upon the Jury. The Judges that day were these:

A special Seſſions procured.

The Judges.

Doctor *Capon*, Bishop of *Salisbury*.
Sir *William Eſſex*, Knight.
Sir *Thomas Bridges*, Knight.
Sir *Humfrey Foſter*, Knight.
M. *Franklen*, Dean of *Windſor*.
And *Fachel* of *Reading*.

When these had taken their places, and the Prisoners brought forth before them, then *Robert Ockam*, occupying for that day the Clerk of the Peace his room, called *Anthony Pearſon*, according to the manner of the Court, and read his Indictment, which was this:

Robert Ockam Clerk of the Peace.

The Indictment against *Anthony Peerſon*.

First, That he should preach two years before in a place called *Wingfield*, and there should say, That like as Christ was hanged between two theeves, even so when the Priest is at Mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the Word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

Also that he said to the people in the Pulpit, Ye shall not eat the Body of Christ, as it did hang upon the Crosse, gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood run about your lips; but you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to morrow, the next day, and every day, for it refresheth not the Body but the Soul.

Also, after that he had Preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the Word of God, he said as followeth; This is the Word, this is the Bread, this is the Body of Christ.

Also he said, that Christ sitting with his Disciples, took Bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, *Take and eat, this is my Body*. What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to break it to the people?

To this *Anthony* answered and said, I will be tryed by God and his holy Word, and by the true Church of Christ, whether this be Heresie or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I Preached the Bishop of *Rome* and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his Gospel, ye have always fought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my Body, I trust it shall not lye in your powers to hurt my Soul. Thou calleſt us thieves, quoth the Bishop. I say, quoth *Anthony*, ye are not only thieves, but murtherers, except ye preach and teach the Word of God purely and sincerely to the people, which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all Idolatry, Superſtition, and Hypocriſie, for your own lucre and glories sake, through

Anth. Pearſon answered to his Indictment.

Parrhesia. Parſonem.

through the which ye are become rather Bite-sheeps, than true Bishops, biting and devouring the poor Sheep of Christ, like ravening Wolves, never satisfied with Blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not. Then spake *Simons* his Accuser, standing within the Barr, saying; It is pity this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deserved. In Faith, quoth *Anthony*, if you had as you deserved, you were more worthy to stand in this place than I: but I truft, in the last day when we shall both appear before the Tribunal seat of Christ, that then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place. Shall I have so long a day, quoth *Simons*, holding up his finger? Nay then I care not; and so the matter was jested out.

Will. Simons repelleth against Pearson.

The Papists jest at Gods judgment.

Robert Testwood.

Testwoods Indictment.

THen was *Testwood* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he should say in the time that the Priest was lifting up the Sacrament; What wilt thou lift up so high? what yet higher? take heed, let him not fall.

Testwood answereth to his Inditement.

To this *Testwood* answered, saying, it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. Yes (quoth the Bishop) thou hast been seen, that when the Priest should lift up the Sacrament over his head, then wouldst thou look down upon thy Book or some other way, because thou wouldst not abide to look upon the blessed Sacrament. I beseech you my Lord, quoth *Testwood*, whereon did he look that marked me so well? Mary, quoth *Buckslayer* the Kings Attorney, he could not be better occupied, than to mark such Hereticks that so despised the blessed Sacrament.

Henry Filmer.

Filmers Indictment.

THen *Filmer* was called, and his Inditement read; that he should say that the Sacrament of the Altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremony; and also if God be in the Sacrament of the Altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you must understand, that these words were gathered of certain communication which should be between *Filmer*, and his Brother. The tale went thus:

This *Henry Filmer* coming upon a *Sunday* from *Clewer* his Parish Church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in the way to meet his Brother (which was a very poor labouring man) and asked him whither he went. To the Church, said he. And what to do, quoth *Filmer*? To do, quoth he, as other men do. Nay, quoth *Filmer*, you go to hear Mass, and to see your God. What if I do so, quoth he? If that be God (should *Filmer* say) I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a Chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better than al that thou shalt see or hear there.

D. Lordon setteth Brother against his Brother.

This Tale was no sooner brought to Doctor *London* (by *William Simons*, *Filmers* utter enemy) but he sent for the poor man home to his house, where he cherished him with meat and money, telling him he should never lack so long as he lived; that the silly poor man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Doctor *London*, was content to do and say whatsoever he and *Symons* would have him say or do against his own Brother. And when Doctor *London* had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his household men, until the Court day was come, and then sent him up to witness this foresaid Tale against his Brother. Which tale *Filmer* denied utterly, saying, That Doctor *London*, for a little meat and drink sake, had set him on and made him say what his pleasure was: wherefore my Lord (quoth *Filmer* to the Bishop) I beseech your Lordship weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this Town, that can or will testifie with him, that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness the same with him, I refuse not to dye. But say what he could it would not prevail.

Filmers own Brother witnesseth against him.

One witness to stand it against the Law.

Then *Filmer* seeing no remedy but that his Brothers accusement should take place, he said, Ah Brother, what cause hast thou to shew me this unkindness? I have always been a natural Brother unto thee and thine, and he ped you all, to my power, from time to time as thou thy self knowest; and is this a Brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindnes? God forgive it thee my Brother, and give thee Grace to repent. Then *Filmer* looking over his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the Book of Statutes. His Wife being at the end of the Hall, and hearing her Husband call for the Book of Statutes, ran down to the Keeper, and brought up the Book, and gat it conveighted to her Husband.

Filmer cast away by his own brother.

The Bishop, seeing the book in his hand, start him up from the Bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the Prisoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the Faith of his Body, he should go to Prison. Some said it was his Wife, some said the Keeper; like enough (my Lord) quoth *Simons*, for he is one of the same sort, and as worthy to be here as the best, if he were rightly served. But whosoever it was, the truth would not be known and so the Bishop sate him down again.

The Bishops condemn men unorderly without all Law, but also stop the Law that it should not be known.

Then said *Filmer*, O my Lord, I am this day judged by a Law, and why should I not see the Law that I am judged by? The Law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, which would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies. Nay, quoth *Buckslayer* the Kings Attorney, thine Heresies so haynous, and abhorreth thine own Brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses.

Filmer condemned by one witness against the Law, and how doth the Bishops then say that they do nothing but by a Law!

Thus (as you see) was *Filmer* brought unjustly to his death by the malice of *Simons* and Doctor *London*, who had incited that wretched caitif his Brother, to be their minister to work his confusion. But God, which is a just revenger of all falshood and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next year following, he being taken up for a labourer to go to *Bullein*, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a Gun took him and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of *Solomon* fulfilled, *A false witness shall not remain unpunished.*

Example of Gods just Punishment upon a Person accusing his own Brother.

John Marbeck.

The Inditement of Marbeck.

THen was *Marbeck* called, and his Inditement read, which was that he should say; that the holy Mass, when the Priest doth consecrate the Body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the Glory of God, from the which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the Sacrament is the similtude of setting up of Images, of the Calves in the Temple builded by *Jeroboam*; and that it is more abomination than the Sacrifices done by the Jews in *Jeroboams* Temple to those Calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made in the Mass mans laughing-stock.

Marbeck answereth to his Inditement.

To this he answered and said, That these words where of they had indited him were not his, but the words of a learned man called *John Calvine*, drawn out of a certain Epistle which the said *Calvine* had made, which Epistle he had but only written out, and that long before the six Articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that sentence by the Kings General Pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Partial dealing in calling the jury.

Then was the Jury called, which were all Farmers belonging to the Colledge of *Windsor*, whereof fewer or none had ever seen those men before, upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the Prisoners (counting the Farmers as partial) desired to have the Townsmen, or such as did know them, and had seen their daily conversations, in the place of the Farmers, or else to be equally joyned with them, but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

Buckslayer the Kings Attorney a perfecutor.

Now when the Jury had taken their Oath and all, *Buckslayer* the Kings Attorney began to speak; and first he alledged many reasons against *Anthony Pearson*, to prove him an Heretick. Which when *Anthony* would have disproved, the Bishop said; Let him alone Sir, he speaketh for the King: and so went *Buckslayer* forth with his matter, making every mans cause as hainous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and said what he would, then Sir *Humfrey Foster* spake to the Quest in the favour of *Marbeck* on this wife:

Sir Humfrey Foster speaketh for Marbeck.

Masters, quoth he, *you see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man* Marbeck, *saving he hath writ certain things of other mens sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the Kings general Pardon; therefore ye ought not to have a Conscience therein.*

Foxe a Forrester.

Then started up *Fachel* at the lower end of the Bench, and said, *What can we tell whether they were written before the Pardon or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing that we know.*

Marbeck cast by the Jury.

These words of *Fachel* (as every man said) were the cause of *Marbecks* casting that day.

The Knights and Gentlemen refuse to let their Condemnation.

Then went the Jury up to the Chamber over the place where the Judges sate, and in the mean time went all the Knights and Gentlemen abroad, saving the Bishop, Sir *William Essex*, and *Fachel*, which three sate still upon the Bench till all was done. And when the Jury had been together above in the Chamber about the space of a quarter of an hour, up goeth *Simons* (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the Jury down to the Bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while: Whereby many conjectured that the Jury could not agree of *Marbeck*. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, e're that they came down to give their Verdict; and being required according to the form of the Law to say their minds, one called *Hide*, dwelling beside *Abington* in a Lordship belonging to the Colledge of *Windsor*, speaking as the Mouth of the rest, said they were all Guilty.

Hide a Farmer of Windsor Colledge a Forrester.

Then the Judges beholding the Prisoners a good while (some with watery eyes) made curtesie who should give Judgment. *Fachel* requiring the Bishop to do it, he said *He might not.* The other also being required, said *They would not.* Then said *Fachel*, *It must be done, one must do it, and if no man will, then will I.* And so *Fachel*, being lowest of all the Bench, gave Judgment. Then *Marbeck*, being the last upon whom Sentence was given, cried unto the Bishop, saying, *Ah my Lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two Bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my Fellows, and in your saying come to this? Ah, my Lord, you have deceived me.* Then the Bishop, casting up his hand, said, *He could not do with all.*

Fachel giveth judgment against them.

Now the Prisoners being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to dye on the morrow, comforting one another in the Death and Passion of their Master Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, which had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them stedfast Faith and Power to overcome those fiery Torments, and of his free mercy and goodness (without their desers) for his promise sake, receive their Souls. Thus lay they all the night long till very dead sleep took them, calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their Persecutors, which of blind zeal and ignorance had done they wist not what, that God of his merciful goodness would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy Word: yea, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers watching the Prison without, whereof the Sheriff himself was one, with divers Gentlemen more, were constrained to shed out plenty of tears, as they themselves confessed.

Pearson, Testwood, Filmer, and Marbeck condemned for Heretichs.

The guilty Prayers of the condemned and martyrs astonish all sight.

A Letter sent by certain of the Commissioners to Glocester for Marbeck.

Marbecks pardon obtained.

On the next morrow, which was *Friday*, as the Prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not dye that day. The cause was this, The Bishop of *Sarum*, and they among them had sent a Letter by one of the Sheriffs Gentlemen, called Mr. *Frost*, to the Bishop of *Winchester* (the Court being then at *Oking*) in the favour of *Marbeck*. At the sight of which Letter the Bishop straightway went to the King, and obtained his Pardon.

Which being granted, he caused a Warrant to be made out of hand for the Sheriffs discharge, delivering the same to the Messenger, who with speed returned with great joy (for the love he bare to the party) bringing good news to the Town, of *Marbecks* Pardon; whereat many rejoyced. Of this Pardon were divers conjectures made. Some said, It was by the sute of the good Sheriff Sir *William Barrington*, and Sir *Humfrey Foster*, with other Gentlemen more that favoured *Marbeck*, to the Bishop of *Sarum* and the other Commissioners, that the Letter was sent.

Divers judgments why Marbeck was pardoned.

Some said again, That it came of the Bishop of *Sarum* and *Fachels* first motion; being pricked in Conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Other thought again that it was a Policy purposed afore, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, of *Sarum*, and of Dr. *London*, because they should seem to be merciful. Which conjecture rose upon this occasion: There was one *Sadock* dwelling in the Town which was great with Dr. *London* and *Simons*. and he should say four days before the Sessions began, that the Prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but *Marbeck* should have his Pardon.

Marbeck reserved to other torments.

Other there were that thought the foresaid Bishops, with Dr. *London*, had done it for this purpose; that he now, having his life, would rather utter such men as they would have him to do, than to come in like danger again. Which conjecture rose upon this; *Simons* meeting with *Marbecks* Wife, said thus unto her; *Your Husband may thank God and good Friends: my Lord of* Winchester *is a good Lord to him, which hath got his Pardon. But shall I tell you*, quoth he? *his Pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord, and other of the Councel, when he shall be demanded; for unto that purpose only is he reserved. Alas Sir*, quoth the, *what can he tell? Well woman*, quoth *Simons*, *I tell thee plain, if he do not so, never look to have thy Husband out of Prison*; and so departed from her.

The pestilent intent of the Bishops.

The like meaning did Mr. *Arch* make to *Marbeck* himself on the *Saturday* in the morning, that the men should be burnt, when he came to confess them. *I have nothing*, quoth he, *to say unto you*, Marbeck, *at this time, but hereafter you must be content to do as shall be enjoyned you*; meaning he should be forced to do some unlawful thing, or else to lye in perpetual Prison. And this was most likely to have been attempted, if they had proceeded in their purpose; whose intent was to have gone through the whole Realm, in like sort as they had begun at *Windsor*, as the Bishop of *Sarum* confessed openly, and said, *That he trusted e're Christmas-day following to visit and cleanse a good part thereof.* But most commonly God sendeth a shrewd Cow short horns, or else many a thousand in *England* had smarted.

The Popes Law is, that they that be condemned of Heresie, must not receive the Sacrament, but of Dr. Blithe, rather Dr. blind.

The *Saturday* in the morning that the Prisoners should go to Execution, came in to the Prison two of the Canons of the Colledge, the one called Dr. *Blithe*, and the other Mr. *Arch*, which two were sent to be their Confessors: Mr. *Arch* asked them *if they would be confessed*; and they said, *Yea*. Then he demanded *if they would receive the Sacrament*: *Yea*, said they, *with all our hearts. I am glad*, quoth *Arch*, *to hear you say so*; *but the Law is*, quoth he, *that it may not be ministred to any that are condemned of Heresie. But it is enough for you that ye desire it.* And so he had them up to the Hall to hear their Confessions, because the Prison was full of people. Dr. *Blithe* took *Anthony Pearson* to him to confess, and Mr. *Arch* the other two. But howsoever the matter went between the Doctor and *Anthony*, he carried not long with him, but came down again, saying, *He would no more of his Doctrine. Do you call him* Dr. Blithe, quoth *Anthony*? *He may be called* Dr. Blind *for his learning, as far as I see.* And soon after the other two came down also. Then *Anthony* seeing much people in the Prison, began to say the Lords Prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the Officers came to fetch them away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of *Marbeck* (their Prison-fellow) they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and vertue, and last of all besought him heartily to help them with his Prayer unto God, to make them strong in their Afflictions, and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

Dr. Blithe, or blind.

The Prisoners led toward their death.

Now as the Prisoners passed through the people in the Streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the Truth of the Gospel, and not to be moved at their Afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them.

And ever as Doctor *Blithe* and *Arch* (who rode on each side the Prisoners) would perswade them to turn to their Mother holy Church; *Away*, would *Anthony* cry, *away with your Romish Doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it.* When

Filmer

Filmer was come to his Brothers door, he stayed and called for his Brother, but he could not be seen, for Dr. *London* had kept him out of sight the same day, for the nonce.

And when he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, and will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man. And so going forth they came to the place of Execution, where *Anthony Pearson* with a chearful countenance embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, *Now welcom mine own sweet Wife; for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God.*

The words of Anth. Pearson at the Stake.

The words of Anthony Filmer at his death.

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of *Filmers* acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. Yea, quoth *Filmer*, I thank you. And now my Brother, quoth he, I shall desire you in the Name of the living Lord to stand fast in the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received; and so taking the pot at his hand asked his Brother *Anthony*, if he would drink. Yea Brother *Filmer*, quoth he, I pledge you in the Lord.

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to *Ant.* and *Ant.* likewise gave it to *Testwood*. Of which drinking their Adversaries made a jesting stock, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and wist not what they said; when as they were none otherwise drunk than as the Apostles were, when the people said they were full of new Wine, as their deeds declared; for when *Anthony* and *Testwood* had both drunken, and given the pot from them, *Filmer* rejoycing in the Lord, said, Be merry, my Brethren, and lift up your hands unto God, for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the Kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer. At the which words *Testwood*, lifting up his Hands and Eyes to Heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his Spirit. And *Anthony Pearson*, pulling the shaw unto him, said a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, This is Gods Hat; now am I dressed like a true Souldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy. And so yielded they up their Souls to the Father of Heaven, in the Faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and stedfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them.

The slanderous mouth of the Papists. *Filmer* comfortable words to his fellows.

Gods Hat.

The constant death of these martyrs.

How all their Conspiracies were known

Bennet a Lawyer sick of the pestilence.

YE have heard before of one *Robert Bennet*, how he was at the first apprehended with the other four persons aforesaid, and committed to the Bishop of *Londons* Prison, and about the time he should have gone to *Windsor*, he fell sick of the Pestilence, by means whereof he remained still in Prison.

Bennet and Symons joyne companions but contrary in Religion.

This *Bennet* and *Symons* (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and company keepers that were in all *Windsor*, and never lightly swarved the one from the other, saving in matters of Religion, wherein they could never agree. For *Bennet* the one Lawyer was an earnest Gospeller, and *Symons* the other Lawyer a cankered Papist, but in all other Worldly matters they cleaved together like burrs.

This *Bennet* had spoken certain words against their little roun& God, for the which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the other if he had gone to *Windsor* when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, that *Robert Ockam*, on the *Munday* after the men were burnt, should go to the Bishop of *Winchester*, with the whole process done at the Sessions the *Thursday* before.

Rob. Ockam sent up by the Bishop of Salisbury and by others to Gardiner with Letters.

Then *Symons*, at *Bennets* Wives request, procured the Bishop of *Salisbury* his favourable Letter to the Bishop of *Winchester*, for *Bennets* deliverance. Which Letter *Bennets* Wife (forasmuch as her own man was not at home which should have gone with the Letter) desired *Robert Ockam* to deliver to the Bishop, and to bring her word again; who said he would. So forth went *Ockam* toward the Bishop of *Winchester*, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things unto him that were done at *Windsor* Sessions. But all their wicked intents, as God would have it, were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the Queens men (Named *Fulk*) which had lien at *Windsor* all the time of the business, and had got knowledge what a number were privily indicted, and of *Ockams* going to the Bishop of *Winchester*, gat to the Court before *Ockam*, and told Sir *Thomas Cardine* and other of the Privy Chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon *Ockam* was laid, for and had by the back as soon as he came to *Oking*, and so kept from the Bishop.

The conspiracy of the Adversaries disclosed.

Many good men taken in the Privy Chamber indicted by the Bishops.

On the next morrow very early, *Bennets* Wife sent her man to the Court after *Ockam*, to see how he sped with her Husbands Letter. And when he came there, he found Sir *Thomas Cardine* walking with *Ockam* up and down the green before the Court gate. Whereat he marvelled to see *Ockam* with him so early, mistrusting the matter; whereupon he kept himself out of sight till they had broken off their communication.

And as soon as he saw Master *Cardine* gone (leaving *Ockam* behind) he went to *Ockam* and asked him if he had delivered his Master Letter to the Bishop. No, said *Ockam*, the King removeth this day to *Gilford*, and I must go thither, and will deliver it there. Marry, quoth he, and I will go with you, to see what answer you shall have, and to carry word to my Mistress, and so they rode to *Gilford* together: where *Bennets* man (being better acquainted in the Town then *Ockam* was) got a lodging for them both in a Kinsmans house of his.

Bennets man goeth with his Mistress's Letter to the Bishop of Winchester.

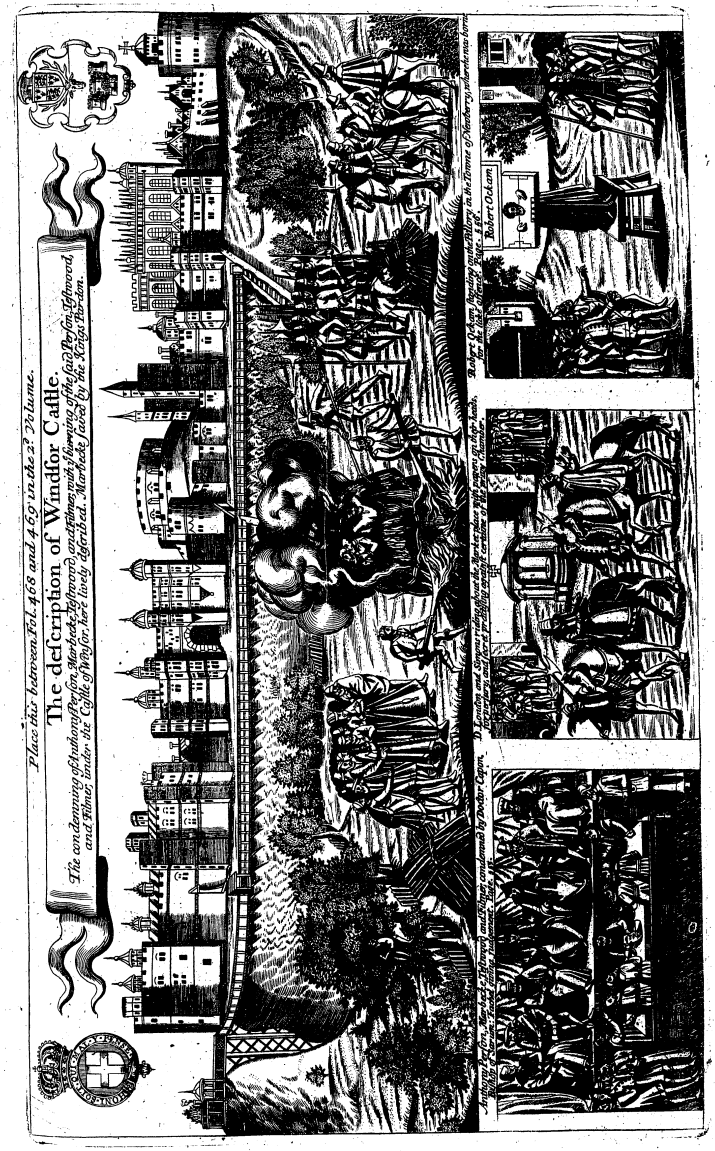
That done, he asked *Ockam*, if he would go and deliver his Mistress's Letter to the Bishop. Nay (said *Ockam*) you shall go and deliver it your self, and took him the Letter. And as they were going in the Street together, and coming by the Earl of *Bedfords* lodging (then Lord Privy Seal) *Ockam* was pulled in by the sleeve, and no more seen of *Bennets* man, till he saw him in the *Marshalsey*. Then went *Bennets* man to the Bishops lodging and delivered his Letter. And when the Bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. Come sirrah, quoth he, you can tell me more by mouth than the Letter specifieth, and had him into a little Garden. Now, quoth the Bishop, what say you to me? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I have nothing to say unto your Lordship, for I did not bring the Letter to the Town. No, quoth the Bishop, where is he that brought it? Forsooth my Lord, quoth he, I left him busie at his lodging. Then he will come, quoth the Bishop, bid him be with me betimes in the morning. I will, quoth he, do you Lordships commandment, and so he departed home to his lodging. And when his Kinsfolks saw him come in, Alas Cousin, quoth they, we are all undone. Why so, quoth he, what is the matter? O, said they, here hath been since you went, Master *Pagit* the Kings Secretary, with Sir *Thomas Cardine* of the Privy Chamber, and searched all our house for one that should come to the Town with *Ockam*; therefore make shift for your self as soon as you can. Is that all the matter, quoth he? then content your selves, for I will never flee one foot, hap what hap will. As they were thus reasoning together, in came the foresaid searchers again; and when Master *Cardine* saw *Bennets* man, he knew him very well, and said, Was it thou that came to the Town with *Ockam*? Yea Sir, quoth he. Now who the Devil (quoth Master *Cardine*) brought thee in company with that false knave? Then he told them his business, and the cause of his coming: which being known, they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had *Bennets* man a discharge for his Master (procured by certain of the Privy Chamber) and so went home.

Bennets man searcheth for at Oking.

Bennet discharged out of Prison by good means of the Privy Chamber.

Now was *Ockam* all this while at my Lord Privy Seals, where he was kept secret, till certain of the Privy Counsel had perused all his writings; among the which they found certain of the Privy Chamber indicted, with other the Kings Officers, with their Wives, that is to say, Sir *Thomas Cardine*, Sir *Philip Hobby*, with both their Ladies, Master *Edmund Harman*, Master *Thomas Weldon*, with *Snowball* and his Wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the six Articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of *Anthony Pearson*. And beside them, they had indicted of Heresie (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number more of the Kings true and faithful Subjects. Whereof the Kings Majesty being certified, his grace of his special goodness

Certain of the Privy Chamber indicted. Sir Thomas Cardine, and his Wife. Sir Philip Hobby and his Wife. M. Edmund Harman. M. Thomas Weldon. Snowball and his Wife. All these were indicted for the six Articles, with a great number more.



neſs (without the ſuit of any man) gave to the foreſaid Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, and other his Servants with their Wives, his gracious Pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his Majeſty, as he rode one day a hunting in *Gilford-park*, and ſaw the Sheriff with Sir *Humfrey Foſter* ſitting on their horſe-backs together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his Laws were executed at *Windſor*. Then they beſeeching his Grace of Pardon, told him plainly that in all their lives they never came in matter under his Graces Authority, that went ſo much againſt their Conſciences, as the death of theſe men did, and up and told his Grace ſo pitiful a Tale of the caſting away of theſe poor men, that the King turning his Horſe head to depart from them, ſaid, Alas poor Innocents.

The K. gave his pardon to his Gentlemen of his priy. Chamber.

The King entiſed of the pitiful death of theſe godly martyrs at Windſor.

The Kings Teſtimony of the martyrs of Windſor.

After this the King withdrew his favour from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and being more and more informed of the Conſpiracy of Doctor *London* and *Simons*, he commanded certain of his Councel to ſearch out the ground thereof.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter out of the Kings favour.

Whereupon Doctor *London* and *Simons* were apprehended and brought before the Councel, and examined upon their Oath of Allegiance: And for denying their miſchievous and traiterous purpoſe, which was manifeſtly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured perſons, to wear Papers in *Windſor*; and *Ockam* to ſtand upon the Pillory in the Town of *Newbery* where he was born.

D. London W. Symons, and K. Ockam ſeverally indicted and condemned of Perjury.

The judgment of all theſe three was to ride about *Windſor*, *Reading*, and *Newbery*, with Papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the Horſe tails, and ſo to ſtand upon the Pillory in every of theſe Towns, for falſe accuſation of the forenamed Martyrs, and for Perjury.

The puniſhment of D. London, W. Simons, and of D. Ockam, for falſe Accuſation and Perjury. Ex teſtimonio Joan. Huth.

And thus much touching the perſecution of theſe good Saints of *Windſor*, according to the Copy of their own Acts, received and written by *John Marbeck*, who is yet alive both a preſent witneſs, and alſo was then a party of the ſaid doings, and can teſtifie the Truth thereof.

An Anſwer to the cavilling Adverſaries touching John Marbeck.

Anno 1544.

WHerefore againſt theſe crooked Cavillers, which make ſo much ado againſt my former Book, becauſe in a certain place I chanced to ſay that *Bennet* and *Filmer* had their Pardon (when indeed it was *Bennes* and *Marbeck*) be it therefore known, proteſted, denounced, and notified to all and ſingular ſuch Carpers, Wranglers, Exclaimers, Depravers, with the whole Brood of all ſuch whiſperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and ſpider-catchers, or by what name elſe ſoever they are to be tituled, that here I openly ſay and affirm, profeſs, hold, maintain, and write the ſame as I ſaid and wrote before in the latter caſtigations of my Book: that is, That *John Marbeck* was with the other condemned, but not burned; caſt by the Law, but by Pardon ſaved: appointed with the reſt to die, and yet not dead, but liveth, God be praiſed, and yet to this preſent ſingeth merrily, and plaieth on the Organs, not as a dead man amongſt *Foxes* Martyrs (as it hath pleaſed ſome in the Court to encounter againſt me) but as one witneſſed and teſtified truly in the Book *Foxes* Martyrs to be alive. And therefore ſuch manner of Perſons, if the diſpoſition of their nature be ſuch that they muſt needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where theſe faults by their finding may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already and found to their hands, and alſo amended before, let then theſe Legend-liers look on their own Legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enow and ceaſe their biting there where they have no juſt cauſe to bark.

The Story doth purge it ſelf if it had pleaſed their men to take our place with meeker. Back you wranglers and be ſatisfied.

And admit that I had not foreſeen and corrected this eſcape before, touching the matter of *John Marbeck*, but that the place ſtill had remained in the Book as it was, that is, that the ſaid *John Marbeck*, which is yet alive, had then died and ſuffered with the other three, the ſame time at *Windſor*: yet what gentle or courteous Reader could have therein any juſt matter to triumph and inſult againſt me, ſeeing the judicial Acts, the Records and Regiſters, yea and the Biſhops Certificate, and alſo the Writ of execution remaining yet on Record, ſent to the King, did lead me ſo to ſay and think? For what man writing Hiſtories, who cannot be in all places to ſee all things but following his Records, and Regiſters, wherein he ſeeth the ſaid *Marbeck* to be judged and condemned with the reſt, would otherwiſe write or think, but that he alſo was Executed and burned in the ſame Company.

But now I correct and reform the ſame again, and firſt of all other, I find the fault, and yet I am found fault withal. I correct my ſelf, and yet I am corrected of others. I warn the reader of the Truth, and yet am a Lyar. The Book it ſelf ſheweth the eſcape, and biddeth in ſtead of four, to read three burned, and yet is the Book made a Legend of lies.

The death of Jo. Marlyar. ſeek in the former Book amended.

Briefly, where I prevent all occaſion of cavilling, to the uttermoſt of my diligence, yet cannot I have that Law which all other Books have, that is, to recognize and reform mine own *Errata*.

Wherefore to conclude, theſe men whoſoever they are, if they will be ſatisfied, I have ſaid enough; if they will not, whatſoever I can ſay, it will not ſerve, and ſo I leave them: I would I could better ſatisfie them. God himſelf amend them.

The Perſecution in Calice, *with the Martyrdom of* George Bucker, *otherwiſe called* Adam Damlip *and others.*

AT what time *John Marbeck* was in the Marſhalſey, which was about the year of our Lord, 1544. there was in the ſaid Priſon with him one *George Bucker*, named otherwiſe *Adam Damlip*, who having continued in the ſaid Priſon three or four years, at the laſt, by the commandment of *Wincheſter*, was had to *Calice* by *John Maſſie*, the Keeper of the *Marſhalſey*, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treaſon pretenſed, which was a little before the Condemnation of the *Windſor* men aforeſaid, as is by the Letters of the ſaid *John Marbeck* to me ſignified.

G. Bucker, alias Adam Damlip Martyr.

Touching which Story of *Adam Damlip*, forſomuch as it includeth matter of much trouble and Perſecution that happened in *Calice*, to digeſt therefore and compriſe the whole narration thereof in order, firſt I will enter (the Lord willing) the Story of *Damlip*, and ſo proceed in order to ſuch as by the ſaid occaſion were afflicted and perſecuted in the Town of *Calice*.

Ex literis Joan. Marb.

Perſecution in the Town of Calice.

Perſecutors.	*Perſons Perſecuted.*
John Dove Prior of the *Grey-Friers* in *Calice.*	*George Bucker*, or elſe called *Adam Damlip.*
	A poor Labouring-man.
	W. Stevens. Thomas Lancaſter.
	John Butler Commiſſary.
	W. Smith Prieſt. *Ralph Hare.*
	Jacob a Chirurgeon. A Fleming.
Sir *Gregory Buttoll*, Prieſt.	Clement *Philpot* Servant.
	Jeffery Loveday.
	Dodde.
	Sir *Edmund* Prieſt.
	William Touchet, Poſtmaſter.
	Peter Becket. Anthony Pickering Gentleman.
Steven Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter.*	*Henry Tourney* Gentleman.
	George Darby Prieſt.
	John Shepard. W. Pellam.
	W. Keverdal.
	John Whitwood.
	John Boote. Ro. Cloddet.
	Coppen de Hane, alias James Cock.
Dr. *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*	*Matthew Hownd.*
	W. Crosbowmaker.
	Their Cauſes.
Dr. *Clerk* Biſhop of *Bath.*	IN the Year of our Lord 1539. the Lord *Cromwel* being yet alive, there came to *Calice* one *George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip*, who had been in time

Persecutors.	*Persons persecuted and their Causes.*
Dr. *Repse* Bishop of *Norwich.*	past a great Papist and Chaplain to *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and after the death of the Bishop his Master had travelled through *France*, *Dutchland*, and *Italy*, and as he went conferred with Learned men concerning matters of controversie in Religion, and so proceeding in his Journey to *Rome*, whereas he thought to have found all godlinesse and sincere Religion, in the end, he found there, (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christs true Religion, loosnesse of Life, and abundance of all abominations and filthinesse, that it abhorred his Heart and Conscience any longer there to remain; although he was greatly requested by Cardinal *Poole*, there to continue, and to read three Lectures in the week in his House, for the which he offered him great entertainment, which he refused, and so returning homeward, having a piece of Mony given him of the Cardinal at his departure, to the value of a French Crown towards his charges, came to *Calice*, as is aforesaid. Who as he was there waiting without the Gate for passage into *England*, and being there perceived by certain *Calice* men, namely *William Stevens* and *Thomas Lancaster*, through conference of talk, to be a Learned man and also well affected; and moreover how that he being of late a zealous Papist, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true Religion, was by them heartily intreated to stay at *Calice* a certain space, and to read there a day or two, to the intent he might do some good there, after his painful travel, unto the People. To this request *Adam* gladly consented, so as he might be licensed by such as were in Authority so to do.
Harvey, Commissary in *Calice.*	
Lady *Honor*, Wife to L. *Lisle* Deputy of *Calice.*	
Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Knight.	
In. Rookwood, Esquire.	
Richard Long, Souldier of *Calice.*	
Francis Hastings Souldier.	
Hugh Counsel, Servant.	

Adam Damlip recalled by Cardinal *Poole* to tarry at Rome.

This French Crown was dearly bought, for by the same he was preached of Treason W. *Stevens* T. *Lancaster.*

Adam brought to the Lord Deputy of *Calice.*

Adam well liked of the Deputy and Councel of *Calice.*

Whereupon the said *Stevens*, at the opening of the Gates, brought him unto the Lord *Lisle* the Kings Deputy of the Town and Marches of *Calice*, unto whom he declared throughly what conference and talk had been between *Adam Damlip* and him. Which known, the said Lord Deputy instantly desired the said *Damlip* to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying, that he should have both his licence and the Commissaries also, which then was Sir *John Butler*, so to do. Where after he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked both for his learning, his utterance and the Truth of his Doctrine, that not only the Souldiers and Commoners, but also the Lord Deputy and a great part of the Councel, gave him marvellous great praise and thanks for it, and the said Lord Deputy offered unto him a Chamber in his own house, and to dine and sup every meal at his own mess, to have a man or two of his to wait upon him, and to have whatsoever it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for mony, yea, and what he would in his purse to buy Books or otherwise, so as he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it should seem good to himself. Who, refusing his Lordships great offer, most heartily thanked him for the same, and besought

Persecutors.	*Persons Persecuted and their Causes.*
Sir *Ralph Ellerker* Knight.	him to be only so good unto him, as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the Town where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his Book, and he would daily once in the forenoon, and again by one a Clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them according unto that Talent that God had lent him. At which answer the Lord Deputy greatly rejoyced, and thereupon sent for the forsaid *William Stevens*, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge the said *Damlip* in his house, promising whatsoever he should demand, to see it paid with the most; and moreover would send every meal from his own mess a dish of the best unto them; and indeed so did, albeit the said *Damlip* refused that offer, shewing his Lordship that thin diet was most convenient for students. Yet could not that restrain him, but that every meal he sent it.
Sir *John Gage.*	

Damlip threatned by the Bishops.

Adam Damlip received of W. Strowt by the Lord Deputies request.

This godly man by the space of twenty days or more, once every day at seven of the Clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the Truth of the blessed Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, mightily inveighing against all Papistry, and confuting the same, but especially those two most pernicious Errours or Heresies, triffling Transubstantiation, and the pestilent Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Romish Mass, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient Doctors, earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the People to return from their Popery, declaring how Popish he himself had been, and how by the detestable wickednesse that he did see universally in *Rome*, he was returned so far homeward, and now became an enemy, through Gods grace, to all Papistry, shewing therewith that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of *Cardinal Pool* (as you have heard before,) but for very Conscience sake joyned with true knowledge, grounded on Gods most holy Word, he now utterly abhorred all Papistry, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.

Adam Damlip preacheth against Transubstantiation and the Romish Church

And thus he continued a while reading in the Chapter-house of the white Friers; but the place being not big enough, he was desired to read in the Pulpit, and so he did, proceeding in his Lectures (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman Bishops, which had set forth the damnable Doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Real presence in the Sacrament, as is aforesaid) he came at length to speak against the Pageant or Picture set forth of the Refurrection which was in St. *Nicholas* Church, declaring the same to be but meer Idolatry, and an Illusion of the French-men before *Calice* was English.

The Idolatrous Pageant of the Resurrection most simply novelly figured out in *Calice.*

Upon which Sermon or Lecture there came a Commission from the King to the Lord Deputy, Master *Green-field*, Sir *John Butler* Commissary, the Kings Mason and Sir Smith, with others, that they should search whether there were (as was put in writing and under Bull and Parchment) three Hosts lying upon a Marble Stone bepriuked with Blood; and if they found it not so, that immediately it should be plucked down, and so it was. For in searching thereof, as they brake up a Stone in a Corner of the Tomb, they, instead of three Hosts, found sodldered, in the Cross of Marble lying under the Sepulchre, three plain white Counters, which they had painted like unto Hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheeps Tail. All which trumpery *Damlip* shewed unto the People the next day following, which was, *Sunday*, out three Hosts of the Pulpit, and after that they were sent by the Lord Deputy to the King.

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The false jugling of the Papists expelled.

Three painted Counters in stead of three Hosts.

Notwithstanding, the Devil stirred up a Dove (he might well be called a Cormorant) the Prior of the white Friers; of *Damlip*. Who with Sir G. *Buttoll*, Chaplain to the L. *Lisle*, began to bark against him. Yet after the said *Adam* had in 3. or 4. Sermons confuted the said Friers Erroneous Doctrine of Transub-

J. Dove Frier, Preacher

Transubstantiation, and of the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass; the said Frier outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, and secretly practised to preach him by Letters sent unto the Clergy here in *England*: so that, within eight or ten days after, the said *Damlip* was sent for to appear before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, with whom was assistant *Steven Gardiner*, Bp. of *Winchester*, Dr. *Sampson*, Bishop of *Chichester*, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the Doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering; confuting, and soluting the Objections, as his Adversaries, yea even among the others, the learned, godly and blessed Martyr *Cranmer*, then yet but a Lutherane, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scriptures knew not such term of Transubstantiation. Then began the other Bishops to threaten him, shortly to consute him with their accustomed Argument, I mean Fire and Faggot, if he would still stand to the defence of that he had spoken. Whereunto he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand, and so was dismissed.

Damlip sent for to appear before the Councel in *England.*

Damlip severely wrangled to void.

The next day at the hour appointed to appear, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, in the mean season he had secret intimation from the Bishop of *Canterbury*, that if he did any more personally appear, he should be committed unto Ward, not like to escape cruel death. Whereupon he playing indeed then somewhat old *Adams* part, for such is man, left in his own hands) had him commended unto them, and sent them four sheets of Paper learnedly written in the Latin Tongue, containing his Faith with his Arguments, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the Doctors, by a Messenger or Friend of his. Which done, he, having a little mony given him in his purse by his Friends, stepped aside, and went into the West-Country, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled against Gods People in *Calice* upon the same; as ye shall hear, the Lord permitting.

D. Champion and M. Garnerson to preach at Calice.

After his departure, the Kings Majesty was advertised, that there was great dissention and diversity of Pernicious Opinions in his said Town of *Calice*, greatly tending to the danger of the same. Whereupon, during yet the days of the Lord *Cromwel*, were sent over Doctor *Champion*, Doctor of Divinity, and Mr. *Garret*, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and instruct the People, and to confute all Pernicious Errours, who in effect preached and maintained the same true Doctrin which *Adam Damlip* had before set forth, and by reason thereof they left the Town at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the slander that had run on it

Sir William Smith Curate and a zealous preacher at Calice.

After the departure of the said *Champion* and *Garret*, one Sir *William Smith* Curate of our Ladies Parish in *Calice* (a man very zealous, though but meanly learned) did begin to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against Papistry and wilful ignorance, exhorting men obediently to receive the word, and no longer to contemn the same, lest Gods heavy plagues and wrath should fall upon them, which always followeth the contempt of his holy word. Which Sir *William Smith*, for that sometime he would be very fervent and zealous, sharply inveighing against the despisers of the Word, was moved by some of the Councel there, who would seem to favour Gods Word that he should not be so earnest against them that yet could not away with the same, willing him to bear with such, for by bearing with them they might hap to be won.

Well, well, said the same *Smith*, (openly in the Pulpit one day as he preached) some say I am too earnest, and will me to bear with such as continue open Enemies against Christs holy Gospel, and refuse, nay forbid that one should read the Bible or holy Scripture within their house; but let all such take heed, for before God, I fear that God for their contemning of his word will not long bear with them, but make them in such case as some of them shall not have a Head left them upon their shoulders to bear up their Cap withal, which also after came to pass.

This *Smith* continued in the diligent bestowing of his Talent there, till shortly after the Devil got such hold in the hearts of a number of Gods Enemies, that he with divers other godly men were called over into *England*, and charged with erroneous Opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

The Lord *Lisle* base Son to King *Edward* the fourth.

First the Lord *Lisle* the Kings Deputy there, whom we shewed to be the maintainer of *Damlip* (albeit he were himself of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble Blood, the base Son of that Noble Prince K. *Ed. 4.*) being fiercely set on and incessantly enticed by the wicked Lady *Honor* his Wife, who was an utter Enemy to Gods honor, and in Idolatry, Hypocrisie, and Pride incomparably evil, the being daily and hourly thereunto incited and provoked by Sir *Thomas Palmer* Knight, and *John Rookwood* Esquire, two Enemies to Gods Word, beginning now to flourish at *Calice*: these I say, with certain other of the Councel of the said town of *Calice*, to the number of 7. more besides themselves, seeking occasion or rather a quarrel where no just cause was given, began to write very heinous Letters and grievous complaints unto the Lords of the privy Councel, against divers of the Town of *Calice*, affirming that they were horribly infected with Heresies and Pernicious Opinions: As first the forefaid *Adam Damlip*, who, though he were for a time escaped their hands, yet stuck still in their remembrance from time to time, until at last the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a Traitor, as hereafter shall appear.

Sir T. Palmer, Master Rookwood.

The Councel at Calice Letters against the Proceedings.

Also besides this *Damlip*, they complained of *Thomas Brook*, *R. Hare*, likewise of Sir *J. Butler*, then Commissary, Sir *W. Smith*, *J. Cocke*, *alias Coppen de Hane*, *J. Barber*; and other, and the names of all them sent over. Of the which Persons, first the said *T. Brook*, and *Ralph Hare*, *Coppen de Hane* and *James Barber*, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to Prison in *Westminster* Gate, and then commanded to appear before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Winchster*, the Bishop of *Chichester*, and ten other appointed by the Kings Majesties Commission for the Examination of them: and their accusers were sent over with Letters from the Councel there unto his Privy Councel here, in the furtherance of their malicious sutes against those honest men, with certain special Letters directed unto the Lord *Fitzwilliams* then Earl of *Southhampton*, great Admiral of *England*, to the Lord *Sands*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold, likewise also to Sir *William Kingston* Knight, Controller of the Houshold, and to Doctor *Sampson* then Bp. of *Chichester*, and other tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preserved them, and as it were overshadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

The trouble of R. Hare Souldier of *Calice.*

That the same may the better appear, you shall understand, that first *Ralph Hare*, a man rude and so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet through Gods grace was very Zealous, and therewith lead so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his Enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This *Ralph Hare* was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular Confession, against holy Bread and holy Water: yea, and beside that, he was one which would not lightly swear an Oath, nor use almost any manner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his Book.

Ralph Hare charged.

This poor simple man being charged by the Commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise, coming out of a Town so infected with pernicious Errours and Sects, as that was, was willed by them to take good heed to himself, lest through obstinacy he turned his erroneous Opinions into plain Heresie: for an Errour defended is Heresie.

The answer of R. Hare.

My good Lords, said the poor man, I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any Errour, or Heresie. Wherefore I beseech you let my Accusers come face to face before me. For if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be Truth, I will stand unto it; and otherwise, if it be an Errour, I will with all my heart utterly forsake it, I mean if it be against Gods holy Word: for the Lord is my witness, I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the Truth, and flee from all Errours, and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them.

Aha, quoth the Bishop of *Winchester*, do you not hear what he saith my Lord? I perceive now thou art a naughty fellow. Alas my Lord, said *Ralph Hare*, what evil said I? Marry Sir, you said the Lord, the Lord, and that is *Symbolum Hæreticorum* said *Winchester*. What is that my Lord, for Gods sake tell me, said *Hare*, Thou art naught, thou art naught, said he. At which words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismaied and driven into a great agony and fear. Which thing *Winchester* well perceiving, said unto him: *Ralph Hare, Ralph Hare*, by my troth I pitty thee much. For in good Faith, I think thee to be a good simple man, and of thy self wouldest mean well enough, but that thou hast had shrewd and subtil Schoolmasters, that have seduced thee good poor simple Soul, and therefore I pitty thee, and it were indeed pitty that thou shouldest be burnt, for thou art a good fellow, a Tall man, and hast served the King sight well in his Wars. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the King as good service as ever thou wast, and we all will be a mean to his Grace to be a good gracious Lord unto thee, if thou will take pitty of thy self, and leave thy Errours. For I dare say for us all that be Commissioners, that we would be loath that thou shouldest be cast away: For alas poor simple man, we perceive thou hast been seduced, I say, by others.

Winchesters cavillation about the Lord and our Lord.

How sayest thou therefore, thou knowest my Lord of *Canterburies* Grace here is a good gentle Lord, and would be loth thou shouldest be cast away. Tell me, canst thou be content to submit thy self unto him and to stand unto such order, as he and we shall take in this matter? how saiest thou man? speak. The poor man therewith falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in this wise: My good Lord, for Christs sake be good unto me, and I refer my self unto your Graces order, to do with me what you please.

The Bishop of *Canterbury*, considering what danger he was ready to fall in, and pitying the same (though the simplicity of the man was so great that he perceived it not) said, nay *Ralph Hare*, stand up and advise thy self, and commit not thy self to me, for I am but one man, and in Commission but as the other are, so that it lieth in me to do nothing. But if thou do commit thy self unto all, then thou committest thy self unto the Law, and the Law is ordained to do every man right. Go to *Ralph Hare*, said *Winchester*, submit thy self to my Lord and us: it is best for thee to do so. Whereupon he fell upon his knees again, and said, my Lords and Masters all, I submit my self wholly unto you. And therewith a Book was holden him, and an Oath given him to be obedient unto them and to all Ecclesiastical Laws. And straightway he was enjoyned to abjure, and to bear a Fagot three several days, and moreover the poor man left his whole living that he had at *Calice*.

The words of the Archbishop of Canterbury to R. Hare.

Penance injoyned to Ralph Hare.

This simple man hearing his Penance, pitiously lamented, and earnestly at the first denied to stand thereunto, with pitious exclamation, saying, O my Lord of *Winchester*, my Lord of *Winchester*, have you made me a Logg ready to be laid upon the fire, whensoever any wicked man falsely of malice, by provocation of the Devil, shall lay any small trifle to my charge? Or shall I be thus handled, nothing proved to my face against me? Alas I have always hated errours and Heresies. Content thy self *Hare*: there is now no remedy thou must either do thy Penance, or be burnt, said the Commissioners. Thus have you heard how *Ralph Hare* did speed.

Then was *Thomas Brook* called for, against whom it was objected by some of the Councels Letters of *Calice*, that he was a Seditious Fellow. Among these accusers besides the rest was one *Richard Long*, another *Francis Hastings*, men of Arms, who charged the forenamed *Thoms Brook*, and one *Geffery Loveday* Esquire, for staying and maintaining the foresaid *Adam Damlip* at *Calice*, as who had promised unto him a stipend to preach such Heresies and pernicious Opinions as afterward he taught there: and that these two daily gathered many several sums of money for the entertainment of the said *Adam*. Howbeit the foresaid *Hastings* failed in the proof thereof. For *Loveday* proved that he was eight days before *Damlips* coming to *Calice*, and during fourteen days continually after he began to preach, abiding at *Paris*, there occupied about necessarie affairs of *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*. And *Brook* during the said time was at *London*, daily attendant in the Parliament House, whereof he had enow to bear witness, against that untrue surmise.

The Examination and trouble of Tho. Brook, Accusers of Tho. Brook, False accusation.

After that, came three at once against the said *Brook*, well armed as they thought, who had not only consulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at *Calice*, beside their conference and talk by the way keeping Company from thence hither, but also had obtained from the Lord Deputy, and others of the Councel, special Letters as is aforesaid, and among other, one Letter unto the Bishop of *Chichester*, for the earnest and speedy furtherance of the advancement of their accusations against *Brook*.

Three other accusers against Tho. Brook, and G. Loveday.

The first of these three was a young Gentleman lately brought up under the said *Brook* in the office of Cofferer in his House, whose name was *Edmond Poyton*. The other was one *Robert Poole*, a man (as it was commonly reported) both base born, and also such a one, as in his youth for murdering a man with a Club, in *Bow-Lane* in *London*, was fain by obtaining the Kings pardon to save his neck.

Poyton the first accuser.

Poole, the second accuser.

The third was one *Thomas Boyse*, who, shewing more honesty than the rest, affirmed not that he himself heard the said *Brook* speak any thing of that which was objected against him, but justified that each of the other two had stedfastly affirmed to him, that *Brook* had spoken unto them those things here under objected against him.

Tho. Boyse the third Accuser.

The first young man objected against the said *Brook*, that he should say that the thing which the Priest useth to hold up over his head at Mass, is not the natural Body of Jesus Christ: for if that were so, who so would might have their belly full of God, their Guts full of God, and he that had lately received the Sacrament before he went to the Sea, might happily vomit God up again on Shipboard.

The Deposition of the first witness against Tho. Brook.

And thus much he brought over in writing with him from *Calice*, and added thereto, as it should seem, to exasperate the Commissioners and the rest of the Clergy against him, certain other hainous words spoken against Bishops and Priests. Which words the said *Brook* there denied, confessing nevertheless that certain private Talk he had with him touching the Sacrament, wherein he shewed to the young man the right use of the same: concluding, that albeit with our mouths we received very material Bread and Wine, yet by Faith all Christian men do receive, eat and drink, to their great comfort and benifit, the natural Body and Blood of Christ, which was both born of the Virgin *Mary*, and suffered death on the Cross for the remission of their sins: which most holy Sacrament who so cometh unworthily unto, the same was so far from eating of Christs Body and Blood, that all such, without hearty repentance, do eat their own damnation: And to conclude with him, in that private talk he told him, that if the gross and unlearned errour of Transubstantiation were indeed matter of Truth and sincere Doctrine, then not only this should follow of it, that every man who would might have everlasting life (for they might when they would receive the outward Sacrament, seen with our eyes, which the Priests call Christs natural Body, and whoso eateth Christs natural Body hath everlasting life, saith Christ) but also there should great absurdities follow thereby, as when a man hapneth to go to Sea, having lately received the Sacrament, he should put it over-board, or to do it on the Hatches, and therefore exhorted the said *Paiton* to leave that gross errour.

The private talk of Tho. Brook and Paiton touching the Sacrament.

The second Accuser was *Pool*, who objected against him, that about two years past, he himself dining with the said *Brook*, with fifteen or sixteen other honest men heard him say thus at the Table, that the thing which the Priests use to hold up over their heads, was not the very Body and Blood of Christ, but a Sacrament to put us in remembrance thereof. Unto whose objections the said *Brook* answered, That a man in mirth might well enough in Charity bestrew such a guest, as when he had dined with a man could so long after remember to say him such a grace: and required of *Pool*, of whence the rest of the guests were. He answered, they were

Pools accusation against Brook.

were of the Town all. Then inferred he, that he was sure *Pool* could as well remember some of their names which then were present, as freshly to keep in mind (for so by Oath upon a Book he had affirmed) every word of the whole matter which he objected; but that the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the said *Brook* desired their Honours to consider the slenderness of his Tale.

To be short, he with the rest of his fellows, to wit, *Ralf Hare*, *Coppen*, and *James* the Barber, were for that time dismissed.

The trouble and examination of Sir William Smith and John Butler Commissary The accusers of John Butler.

During the time while these four were thus in examination at *London*, the other two, to wit, Sir *William Smith* preacher, and *John Butler*, by commandment were apprehended in *Calice*, and bound by Surety not to pass the Gates of the Town of *Calice*. In the which Town, the said *John Butler* Commissary was accused by *Richard Thorpe* and *John Ford* Souldiers of *Calice*, saying, That he should say, that if the Sacrament of the Altar be Flesh, Blood, and Bone, then there is good *Aqua-vitæ* at *John Spisers*. Upon which accusation the said *Thorpe* and *Ford* brought for records before the Counsel of *Calice*, *Marraunt*, *Haynes*, *John Luckes*, *Henry Hosson* and *Henry Trost*, all of the Parish of Oye beside *Calice*. Whereupon shortly after, the said *John Butler* and Sir *William Smith* were sent for, and by one *Swallow* a Purfevant, which fetcht up the other aforesaid, brought into *England*, unto the House of the said *Swallow* dwelling by St. *James*, where the Kings Majesty lay at that time, and the next day being *Thursday* after dinner, *Butler*, and *Smith* were brought to the *Star Chamber* before the Privy Councel, where both Sedition and Heresie was objected against them. And after much talk it was said unto them by the Lord *Cromwel*, that they should make their Purgation by the Law: and from thence by the foresaid *Swallow* they were sent to the *Fleet*.

Agnatio, to dispell the Blood and Bones of the Sacrament.

The next day being *Friday* after dinner, *Butler* and *Smith* were sent for to come to *Bathe* place, where they were brought into the Chappel, there sitting Doctor *Clarke*, Bishop of *Bathe*, Doctor *Sampson*, then Bishop of *Chichester*, Doctor *Repsey*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, who was a Monk, being fast asleep. Then was objected unto *Butler* with great reverence the opprobrious words spoken against the blessed Sacrament (rehearsing as is aforesaid) the Articles. *Butler* required to have them in writing, and so he would make answer in writing. The which they would not grant him; and upon that answer he stood. Then choler gathered in the Bishop of *Chichester*. The story were too long to write, yet part ye shall understand.

The examination of John Butler.

Chichester found great fault that *Butler* made not low curtesie, being stubborn and arrogant, as he said, and in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then turning him about he called to his Brother *Banester* being present (that time dwelling in *Paternoster-Row*) to make answer for the shirt. Hee said, I can make answer for the shirt. No good answer, said *Chichester*. Forsooth, said he, the shirt is mine, I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any Servant. A good answer, said the Bishop of *Bathe*. Then *Butler* made low curtesie, and said, The shirt is answered. Then *Chichester* said, Thou mockest us. But he said no. And thus much concerning that time.

The Story of William Smith.

The trouble and examination of Sir Will. Smith Curate.

THen after *Butler* was Sir *William Smith*, Curate of our Lady Parish in *Calice*, called before them, and charged in a manner with the same hainous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected against the said *Ralf Hare*; and thereto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against praying to Saints, against doing of good works, and many other such like things: and therewithal one *Richard Long*, a Man at Arms at *Calice*, proved against the said Sir *Smith*, and the foresaid *Brooke*, by an Oath taken upon a Book, that the said *Smith* and *Brooke* did eat Flesh together in Lent in the said *Brookes* House. For a Millers Boy, said he, came into *Brooks* Kitchen, and saw halfe a Lamb lie rolling at the fire. Whereas the truth is, that the said Sir *William Smith*, during all the Lent, came never once within the said *Brookes* House. And it is as true also, that the said *Richard Long*, upon a displeasure taken with his Wife, went shortly after out of his own House, to the Jutty end of the Haven at *Calice*, where dispetately he drowned himself, not one Boy, but many Men, Women, Girls and Boys seeing him miserably taken up again stark dead; all which lamented his pitiful ruine. A terrible example unto all such as are ready to forswear themselves on a Book upon malice, or whatsoever other causefit be, a thing in these days over rife every where, and almost no where regarded as it ought to be.

False accusation against the Jury pretended of God.

The Trouble of John Butler.

The trouble of John Butler, then Commissary at *Calice*, whom they would have burdened with the maintenance or (at the least wise) sufferance of the foresaid *Adam Damlip*, which preached so long time there, and was not by him punished. Who for his defence anfwered, that the Lord *Deputy* and the whole Councel there so highly entertained, and so friendly used the said *Damlip*, and with their own presence and high commendations outwardly so allowed and commended his Doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwise than he did; and therfore humbly befought their Lordships and other the Commissioners to be good unto him. At whose Hands, after long attendance given, he was discharged, and so returned home again, being also dismissed of his Commissarilhip.

The Recantation of certain Calice *Men.*

NOw to declare what order was taken with these foresaid *Calice* Men, it was appointed that Sir *William Smith*, *Ralfe Hare*, *James Cocke*, and *James Barber*, should be sent to *Calice*, there to abjure and to do Penance. Where Sir *William Smith* was injoyned to make the Sermon, *Ralfe Hare*, *James Cocke*, and *James Barber* standing with Fagots upon their Shoulders. The Sermon was made in the Market of *Calice*. Which being done, they went with their Fagots about the market place, the Drum and Fife going before them, and then returning to the Commissioners with the Testimonial of the same, they departed. Albeit in this Recantation, the said *William Smith* Curate of our Ladies Church handled his Sermon after that sort, as in effect he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, yet it satisfied somewhat his Adversaries malicious Hearts, in that it bare the name of a Recantation, according to the Commissioners order, appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the Town and Marches.

The trouble of John Butler, Commissary.

The recantation and penance of Sir William Smith, *Ralfe Hare*, *James Cocke*, and *James Barber* standing with Fagots upon their Shoulders. The Sermon was made in the Market of *Calice*. Which

A new Commission sent down to *Calice*.

False accusation against the Town of *Calice*.

As touching *James Barber* aforesaid, forbidden as his dwelling was not at *Calice*, but four miles off from the Town, it was therefore enjoyned him to bear his Fagot, not at *Calice*, but on the *Saturday* next following to stand in the Market there, where he dwelled, with his Fagot upon his Shoulder, and the said Sir *William Smith* likewise there preached as before.

James Barber.

And thus much concerning the first Commission sent over to *Calice* to enquire upon the Hereticks there.

Another Commission sent over to Calice.

AFter all these things done and past, the grudging minds of the Adversaries yet were not satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the Kings eares against the Town of *Calice*, making the King believe, that through new opinions the Town was so divided, that it was in great danger of the Adversary to be overcom.

The Commissioners appointed.

Whereupon shortly after, the week before *Easter* next following, other new Commissioners were sent over by the King to *Calice*, to wit, the Earle of *Suffex* Lord great Chamberlain, the Lord Saint *John*, Sir *John Gage* Knight, *John Baker* Knight, Master *Layton* Clerk of the Closet, and Doctor *Curain*, with special instructions besides signed by the Kings Majesties own Hand: for his highnes had been incensed once again from the Counsel of *Calice*, that the Town was in peril through diffension and diversity of opinions. Upon their arrival, Master Doctor *Curain* preached a notable Sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but charity, charity. But as it seemed afterward, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the Commissioners, that had not God pitied the

innocency of mens causes, there had an hundred been burnt or hanged ſhortly after.

But it hapned far otherwiſe, for of the number of thoſe Accuſers, four were by thoſe Commiſſioners ſent over into *England*, to wit, *Clement Philpot*, Servant to the Lord *Liſle*, Sir *Edmond* Curate of our Ladies Church, *Hichenet* a Poſt-maſter, *Peter Bequet*. Of the which four, *Hichenet* and *Bequet* were ſent to their places again; the other two were drawn, hanged and quartered at *London*. But contrary, of all them that were accuſed, there was not one that loſt one hair of his head.

Example of Gods puniſhment upon falſe Accuſers.

After the Sermon was done, on the Morrow, to wit, on *Shere-Thurſday*, all the Commiſſioners ſolemnly received the Sacrament: and at Afternoon the Council were with the Commiſſioners; and after their conſultation, Tipped-Staves warned above the number of fourſcore, ſo perverſe Perſons, as the like was not in the Town or Marches, to appear on the Morrow at eight of the Clock before the Council at the *Staple-Inne*: who at their appearance were commanded upon their Allegiance to preſent all ſuch Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Seditious Perſons, as they did know, and in no wiſe to doubt or dread ſo to do, for they ſhould have great advantage thereby, yea, they ſhould either have their livings or their goods; and beſides that, they ſhould have great thanks at the Kings Majeſties hand, and his honourable Council, and what friendſhip they of the Kings Council there could ſhew them. All that *Good-Friday*, even till ten of the Clock at Night, thoſe wicked and malicious perſons occupied their time in anſwering to ſundry and divers queſtions.

Great perturbation at Calice.

Theſe things were not ſo ſecretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honeſt mens knowledge. Whereupon ſuch fear and diſtruſt aſſaulted all men, that Neighbour diſtruſted Neighbour, the Maſter the Servant, the Servant the Maſter, the Husband the Wife, the Wife the Husband, and almoſt every one the other, that lamentable it was to ſee how mourningly Men and Women went in the Streets, hanging down their heads, ſhewing evident tokens of the anguiſh of their hearts.

The ſecond Trouble of Thomas Brook.

UPon *Eaſter Monday*, one *Hugh Councell* an honeſt man, Servant to the ſaid *Brook*, was convented before them, and by the ſpace of fourteen days not ſuffered to return to his Maſters Houſe, but kept in cuſtody, and many times examined upon Articles and Interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of Hereſie or Treaſon againſt the ſaid *Brook*, and the ſame day that *Brook* was committed to Ward, the ſaid *Hugh Councell* was diſcharged.

The *Wedneſday* in the *Eaſter* Week, fundry Queſts were charged by their Oaths to make Inquiſition for all manner of Hereſies, erroneous Opinions and Seditions: as a Queſt of Aldermen, another of Men at Arms, and another of Conſtables and Vintners, another of common Souldiers, and another of Commoners.

And ſhortly after their Preſentments, on *Good-Friday* there were convented before the Commiſſioners, and ſtraight were ſent to cloſe Priſon, *Anthony Pickering* Gentleman, *Henry Turner* Gentleman, Sir *George Darby* Prieſt, *John Shepheard*, *William Pellam*, *William Kevedale*, *Jo. Whitwood*, *Jo. Boote*, *Robert Clodder*, *Coppen de Hane*, and *Matthew de Hound*. Upon whom ran fundry bruits: ſome ſaid they ſhould be hanged, ſome ſaid burnt, ſome ſaid hanged, drawn and quartered, ſome ſaid nailed to the Pillory: ſo that pitiful it was to ſee the lamentation that their Wives, their Children, Servants and Friends made ſecretly where they durſt, for that they found every where words of diſcomfort, and no where of comfort, but ſtill Inquiſition was made.

33 Calice Men impriſoned for their Faith.

The ſecond Trouble of William Stevens.

THe foreſaid *William Stevens*, after his return from *London* above-mentioned, beſides many other Articles laid to him for Religion to the number of forty or well-nigh, was by the Lord Deputy charged that he had ſtaid the foreſaid *Adam Damlip*, hired him to preach, and gave him meat, drink and lodging, coming from the arrant Traitor Cardinal *Pool*, and ſubborned by him, and that he had received mony of him, to the intent he ſhould preach in *Calice* falſe and erroneous Doctrine, whereby the Town being divided and at contention within it ſelf might eaſily be overcome and won by the *Frenchmen*. Whereunto the ſaid *Stevens* anſwered, that whatſoever he had done unto the ſaid *Adam Damlip*, he had done it at the earneſt requeſt and commandment of the ſaid Lord Deputy. Whereupon, if it had been Treaſon indeed, he muſt have been more faulty.

False Crimes forged againſt W. Stevens.

Then the ſaid *William Stevens* was again the ſecond time by the ſaid Commiſſioners ſent over into *England* and clapt in the *Tower*, and afterward, to wit, immediately after the ſaid Commiſſioners repair unto the Kings Highneſs, the ſaid L. Deputy was ſent for over, and likewiſe put into the *Tower*, where he continued a long time. And when the Kings Majeſty minded to have been gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God took him out of this World, whoſe Body reſteth in the *Tower*, and his Soul with God, I truſt, in Heaven, for he died very repentant. But the wicked Lady his Wife, immediately upon his apprehenſion, fell diſtracted of mind, and ſo continued many years after. God for his mercy, if ſhe yet live, give her his Grace to repent.

W. Stevens committed to the Tower.

L. Lifle Deputy of Calice commited to the Tower.

Example of Gods puniſhment upon his Perſecutors.

The ſecond *Monday* after *Eaſter*, the foreſaid *Brook* was convented before the Commiſſioners, and committed to cloſe Priſon in the Mayors Gaol. Then the Council of *Calice*, doubting leſt there ſhould not be any Sedition or Hereſie proved againſt him, did call one *George Bradway* before them, who occupied the Controllers Office in the Cuſtom-Houſe. This man was kept in cloſe Priſon, ſo as neither his Wife, then great with Child, nor any other his Friends might repair unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes been born in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by *Brook* in the Office of Cuſtom, and that the ſaid *Bradway* ſhould be grievouſly puniſhed if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the ſaid *Brook* with ſome kind of concealment: the poor ſimple man, hoping thereby to get releaſe of his impriſonment, accuſed the ſaid *Brook*, that he had for a long time concealed four Groats every day for his Clerks wages, and to that Accuſation they cauſed the ſimple man to ſet his own hand before witneſſes.

The 13 Priſoners of Calice ſent to London.

The cruelty of a Popiſh Perſecutor.

Whereupon, after a day or two, the ſaid *Bradway*, grieved in his Conſcience for the ſame his moſt untrue Accuſation, did with a Knife enterprize to cut his own throat: but God of his mercy ſo directed his wicked purpoſe, that the back of his Knife was towards his Weſand. Whereby though the wound were broad, yet he eſcaped with life. And as he gave a groan with the ſudden pain that he felt, the Gaoler came up and bereft him of the Knife. But through the guiltineſs of the falſe Accuſation, and ſhame of the World, the man loſt his wits, who then ſtaring and diſmayed was diſmiſſed out of Priſon, and a long time after went in pitious caſe ſo diſmayed about the Street, to the great impoveriſhing of him, his poor Wife and Family.

False Accuſation puniſhed by Gods hand.

Gods mercy in punishing

This kind of handling of the ſaid *Brook* made all his Friends, but eſpecially his Wife, to be greatly afraid of the malice of his Enemies: the rather alſo, for that all his Goods and Lands were ſeized, and his Wife thruſt into the meaneſt place of all his houſe, with her Children and Family, the Keys of all the Doors and Cheſts alſo taken from her. Who for that ſhe was rigorouſly intreated at Sir *Edw. Kingley's* hand, Controller of the Town (an Office of no ſmall charge, though he knew not a B. from a Battle-dore, nor ever a letter of the Book) ſaying unto her, that if ſhe liked not the Room, he would thruſt her quite out of the doors: Well Sir, ſaid ſhe, well, the Kings Slaughter-houſe had wrong when you were made a Gentleman; and with all ſpeed ſhe wrought a Letter to the Lord *Cromwel*, therein diſcourſing how hardly and ſore thoſe poor men were handled, that were committed to Ward and cloſe Priſon, and that all men feared (what through the malice of the Papiſtical Enemies, and the great rigor and ignorant zeal of thoſe that were in Authority) they ſhould ſhortly for their Faith and Conſciences, being true men, and ſuch as reverently feared God, be put to death, but chiefly her Huſband who was yet more extreamly handled then any other: So that unleſs his Honour vouchſafed to be a means to the King's Majeſty, that they with their Cauſes might be ſent over into *England*, they were but dead men.

Letters ſent to the Lord Cromwel from Calice.

Where-

Whereupon the ſaid Lord *Cromwel* wrote ſpeedily his Letters unto the Commiſſioners, declaring, that the Kings Majeſties pleaſure and commandment was, that the errant Traitor and Heretick *Brooke*, with a dozen or twenty Complices, ſhould with their Accuſers be immediately ſent over, that here in *England* they might receive their judgment, and there at *Calice*, to the great terrour of like offenders hereafter, ſuffer according to their demerits.

The Lord Cromwels Letter to the Commiſſioners at Calice.

Now by the time that the ſaid Commiſſioners had received theſe Letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine ſcore honeſt men more to be caſt in Priſon. But theſe Letters ſo appalled them, that they ſtayed, and afterward ſent no more to ward. But making then as diligent Inquiſition as was poſſible, to have found ſome worthy matter againſt thoſe before named, whereby there might have been ſome colour both of the Counſels grievous complaints, and of the Commiſſioners rigorous dealing; when no ſuch thing could fall out, becauſe they would be aſſured that they ſhould not go unpuniſhed, they firſt baniſhed them the Town and Marches of *Calice* with a Trumpet blown, under pain of death, for an hundred years and a day (if that one day had been left out, all had been marred) and then ſent them back to Priſon, ſtaying them there upon hope that the L. *Cromwel* ſhould come into Captivity ſooner than he did. But at laſt, to wit on *May* day, they ſent the thirteen Priſoners through the Market, the ſaid *Brook* going before with Irons on his Legges, as the chief Captain, the reſt following him two and two without Irons, unto ſhipboard, and then were they all coupled in Irons, two and two together. Where becauſe they were loath to go under the Hatches, Sir *John Gage* with a Staff ſmote ſome of them cruelly. Whereupon *Anth. Pickering* ſaid unto him, Sir, I beſeech you yet be as good to us as ye would be to your Horſes or Dogs, let us have a little air that we be not ſmothered. Yet that requeſt could not be obtained, but the Hatches were put down cloſe, and they grievouſly and kept with a great Company of men; and ſo ſailing forward, by Gods merciful providence, were within four and twenty hours at Anchor before the *Tower* of *London*.

The 13 Priſoners put in the Fleet.

And when the Lord *Cromwel* underſtood they were come, he commanded their Irons to be ſmit off at the *Tower-Wharf*, and the Priſoners to be brought unto him.

When he law them, he ſmiled upon them, ſtedfaſtly beholding each of them, and then ſaid, Sirs, you muſt take pains for a time, and go your way to the *Fleet*, and ſubmit your ſelves Priſoners there, and ſhortly you ſhall know more. So indeed they did; and that evening he ſent them word they ſhould be of good chear, for if God ſent him life, they ſhould ſhortly go home with as much honeſty as they came with ſhame.

Whilſt theſe thirteen perſecuted men lay in the *Fleet*, and *William Stevens* in the *Tower*, to wit, the nineteenth day of *July*, *Anno* 1541. the fore-ſaid Lord *Cromwel*, for Treaſon laid againſt him, was at *Tower-Hill* beheaded, as is before ſpecified in his Story, who made there a very Chriſtian end. Then had the poor *Calice* men great cauſe to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whoſe bleſſed will they knew directed all things. But ne in the midſt of their deep troubles and miſeries ſo comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increaſed, ſo likewiſe did their conſolation and joy in him; ſo far forth as *Matthew de Hound*, one of theſe thirteen, who was in trouble only for that he heard *Copen de Hall* read a Chapter of the New Teſtament, and was as deep in puniſhment, and in baniſhment from his Wife, Children, and Country, as the reſt, got in ſhort time ſuch inſtruction, that having therewith a Soul and Conſcience fraughted full of godly Zeal unto Gods glory, and the true Doctrine of Chriſt, within a few months after his deliverance out of the *Fleet*, for inveying conſtantly againſt the wicked honouring of Images, and praying to Saints departed, he was cruelly, in a moſt conſtant Faith and Patience, burned in *Flanders*.

Matthew de Hound a bleſſed Martyr of God burned in Flanders.

The Lord good to the perſecuted members of Chriſt.

Now therefore when all hope in man was paſt, the right honourable Lord *Audley*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, without further examination, diſcharged firſt the ſaid thirteen that were in the *Fleet*, and at length, two years after, he delivered *William Stevens* alſo by the Kings own motion, out of the *Tower*, ſaying at the diſcharging of thoſe thirteen; Sirs, pray for the Kings Majeſty, his pleaſure is that you ſhall all be preſently diſcharged. And though your Livings be taken from you, yet diſpair not, God will not fee you lack. But for Gods ſake, Sirs, beware how you deal with Popiſh Prieſts; for, ſo God ſave my Soul, ſome of them be Knaves all. Sirs, ſaid he, I am commanded by the Council to tell you, that you are diſcharged by vertue of the Kings general Pardon, but that Pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all Sacramentaries, and the moſt part, or all of you are called Sacramentaries: therefore I cannot ſee how that Pardon doth you any pleaſure. But pray for the Kings Highneſs, for his Graces pleaſure is that I ſhould diſmiſs you, and ſo I do, and pity you all. Farewel Sirs.

The comfort laying of the Lord Audley concerning Popiſh Prieſts

Calice men diſmiſſed.

So giving God moſt hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed diſmiſſed as you have heard, being indeed in very poor eſtate; but not in ſo miſerable eſtate as all thoſe eight Counſellors of *Calice* were within one year and a half after. For whereas the other three Counſellors which ſeemed more favourable unto them (to wit, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Richard Greenfield*) which purged the Town of thoſe ſlanders that untruly were raiſed upon it, were therefore for a time in their Princes high diſpleaſure; within that year they were all three in greater favour with his Majeſty than ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by year to him and to his heirs, who had leaſt. The other eight Counſellors, unjuſtly charging them and the Town of Sedition and Hereſie, (that is to ſay, the Lord *Liſle*, the Lord *Sands*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Edward Kinſlee*, *Robert Fowler* Eſquire, Vice-Treaſurer, Sir *Thomas Palmer* Knight, called long *Palmer*, *William Simpſon*, Eſquire, Under-marſhal, and *John Rockwood*) were either greatly out of their Princes favour, and in the *Tower*, or elſe were Priſoners, or elſe by very deſperate deaths in outward appearance, taken out of this world. For tediouſneſs I will rehearſe but only the horrible end of the ſaid *Rockwood*, the chief ſtirrer up of all afflictions afore ſpoken of: who even to his laſt breath, ſtaring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to ask God mercy, who was ready to forgive all that asked mercy of him, he brayed and cried out, All too late, for I have fought maliciouſly the deaths of a number of the honeſt men in the Town; and though I ſo thought them in my heart, yet I did that lay in me to bring them to an evil death: all too late therefore, all too late. Which ſame words he anſwered to one, that at the depature of the thirteen in Irons towards *England*, ſaid; Sir, I never ſaw men of ſuch honeſty ſo ſharply corrected, and taking it ſo patiently and joyfully. *Rockwood* then fetching a friſk or two, ſcoffingly anſwered, All too late. The Under-Marſhal ſuddenly fell down in the Councel Chamber, and never ſpake word after, nor ſhewed any token of repentance. The Plagues of the other alſo, as I am credibly inſarmed, were little better.

Example how God proſpereth the favourers and Friends to his Goſpel.

Example how God turneth the malice of their Enemies upon their own head.

The Example of Gods judgment upon a cruel Perſecutor.

The ſecond Apprehenſion and Martyrdom of Adam Damlip.

COncerning *Adam Damlip*, otherwiſe called *George Bucker*, ye heard before declared, how he being convented before the Biſhops at *Lambeth*, and afterward ſecretly admoniſhed, and having mony given him by his Friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the Biſhops; after he had ſent his Allegations in writing unto them, departed into the Weſt-Countrey and there continued teaching a School a certain ſpace, about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miſerable inquiſition of the ſix Articles, and brought up to *London*, where he was by *Steven Gardiner* commanded into the *Marſhalſey*, and there lay the ſpace of other two years or thereabout.

Adam Damlip again apprehended.

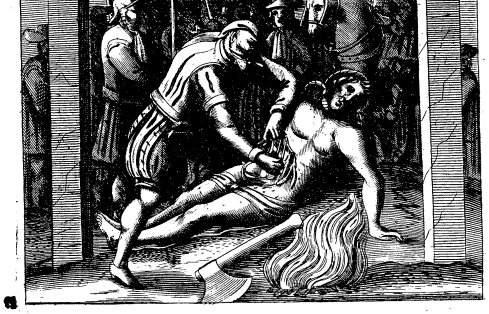
During the impriſonment of this *George* in the *Marſhalſey*, *John Marbeck* (as partly ye heard before) alſo was committed unto the ſame Priſon, which was the morrow after *Palm-Sunday*. The manner of that time ſo required, that at *Eaſter* every Perſon muſt needs come to confeſſion. Whereupon *Marbeck*, with the reſt of

the

Gen. Becket Confessor to the Prisoners in the Marshalsy.

the Prisoners there, was enforced to come upon *Easter-day* to Sir *George* aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then Confessor to the whole House. By this occasion *John Marbeck*, which had never seen him before, entring into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lain there in Prison, by whom and wherefore, who declared moreover his mind to *Marbeck*, to the effect as followeth: And now because, said he, I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the Bishop of *Winchester*, in an Epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to Examination. I know the worst: I can but lose my life present, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my Talent to Gods glory. Wherefore (God willing) I will surely put it in proof.

Acquaintance between John Marbeck and Gen. Becket, otherwise called Adam Damlip.



Adam Damlip well beloved among the Prisoners, specially of the Keeper. Mass Keeper of the Marshalsy.

This *Damlip* for honest and godly behaviour was beloved of all the whole House, but especially of the Keeper himself, whose Name was *Massy*, whom he always called Master, and being suffered to go at liberty within the House whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascal sort of Prisoners, in rebuking Vice and Sin, and kept them in such good order and aw, that the Keeper thought himself to have a great Treasure of him. And no less also *Marbeck* himself confesseth, to have found great comfort by him. For notwithstanding the straight Precept given by the Bishop of *Winchester*, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man; yet the said *Adam* many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

Adam Damlip writeth to the Bishop of Winchester.

Now when he had made and drawn out his Epistle, he delivered the same to his Master the Keeper, upon *Saturday* in the Morning, which was about the second Week before *Whitsunday* following, desiring him to deliver it at the Court to the Bishop of *Winchester*. The Keeper said, he would, and so did. The Bishop, what quick speed he made for his dispatch I know not, but thus it fell out as ye shall hear.

Sir. Gardiner sendeth out a Precept for the Execution of Ad. Damlip.

The Keeper came home at night very late, and when the Prisoners (which had tarried Supper for his coming) saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the Keeper casting up his eyes upon Sir *George*, said, O *George*, I can tell thee tidings. What is that Master, quoth he? Upon *Monday* next thou and I must go to *Calice*. To *Calice* Master? What to do? I know not, quoth the Keeper, and pulled out of his Purse a piece of Wax with a little label of Parchment hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a Precept. And when Sir *George* saw it, he said, Well, well, Master, now I know what the matter is. What, quoth the Keeper? truly Master I shall die in *Calice*. Nay, quoth the Keeper, I trust it to be not so. Yes yes, Master, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein. And so the Keeper and they went together to Supper, with heavy chear for Sir *George*, as they there called him. Who notwithstanding was merry himself, and did eat his Meat as well as ever he did in all his life: insomuch that some of the Board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his Meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. Ah Masters, quoth he, do you think that I have been Gods Prisoner so long in the *Marshalsey*, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein. *Ex Literis Johan. Marbecki.*

The cheerfulness of Ad. Damlip.

And so upon *Monday* early in the Morning before day, the Keeper with three other of the Knight Marshals Servants, fetting out of *London*, conveyed the said *Adam Damlip* to *Calice* upon the *Ascension* Even, and there committed him to the Mayors Prison. Upon which day *John Butler* the Commissary aforesaid, and Sir *Daniel* his Curate of St. *Peters* were also committed to the same Prison, and commandment given no man to speak with *Butler*.

Ad. Damlip brought to Calice to suffer.

Upon *Saturday* next was the day of Execution for *Damlip*. The cause which first they laid to his charge, was for Heresie. But because by an Act of Parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned (through which Act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before) yet for the receiving of the foresaid French Crown of Cardinal *Pool* (as you heard before) he was condemned of Treason, and in *Calice* cruelly put to death, being drawn, hanged and quartered.

The day before his Execution came unto him one Mr. *Mote*, then Parson of our *Lady Church* in *Calice*, saying, Your four Quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the Town. And where shall my Head be, said *Damlip*? Upon the *Lantern-Gate*, said *Mote*. Then *Damlip* answered, Then shall I not need to provide for my burial. At his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* Knight, then Knight Marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his Faith, or the Cause he died for, but said to the Executioner, Dispatch the Knave, have done. For Sir *W. Mote*, appointed there to preach declared

The constant courage of Ad. Damlip, not caring for his death.

Damlip falsly accused of Treason, and innocently put to death.

declared to the People, how he had been a sower of seditious Doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the General Pardon, yet he was condemned for being a Traitor against the King. To the which when *Adam Damlip* would have replied and purged himself, the foresaid Sir *R. Ellerker* would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away: And so most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent Martyr took his death, Sir *R. Ellerker* saying, that he would not stay before he saw the Traitors heart out. But shortly after, the said Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, in a skirmish or road between the French men and us at *Bullaine*, was among other slain. Whose only death sufficed not his Enemies, but after they had stripped him stark naked, they cut off his Privy Members, and cut the heart out of his Body, and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they shewed such indignation against the said Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, more than against the rest, but that it is written, *Faciens Justitias Dominus & judicia omnibus injuria pressis.*

An example of Gods just revengement.

Another trouble of J. Butler, and Sir Daniel his Curate.

As touching *John Butler* and Sir *Daniel* his Curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with *Damlip*, upon Sunday next following they were committed to *John Massy* aforesaid, Keeper of the *Marshalsey*, and his Company, and brought to the *Marshalsey*, where he and his Curate continued nine months and more. At last, being fore layed unto by Sir *George Gage*, Sir *John Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel* Knights, but especially by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, for the retaining of *Adam Damlip*, yet by Friends soliciting the Kings Highness for him (namely Sir *Leonard Musgrave*, and his Brother *Baunster*, who were bound for his appearance in a thousand pounds,) he at length by great labour and long time was discharged, and at last by licence permitted to return to *Calice* again: *Ex scripto testimonio Caletiensium.*

Ex scripto testimonio Caletiensium.

Furthermore, as touching *William Stevens* above-mentioned, who remained all this while Prisoner in the *Tower*, the same was also condemned with *Adam Damlip* of Treason, which was for Note and Crime of Popery, in lodging *Adam Damlip*, which came from *Cardinal Pool* the Traitor, in his House, at the Lord *Deputies* commandment. Notwithstanding the King afterwards understanding more of the said *William Stevens*, how innocent he was from that Crime, being known to all men to be an earnest and zealous Protestant, gave him his Pardon, and sent him home again to *Calice*, and so likewise all the other thirteen above mentioned.

W. Stevens an earnest Protestant falsly condemned for Popery. W. Stevens with the rest pardoned by the King.

The Story of a poor Labouring-man in Calice.

A poor man burned at Calice for the right Faith of the Sacrament.

BY the credible information and writing of the said *Calice* men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of *Calice*, that after the preaching of *Adam Damlip*, being in a certain Company, he said that he would never believe that a Priest could make the Lords Body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one *Harvy* Commissary there. Which *Harvy* in time of his Judgment inveying against him with opprobrious words, said that he was an Heretick, and should die a vile death. The poor man (whose name yet I have not certainly learned) answering for himself again, said that he was no Heretick, but was in the Faith of Christ. And whereas thou saiest (said he) that I shall die a vile death, thou thy self shalt die a viler death, and that shortly; and so it came to pass, for within half a year after, the said *Harvey* was hanged, drawn, and quartered for Treason in the said Town of *Calice*.

A notable example of Gods judgment upon a bloody Persecutor.

Another History of one Dod *a Scotish-man, burned in* Calice.

One Dod burned in Calice.

AFter the burning of this poor man, there was also another certain *Scholar*, counted to be a Scotishman, named *Dod*, who coming out of *Germany*, was there taken with certain German Books about him, and being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the Truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the said Town of *Calice*, within the space of a year or thereabout after the other godly Martyr above mentioned.

And forsomuch as I am presently in hand with matters of *Calice*, I cannot pass from thence without the memory of another certain honest man of the same Town of this Story is a little more ancient in years; which Story is this.

The flury of W. Crosbowmaker bearing a Billet in Calice.

W. Crosbowmaker question.

William Crosbowmaker, a Souldier of *Calice*, and the Kings Servant, being a man (as some natures be) somewhat pleasantly disposed, used when he met with Priests, to demand of them certain merry questions of pastime; as these: Whether if a man were suddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the Popes Pardons in stead of a broken Paper.

Another Question was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, Dogs or Priests. And if it were answered that Dogs might rather be spared; to that he would reply again and infer, that if there were no Dogs we could make no more, but if there lacked ignorant Priests, we might soon and too soon make too many of them.

It happened in the time of Doctor *Darly*, Parson of our Ladies Church in *Calice*, being Commissary there for Archbishop *Warham*, there came a black Frier to *Calice* with the Popes pardons, who for four pence would deliver a Soul out of Purgatory. The Frier was full of Romish vertues, for what mony came for pardons by day, he bought no Land with it at night. This foresaid *William Button Alias Crosbow-maker*, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his Father and Friends Souls, asked if the holy Father the Pope could deliver Souls out of Purgatory? The Frier said, there is no doubt of that. Why then, quoth *Button*, doth not he of Charity deliver all the Souls thereout? Of which words he was accused to the Commissary: who at his appearing before the said Commissary, confessed to have asked such questions. The Commissary being angry thereat, said, Doubtest thou thereof thou Heretick? There was standing by a Black Frier named *Capel*, an English man, who said to the Commissary, There be ten thousand of these Hereticks between *Graveling* and *Trere*. *Button* answered, Master Frier, of all men you may keep silence: for your Coat hath been twice cut off from the Faith; the first time your Order was enjoyned to have your black Coat shorter than your white, and for the second time your Order must go to the furthest part of their Church, and there sing an Anthem of our Lady. The Commissary chased at these words, calling *Button* Heretick, with many other opprobrious words. Then said *Button* to the Commissary; If your Holy Father the Pope may deliver Souls out of Purgatory, and will not of Charity deliver them, then I would to God the King would make me Pope, and I would surely deliver all out without mony. At these words the Commissary raged, and reviled *Button* exceedingly causing him to bear a Billet, and procured his wages (which was six pence a day) to be taken from him. Then went *Button* to the Kings Majesty, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace: Who sent him to *Calice* again, and gave him after that eight pence a day.

Heresie to doubt of the Popes charity.

This Author them the black Friers wherein joyned to our Lady in praise of her conception.

W. Crosbowmaker pardoned as the King.

A notable example, wherein may appear as well the despight of Doctor London *and other Papists against the Gospellers, as also the Fidelity of a Matron towards her Husband.*

The cruel malice of Dr London against the Gospel.

FOrsomuch as mention was made a little before of Doctor *London*, we will somewhat more add of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitful, to the intent it may more evidently appear, what Truth and trust is to be looked for of this cruel kind of Papists. This Doctor *London* was Warden of the New *Colledg* in *Oxford*, where it happened that certain Plate was stolen, and conveyed and brought up to *London*, and sold to a Gold-Smith named *William Callaway*. This *Callaway* was a man of good and honest name and reputation among his Neighbours, but especially earnest and zealous towards the Gospel, and a great maintainer thereof. He had oftentimes before bought much Plate of the same man without any peril or danger, wherefore he doubted the less of his Fidelity.

Ex Ed. Hall. W. Calloway Goldsmith of London.

At

This Principal was a Chaplain of the said Colledge.

At the last the principal of the Theft being taken, and the Goldsmith also that was the Buyer being known; Dr. *London*, when he understood him to be a favourer of the Gospel (whereof he was an extream Adversary) began straightways to be in a rage, and to swear great and deep Oaths, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the Goldsmith to the Gallows, although it should cost him five hundred pounds. To be short, this good Goldsmith was arraigned as Accessary, and an Action of Felony brought against him. He contrariwise alleadged, That they ought not to proceed against him, the Principal being alive. Dr. *London* on the contrary part affirmed that the Principal was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same Colledge, and was alive, and but lately set at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the Judge asked him what he could alleadge why he should not die? He required to have the priviledge of his Book, according to the ancient custom and manner. But here it was objected against him that he was *Bigamus*, and therefore he might not have his Book by the Law; notwithstanding that he never had two Wives, but because his Wife had two Husbands, it was imputed to him for *Bigamia*.

Calleney claimeth the priviledge of his Book. *Bigamus*, that is, a man that hath had two Wives.

Thus this good Goldsmith being secluded from all hope of life, by the crafty spight of his malignant Adversaries; his Wife, being a Woman of proved honesty and good fame, came in before the Judges, and perceiving her former Marriage to be hurtful unto her Husband, to save her Husbands life, she took an Oath before the Judges that she was not *Bigama*, and that she was never married to more men than to the said Goldsmith; and although she had Children by her other Husband, and continued divers years with him, yet she sware that she was never married unto him. Thus this Woman by defaming of her self, to her great praise and singular example of love, delivered her innocent Husband; thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach, than for her Husband to die, less esteeming the loss of her good name, than of his life. *Ex Ed. Hallo.*

A singular example of a faithful Wife toward her Husband

True love between Man and Wife.

As touching the quality of this Fact or Perjury, I intermeddle not here to discuss, but leave it at large to the judgment of Lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that Perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet the true heart and faithful love between this Man and his Wife, counterpoising again as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many Couples now adays, the more I think it worthy, not only to be praised, but also for Examples sake to be notified. But in the mean time, what shall we say to these Priests and Adversaries, who in such sort violently do press, and force the poor Sheep of Christ with peril of their Conscience unto such Perjury, and that in such cases, where no such truth is fought, but innocency oppressed, true Religion persecuted, and only their spight and wrath against Gods Word wreaked.

During the time of these six Articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death; yet so it hapned by another contrary Act set forth before for the Kings Supremacy (as ye have heard) that the contrary Sect also of the Papists was not all in quiet. For besides the death of *Astore*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the other *Charter-House* Monks, Friers and Priests above specified, about this year also was condemned and executed by the same Law two other, of whom one was a Priest of *Chelsey*, named *Lark*, which was put to death at *London* for defending the Bishop of *Romes* Supremacy, above the Kings Authority: The other was *Germaine Gardiner* (near Kinsman to *Steven Gardiner*, and yet more near to his secret counsel, as it is supposed) who likewise in practising for the Pope against the Kings Jurisdiction, was taken with the manner, and so brought unto the Gisbet.

Lark Priest of *Chelsey*, *Germaine Gardiner* Trayters against the Kings Supremacy.

Upon the detection of that *Germaine Gardiner*, being Secretary to *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* his Kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the King not to be unlike; but that the said *Germaine* neither would nor durst ever attempt any such matter of Popery, without some setting on, or consent of the Bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all secrets as he was. Whereby the King began somewhat more to smell and misdoubt the doings of the Bishop; but yet he so covertly and cleanly conveyed his matters, playing under the Board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort as (I cannot tell how) still he kept in with the King, to the great inquietation of the publick State of the Realm, and especially of Christs Church.

Suspition against Sir. *Gardiner.*

In declaring the dreadful Law before set forth of the six Articles, which was, *An.* 1540. ye heard what Penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, in like case as in Treason and Felony, so that no remedy of any Recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another Parliament, holden afterward, *An.* 1544. by the which Parliament it was decreed, that such Offenders, which were convict in the said Articles, for the first time should be admitted to recant and renounce their Opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid unto him by his Ordinary, or after his Recantation if he eftsoons offended again, then for the second time he should be admitted to abjure and bear a Fagot. Which if he denied to do, or else being abjured if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the Law, &c. Although the straightness and rigor of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present Parliament, yet notwithstanding the venom and poison of the Errors and mischief of those Articles remained still behind not removed, but rather confirmed by this Parliament aforesaid. By the which Parliament moreover many things were provided for the advancement of Popery, under the colour of Religion; so that all manner of Books of the old and new Testament, bearing the name of *William Tindal*, or any other having Prologues, or containing any Matters, Annotations, Preambles, Words or Sentences contrary to the Six Articles, were debarred. In like manner all Songs, Plays and Interludes, with all other Books in English, containing matter of Religion, tending any way against the said Articles were abolished.

Stat. An 35. Reg. Hen. 8.

The rigour of the Six Articles a little asswaged.

In the which Parliament furthermore it was provided, that the Text of the New Testament or of the Bible, being prohibited to all Women, Artificers, Prentices, Journeymen, Servingmen, Yeomen, Husbandmen and Labourers; yet was permitted notwithstanding to Noblemen, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly without arguing, discussing or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and besides, whereas before the Offender or Defendant might not be suffered to bring in any Witnesses to purge and try himself: In this Parliament it was permitted to the party detect, or complained on, to try his Cause by Witnesses, as many, or more in number, as the other which deposed against him, &c.

Qualification of the Act of the Six Articles

Other qualifications of the Act of the Six Articles.

After this Parliament moreover followed another Parliament the year following, *Anno* 1545. wherein other qualifications more special of the Six Articles were provided; that whereas before the cruel Statute of the Six Articles was so straight, that if any of the Kings Subjects had been complained of by any manner of person, as wellbeing his Enemy as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party so accused, and so thereupon attached, committed, and in fine condemned; it was therefore by this Parliament provided, that all such Presentments and Indictments should not be brought before the Commissioners, otherwise than by the Oaths of Twelve men or more, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Item, *That no such Indictments or Presentments should be taken, but within one year after the offences committed, or else the said Indictments to stand void in the Law.*

Item, *That no person accused upon any such offence against the Six Articles, should be attached, or committed to Ward before he were thereof indicted, unless by special warrant from the King.*

Item, *By the Authority of the said Parliament it was considered and enacted, that if any Preacher or Reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be against the Six Articles, should*

should be accused, not within the space of forty days of the said his reading or preaching, then the party accused to be acquitted.

Item, *That the Justices or Inquirers of such presentments should have full power to alter and reform all paunels of Inquiry, returned before them, in like manner as the Justices of Peace may do in their Sessions upon any other Inquiries.*

Item, *That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial, may have all manner of challenges (peremptory only excepted) as other persons arraigned for felony may have, by the Laws of this Realm.*

By the qualifications and moderations of the six Articles it may appear that the King began somewhat to grow out of favour with *Ste. Gardiner*, and to descry his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somwhat in furthering the desolate cause of Religion, as may appear both by the premisses, and also by other provisions and determinations of the foresaid Parliament

Stat. An. 1545 K. Hen. 8.

A Statute for examination of the Canon Law.

An. 1545. wherein it was decreed by Act of Parliament, that the King should have full Power and Authority to appoint two and thirty persons, to wit, sixteen of the Clergy, and sixteen of the Temporalty, to peruse, over-see, and examine the Canons, Constitutions and Ordinances of the Canon Law, as well Provincial as Synodal, and so, according to their discretions, to set and establish an order of the Ecclesiastical Laws, such as should be thought by the King and them convenient to be received and used within this Realm. Which Statute as it is most needful for the Government of the Church of *England* so would God it had been brought to perfection.

John Athee recanted. Anno 1545.

In this year, touching matters of History, we read no great thing worthy of Memory, but onely of two Persons *John Athee*, and *John Heywood*. Of which two, we find first *John Athee* to be indited by the Kings Writ for certain words against the Sacrament, which words in the Inditement are specified to be these; That he would not believe in the thing which the Knave Priest made, neither in that which *Longs* Wife selleth; but onely in God that is in Heaven. And when it was told him that God through his word could make it Flesh and Blood, he answered; so he might, if he would, turn it into a Chickins leg, meaning the Sacrament of the Altar.

The recantation of Jasper Heywood

The same year also followed the Recantation of *John Heywood*; who although he was tached for Treason, for denying the Kings Supremacy, yet using the clemency of the King, upon his better reformation and amendment, made an open and Solemn Recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the Popes usurped supremacy, and confessing of the King to be chief supream Head and Governour of this Church of *England*, all forein Authority and Jurisdiction being excluded. The tenour and effect of whose Recantation here followeth.

The Recantation of *John Haywood.*

Anno 1545.

I *Am come hither at this time (good people) willing, and of mine own desirous sute, to shew, and declare unto you briefely; First of all the great and inestimable clemency and mercifulness of our most sovereign and redoubted Prince the Kings Majesty, the which his highness hath most graciously used towards me a wretch, most justly and worthily condemned to dye for my manifold and outragious offences, haynously and traiterously committed against his Majesty and his Laws. For whereas his Majesties Supremacy hath so often been opened unto me both by writing and speaking (if I had Grace, either to open mine eyes to see it, or mine ears to hear it) to be surely and certainly grounded, and established upon the very true Word of God: yet for lack of Grace I have most wilfully, and obstinately suffered my self to fall to such blindness, that I have not onely thought that the Bishop of Rome hath been and ought to be taken the chief and Supreme Head of the Universal Church of Christ here in earth, but also, like no true Subject, concealed and favoured such as I have known or thought to be of that opinion. For the which most detestable Treasons and untruths, I here most humbly and with all my heart first of all ask of the Kings Majesty forgiveness, and secondarily of the world, beseeching all these that either now do, or hereafter shall hear of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to call for grace, that they thereby be staid from falling at any time into such miserable blindness and folly.*

Moreover, here after God and you (good Christian people) I do utterly and with all my heart recant and revoke all mine aforesaid erroneous and traiterous opinions. And (as my Conscience now doth force) I protest that even with my heart I firmly think and undoubtedly believe, that the Bishop of Rome *neither now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can have by any Law of God or Man, any more Authority, without the precinct of his own Countrey about him, than any other Bishop hath within his Dioces. Whereby I assuredly take the abolishing of the pretensed and usurped Power or Authority of the Bishop of* Rome *out of this Realm, to be done justly and truely by the Law of God. And also I take our Soveraign Lord the Kings Highness to be Supreme Head, immediately next under Christ, of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *and all other his Graces Dominions, both of the Spirituality and Temporalty. And I confess not only that his Majesty is so by the Law of God, but also his Progenitors, Kings of this Realm hath been, and his Highness Heirs and Successors Kings of this Realm shall so be.*

Thus have I shewed you my mind as well as I can, but neither so well as I would, nor so fully as I should, namely concerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious Prince hath shewed toward me, not onely for saving my Body after worthy condemnation to death, as is aforesaid, but also for saving my Soul from perishing, if my Body had perished before the receiving of such wholsom Counsel, as I had at his Highness most charitable assignment. And of this Confession declared unto you (I say as far forth as I can) I heartily pray you all to bear me record, and most entirely pray Almighty God for the long and most prosperous estate of our Soveraign Lord the Kings Majesty in all his affairs and proceedings.

By me *John Haywood.*

Memorandum, quod supra scripta Assertio sive Recantatio fuit facta & publice emissa per prænominatum Johannem Haywood *die dominica, Sexto viz. die Julii, Anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto, apud Crucem Paulinam, tempore Concionis ibidem.*

In this year of our Lord God 1545, as there was no other thing done in *England* worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in *Scotland*, against Master *George Wisebart* and divers other good Men of the same Countrey, about the same year of our Lord, 1545. and somewhat before. But because now we are come to the latter end almost of King *Henrys* Reign, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few other English stories pertaining to that time; and that finished, we will set upon those matters of *Scotland*, joyning them all together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see (good Reader) in the latter end and closing up of this Kings Reign.

Kerby, *and* Roger Clarke *of* Suffolk, Martyrs.

COming now to the year of our Lord 1546. first a pasling over the Priest, whose name was *Saxy*, which was hanged in the Porters Lodge of *Steven Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said Bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one *Henry* with his Servant burned at *Colchester*; I will now proceed to the story of *Kerby* and *Roger Clarke* of *Mendelsham*, who were apprehended at *Ipswich*, *An.* 1546. the *Saturday* before *Gang Monday*, and brought before the Lord *Wentworth* with other Commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations, judgments, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, a Bill was set upon the Town House Door (by whom, it was unknown) and brought the next day unto the

Anno 1546.

Saxy a Priest hanged in *Ste. Gardiners* Porters lodge.

A Bill of Recantation brought to the Lord Wentworth, at the arraignment of Kerby & Roger.

Lord

Lord *Wentworth*; who answered, That it was good Counsel. Which Bill in the Latter end shall appear.

In the mean time *Kerby* and *Rogers* being in the *Gaolers-House*, named *John Bird*, an honest and a good Man (who had checks divers times at the Barr, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a Keeper) came in Master *Robert Wingfield*, Son and Heir of *Humfrey Wingfield* Knight: with Master *Bruels* of *Wenneham*; who then having Conference with *Kerby*(being then in a several Chamber separate from the other) Master *Wingfield* said to *Kerby*, Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terrour is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betime to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink; with such like words of perswasion. To whom he answered again, Ah, Master *Wingfield*, be at my burning and you shall say, there standeth a Christian Soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things are in the Hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give strength to bear. Ah *Kerby*, said Master *Wingfield*, if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewel; for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn. And so both the Gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook Hands with them, and so departed.

The words of Mr. Wingfield to Kerby and Roger in Prison.

The answer of Kerby to Mr. Wingfield.

Now first touching the behaviour of *Kerby* and *Roger* when they came to the Judgment-seat, the Lord *Wentworth* with all the rest of the Justices there ready, the Commissary also, by vertue of the Statute *ex Officio*, sitting next to the Lord *Wentworth*, but one between; *Kerby* and *Roger* lifted up their Eyes and Hands to Heaven with great devotion in all mens eies, making their prayers fecretly to God for a space of time, whilest they might say the Lords payer five or six times.

The behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they were brought before the Judges.

That done, their Articles were declared unto them with all Circumstances of the Law: and then it was demanded and required of them, Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a Priest (as Christ spake them to his Apostles) there were not the very Body and Blood of Christ, Flesh, Blood, and Bone, as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and no Bread after.

Questions propounded to *Kerby* and *Roger*.

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the Sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last Supper, on *Maunday Thursday* at night to his Disciples, was onely to put all Men in Remembrance of his Precious Death and Blood shedding for the Remission of Sins, and that there was neither Flesh nor Blood to be eaten with the teeth, but Bread and Wine, and yet more than Bread and Wine, for that it is Consecrated to an Holy use. Then with much perswasions, both with fair means and threats beside (if it would have served) were these two poor men hardly layed to; but most at the Hands of *Foster* an inferior Justice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithful and constant, chusing rather to die than to live, and so continued unto the end.

Their answer.

The Sacrament more then bare bread and wine.

Foster a fore Enemy to Gods people

Then Sentence was given upon them both, *Kerby* to be burned in the said Town on the next *Saturday*, and *Roger* to be burned at *Bury* the *Gang Monday* after. *Kerby*, when his judgment was given by the Lord *Wentworth*, with most humble Reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, said, Praised be Almighty God, and so stood still without any more words.

Sentence given against *Kerby* and *Roger*.

Then did the Lord *Wentworth* talke secretly, putting his hand behind another Justice that fate between them. The said *Roger* perceiving that, said with a loud voice, speak out my Lord, and if you have any thing contrary to your Conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts do forgive you; and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men; with other like words.

Rogers word to the Lord *Wentworth*.

The Lord *Wentworth* somewhat blushing, and changing his contenance, through remorse as it was thought, said, I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the Law is. Then was *Kerby* and *Roger* sent forth; *Kerby* to Prison there, and *Roger* to Saint *Edmunds Bury*. The one of the two bursting out with a loud voice(*Roger* it is supposed) thus spake with a vehemency, *Fight*, said he, *for your God, for he hath not long to continue.*

Roger sentenced to *Bury* to be burned.

A prophesy.

The next day, which was *Saturday*, about ten of the clock, *Kerby* was brought to the Market place, where a Stake was ready, Wood, Broom, and Straw, and did off his cloths unto his shirt, having a night cap upon his head, and so was fastened to the Stake with Irons, there being in the Gallery the Lord *Wentworth*, with the most part of all the Justices of those Quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what *Kerby* did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the Gallery by the Lord *Wentworth*, Doctor *Rugham*, which was before a Monk of *Bury*, and Sexton of the House, having on a Surpless and a Stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the Doctor began to disable himself, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures being unprovided because the time was so short, but that he hoped in Gods Assitance it should come well to pass.

Kerby brought to *Ipswich*.

Dr. Rugham Monk of Bury, preacheth at the burning of *Kerby*.

All this while *Kerby* was trimming with Irons and Fagots, Broom, and Straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek Spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Mr. Doctor at last entered into the first chapter of St. *John*. Who in handling that matter so oft as he alledged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, *Kerby* told the people that he said true, and bad the people believe him. But when he did otherwise, he told him again, You say not true, believe him not good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Doctor *Rugham* a false Propher. So when Mr. Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto *Kerby*, Thou good Man, dost not thou believe that the blessed Sacrament of the Altar is the very Flesh and Blood of Christ, and no Bread, even as he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; *Kerby* answering boldly, said, I do not so believe. How doest thou believe? said the Doctor. *Kerby* said, I do believe that in the Sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper on *Maunday Thursday* to his Disciples (which ought of us likewise to be done) is his death and passion and his bloudshedding for the Redemption of the world, to be remembred, and (as I said before,) yet Bread, and more than Bread, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then was Master Doctor in his dumps, and spake not one word more to *Kerby* after.

The chearful entertainance and courage of *Kerby*.

Kerby confession of the Sacrament.

Then said the undersherif to *Kerby*, hast thou any thing more to say? Yea Sir, said he, if you will give me leave. Say on, said the Sherif.

Then *Kerby*, taking his night cap from his head, put it under his Arms as though it should have done him service again: but remembring himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his Hands, he said Hymn, *Te Deum*, and the belief, with other prayers in the English Tongue. The Lord *Wentworth*, whilest *Kerby* was thus doing, did throud himself behind one of the Posts of the Gallery, and wept, and so did many other. Then said *Kerby*, I have done: you may execute your office good Mr. Sherif. Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voyce he called unto God, knocking on his Breast, and holding up his Hands so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

The Lord Wentworth at *Kerbys* burning.

The constant death and Martyrdom of Kerby.

On the *Gang Munday*, *An.* 1546. about ten of the clock, *Roger Clarke* of *Mendelsham* was brought out of Prison, and went on foot to the Gate, called *Southgate*, in *Bury*, and by the way the Procession met with them, but he went on, and would not bow, cap, nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that Idolatry and Superstition, the Officers being much offended. And without the Gate, where was the place of execution, the Stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled down, and said *Magnificat* in the English Tongue, making as it were a Paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin *Mary*, who might as well rejoyce in purenes, as any other, yet humbled her self to our Saviour. And what sayest thou *John Baptist*, said he, the greatest of all Mens Children?

Roger Clarke of Mendlesham brought to the Stake at *Bury*. *Roger Clarke* giveth no reverence to the Procession.

The burning and Martyrdome of Kerby.

John 1.

Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the World. And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the People, while he was in fastening unto the Stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the Wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choaked with smoak: and moreover, being set in a Pitch-barrel, with some Pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith sore pained, till he had got his feet out of the Barrel. And at length one standing by took a Faggot-stick, and striking at the Ring of Iron about his neck, so pashed him, and strook him belike upon the Head, that he strook down on the one side into the fire, and so was dissolved.

The painful Burning and Martyrdom of Roger Clerk of Mendlesham.

In the beginning of this story of *Kerby* and *Roger*, mention was made of a certain Bill put upon the Townshouse Door, and brought to the next day to the Lord *Wentworth*, the words of which Bill were these.

The Bill set upon the Town-house Door in Ipswich.

The words of the Bill set upon the Town-house Door.

Juste judicate filii hominum; *yet when ye shall judge, minister your Justice with Mercy.*

A fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of the Living God: be ye learned therefore in true knowledge, ye that judge the Earth, lest the Lord be angry with you.

The blood of the righteous shall be required at your hands. What though the wall banged before Moses *face; yet at Christs death it fell down.*

The Stones will speak, if these should hold their peace; therefore harden not your hearts against the Verity.

For fearfully shall the Lord appear in the day of Vengeance to the troubled in Conscience. No excuse shall there be of ignorance, but every Fat shall stand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorse in your Conscience; fear him that may kill both Body and Soul.

Beware of innocent Blood-shedding, take heed of Justice ignorantly ministred, work discreetly as the Scripture doth command: look to it, that you make not the Truth to be forsaken.

We beseech God to save our King, King Henry *the Eighth, that he be not led into Temptation.* So be it.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in Proclamation by the Kings Name and Authority, and his Council, that the English Procession should be used throughout all *England*, according as it was set forth by his said Council, and none other, to be used throughout the whole Realm.

The Scots subdued, *Dudlain* won: A Parliament.

About the latter end of this year 1545. in the month of *November*, after that the King had subdued the *Scots*, and afterward, joyning together with the Emperour, had invaded *France*, and had got from them the Town of *Bullain*, he summoned his High Court of Parliament. In the which was granted unto him, besides other Subsidies of Money, all Colledges, Chantries, free Chappels, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Perpetuities of stipendary Priests, to be disposed at his will and pleasure. Whereupon in the Month of *December* following, the King after his wonted manner, came into the Parliament-House to give his Royal assent to such Acts as were there passed: where after an eloquent Oration made to him by the Speaker, he answering again unto the same, not by the Lord Chancellor (as the manner was) but by himself, uttered this Oration word for word, as it is reported and left in story.

Colledges and Chantries given to the King. Ann. Anno 37. Reg. H. 8.

In the Contents of which Oration, first eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving Subjects for their Grants and Subventions, offered unto him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace and unity. Whereunto if he had also joyned the third part, that is, as in words he exhorteth to unity, so he had begun indeed first himself to take away the occasion of division, disobedience and disturbance from his Subjects, that is, had removed the Stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the Peoples way, which set Brother against Brother, Neighbour against Neighbour, the Superiour against the Subject, and the Wolves to devour the poor Flock of Christ: then he had not only spoken, but also done like a worthy Prince. But of this more shall be said in the sequel hereof, God willing.

The Kings Oration in the Parliament-House.

The Kings Oration made in the Parliament House.

Although my Chancellor for the time being hath before this time used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such Orations as have been set forth in this High Court of Parliament; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner, as I my self am and can do. Wherefore I taking upon me to answer your eloquent Oration, Master Speaker, say,

That where you in the Name of our well-beloved Commons have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, that you put me in remembrance of my duty, which is, to endeavour my self to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or Governour should or ought to have; of which gifts I recognize my self both bare and barren.

But for such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such Notable vertues and Princely qualities, as you have alleadged to be incorporate in my person.

The Kings Thanks to his Commons.

These Thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembred, I assoons thank you again, because that you considering our great charges (not for our pleasure but for your defence, not for our gain but to our great cost) which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your Enemies, as for the conquest of that Fortress, which was to this Realm most displeasant and noysom, and shall be by Gods Grace hereafter to our Nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely of your own mind granted to us a certain Subsidy here in an Act specified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoyce, when I consider the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief in my good doings and just proceedings, for that you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all Charities, Colledges, Hospitals, and other places specified in a certain Act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of our Commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the Ministers of the Church to decay; or Learning, which is so great a Jewel, to be minished; or poor and miserable People to be unrelieved; you might say that I, being put in so special a trust as I am in this cause, were no trusty Friend to you, nor charitable Man to mine even Christian, neither a lover of the Publick wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendred of all our doings. Doubt not I pray you but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

The Kings Promises for the well bestowing of Chantries and Colledges.

Now sithence I find such kindness on your part toward me, I cannot chuse but love and favour you, affirming that no Prince in the World more favoureth his Subjects than I do you, nor any Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my Treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessity require, shall my Person be unadventured. Yet although I wish you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue, except you my Lords Temporal and you my Lords Spirituals, and you my loving Subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which is surely amiss and far out of order, to the which I most heartily require you; which is, that Charity and Concord is not among you, but Discord and Dissension beareth rule in every place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, *in the* 13th *Chapter*, Charity is gentle, Charity is not envious, Charity is not proud, *and so forth in the said Chapter. Behold then what love and* * *charity is among st you, when the one calleth the other Heretick, and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again Papist, Hypocrite, and Pharisee. Be these tokens of Charity amongst you? Are these the signs of Fraternal Love between you? No, no, I assure you that this lack of Charity amongst your selves will be the hindrance and alswaging of the fervent Love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this Discord to be partly by the negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of the Spirituality. For if I know a man which liveth in Adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily, That you of the Clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old* Mumpsimus, *other be too busie and curious in their new* Sumpsimus.

* Charity and Concord in Common-wealth be the things most necessary: but in matters of Religion, Charity and Concord is not enough, without verity and true worship of God. If true Religion had been maintained and Error reformed, these terms of variance had not need now to be reproved.

Thus all you almost be in variety and discord, and few or none do preach truly and sincerely the Word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable persons, doing this? No, no, I cannot so do. Alas, how can the poor Souls live in concord, when you Preachers sow amongst them, in your Sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these Crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's Word, both by true preaching and good example giving, or else I, whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high Minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these Enormities corrected, according to my very duty, or else I am an unprofitable Servant, and an untrue Officer.

† And whereas else conflicteth all this verity, but only because Gods Word hath not his free course, which letteth forth are condemned and therefore burnish this can touch none but only the foolish, who will needs be both Actors, and also Judges in their own Opinion and Cause: How are they permitted to hear Gods Word when none is permitted to read it under degree of a Gentleman?

‡ S. Hierome saith, the Scriptures not only to be read of all men, but also to be sung of Women at their Rocks, of Plowmen at the Plow, of Weavers at their Loom, &c.

Although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your Mother Tongue, you must understand, that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own Conscience, and to instruct your Children and Family, and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting Stock against Priests and Preachers, as many light Persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious Jewel the Word of God is disputed, rimed, † sung, and jangled in every Ale-house and Tavern, contrary to the true meaning and Doctrine of the same. And yet I am even as much sorry that the Readers of the same follow it in doing so saintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that Charity was never so faint amongst you, and vertuous and godly Living was never less used, nor was God himself of less reverence amongst Christians ever less reverenced, honoured, or observed. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with another like Brother and Brother: Love, dread, and fear God (to the which I, as your supream Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you:) and then I doubt not but that Love and League that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved nor broken between Us. And as touching the Laws which be now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same, or else your labour shall be in vain, and your Commonwealth nothing relieved.

† Godly living it increase not with the Gospel so much as we wish, yet the Gospel is no more hindered of it, than it was amongst Christians ever of late years. And therefore I doubt not but that Love and League that I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved nor broken between Us.

Notes upon the foresaid Exhortation.

The Kings Oration expended with the same.

PRinces which exhort to Concord and Charity do well; but Princes which seek out the causes of discord, and reform the same, do much better. The Papist and Protestant, Heretick and Pharisee, the old *Mumpsimus* and the new *Sumpsimus*, be terms of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, *Symptomata* of a sore wound in the Commonwealth: but he that will amend this wound, must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof; otherwise, to cure the Sore outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle still, it is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth here of the Prelates and Clergy of *Rome*, seeking as it seemeth altogether after riches, pomp and honour of this World; who (to maintain the same under pretence of Religion) do in very deed subvert Religion: under that title of the Church, they bring into the Church manifest Errors and Absurdities intolerable, who pretending to be Fathers of the Church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightness of Life, or negligence of Government, they might be born with all for Peace and Concords sake, and here modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity,

Charity might have place amongst modest natures. But now they obscure the glory of the Son of God, which in no cause ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the Gospel; they clogg mens Consciences; they set up Idolatry, and maintain Idols: they bring in false invocation, and restrain lawful Matrimony, whereby groweth filthy pollution, Adultery, and Whoredom in the Church unspeakable; they corrupt the Sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute Gods People. Briefly, their Doctrine is damnable, their Laws be impious, their doings are detestable. And yet after all this, they crept craftily into the hearts of Princes, under the Title of the Church, and colour of concord; making Kings and Princes believe that all be Hereticks and Schismaticks, which will not be subject to their ordinary Power. Now Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his Truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up again the hearts of his People to understand his Truth, and to defend his cause. Whereupon of those two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which by no wise can be quenched, but that one part must needs yield and give over. There is no neutrality nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two contrary Doctrines, but either the Popes errours must give place to Gods Word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them.

Wherefore as the good intent, and plausible Oration of the King in this behalf, was not to be discommended in exhorting his Subjects to Charity, so had he much more deserved commendation, if he had fought the right way to work Charity, and to help innocency amongst his Subjects, by taking away the Impious Law of the Six Articles, the Mother of all division and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words never so much to Charity, and indeed to give a Knife to the murtherers hand to run upon his naked Brother, which never in Conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himself? as by experience here followeth to be seen, what Charity ensued after this exhortation of the King to Charity, by the racking and burning of good *Anne Askew*, with three other poor Subjects of the King, within half a year after; whereof shortly you shall hear more declared.

When these Chantries and Colledges thus by Act of Parliament were given into the Kings hands as is above remembred: which was about the month of *December*, *Anno* 1545. the next *Lent* following, Doctor *Crome* preaching in the Mercers Chappel, among other reasons and perswasions to rouse the People from the vain Opinion of Purgatory, inferred this, grounding upon the said Act of Parliament: That if Trentals and Chauntry Masses could avail the Souls in Purgatory, then did the Parliament not well in giving away Monasteries, Colledges, and Chaunteries, which served principally to that purpose. But if the Parliament did well (as no man could deny) in disolving them, and bestowing the same upon the King, then is it a plain case, that such Chauntries and private Masses do nothing to confer and relieve them in Purgatory. This *Dilemma* of Dr. *Crome*, no doubt, was insoluble. But notwithstanding, the charitable Prelates, for all the Kings late exhortation unto Charity, were so charitable unto him, that on *Easter* next they brought him *Coram Nobis*, where they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have disolved him and his Argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their Charity, according as they burned *Anne Askew* and her fellows in the month of *July* the year following. Whose Tragical Story and cruel handling now consequently, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

D. Crome's Dilemma against private Masses.

Dr. Crome driven to recant.

Anno 1545.

The Charity of the Bishops.

The first examination of Mrs. Anne Askew, *before the Inquisitors*, Anno, 1545.

The first examination of Anne Askew.

TO satisfie your expectation, good People (said she) this was my first examination in the year of our Lord, 1545. and in the month of *March*.

First *Christopher Dare* examined me at *Sadlers-Hall*, being one of the Quest, and asked, If I did not believe that the Sacrament hanging over the Altar was the very Body of Christ really. Then I demanded this question of him; Wherefore was Saint *Stephen* stoned to death? and he said, He could not tell. Then I answered, That no more would I assoil his vain Question.

Christopher Dare inquisitor.

The first Article against Anne Askew.

Secondly, he said, that there was a Woman, which did testifie that I should read, how God was not in Temples made with hands. Then I shewed him the seventh and seventeenth Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what *Steven* and *Paul* had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those Sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst Swine, for Acorns were good enough.

The second Article.

Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said, I had rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five Masses in the Temple: I confessed that I said no less: not for the dispraise of either the Epistle or the Gospel, but because the one did greatly edifie me, and the other nothing at all. As Saint *Paul* doth witness in the 14. Chapter of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, whereas he saith, *If the Trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the Battel?*

The third Article.

Fourthly, he layed unto my charge, that I should say, if an ill Priest ministred, it was the Devil and not God.

The fourth Article.

My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying, That whosoever he were that ministred unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my Faith, but in Spirit I received nevertheless the Body and Blood of Christ.

ill conditions of the ministers hurt not the Faith of the Receivers.

Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning Confession: I answered him my meaning, which was as Saint *James* saith, that every man ought to knowledge his faults to other, and the one pray for the other.

The fifth Article.

Sixthly, he asked me what I said to the Kings Book? And I answered him that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

The sixth Article.

Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me: I answered, I had not: I was but a Reprobate, or cast-away. Then he said he had sent for a Priest to examin me, which was here at hand.

The seventh Article.

The Priest asked me what I said to the Sacrament of the Altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I defired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a Papist.

A priest brought to examin Anne Askew.

Eighthly, he asked me, If I did not think, that private Masses did help the Souls departed; I said, It was great Idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

The eighth Article. Private Masses Idolatry.

Then they had me thence unto my Lord Mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things as I answered the Quest before. Besides this, my Lord Mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but of them; and that was, whether a mouse eating the Host, received God or no? This Question did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer but smiled.

Anne Askew brought to the Lord Mayor.

Then the Bishops Chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For S. *Paul* he said forbad Women to speak or to talk of the Word of *God*. I anfwered him hat I knew *Pauls* meaning as well as he, which is in the 1 *Corinth*. 14. that a bidden to Woman ought not to speak in the Congregation by the way of teaching: And then I asked him how many Women he had seen go into the Pulpit and preach? he said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor Women, except they had offended the Law.

Women forbidden to speak in the Congregation, and how.

Then the Lord Mayor commanded me to ward, I asked him if Sureties would not serve me; and he made me short answer, that he would take none. Then was I had to the *Counter*, and there remained eleven days, no Friend admitted to speak with me. But in the mean time there was a Priest sent unto me; which said that he was commanded of the Bishop to examin me, and to give me good counsel, which he did not. But first he asked a Priest sent for me for what cause I was put in the *Counter*, and I told him I

Anne Askew commanded to the Counter by the L. Mayor.

Talk between Anne Askew and a Priest sent to her in Prison.

could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded that he was very sorry for me.

Secondly he said, it was told him that I should deny the Sacrament of the Altar. And I answered again, That that I have said I have said.

Thirdly he asked me, If I were content to be shriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. *Crome*, Sir *Guillam*, or *Huntington*, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then said he, I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the King would not suffer us to preach. Then I answered with the saying of *Solomon*, *By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scath*, Prov. 1.

Prov. 1.

Fourthly he asked, If the Host should fall, and a Beast did eat it, whether the Beast did receive God or no? I answered, Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to assoil it your self: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me. And he said it was against the order of Schools, that he which asked the Question should answer it. I told him I was but a Woman, and knew not the course of Schools.

Whether a Mouse may eat Christs Body in the Sacrament, or no.

Fifthly he asked me, If I intended to receive the Sacrament at *Easter*, or no? I answered, that else I were no Christian Woman; and thereat I did rejoyce that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

The 23. day of *March*, my Cousin *Britain*, came into the Counter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to Bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my Lord Mayor, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My Lord answered him, and said that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay. Howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a Spiritual Officer; requiring him to go and speak with the Chancellor of *London*. For he said, like as he could not commit me to Prison without the consent of a Spiritual Officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

So upon that he went to the Chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my Lord Mayor. He answered him, that the matter was so heinous, that he durst not of himself do it, without my Lord of *London* were made privy thereunto. But he said he would speak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next Morrow, and he should well know my Lords pleasure. And upon the Morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the Chancellor and with the Bishop of *London*. The Bishop declared unto him that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the Clock at Afternoon. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the Examination such Learned men, as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report that I was handled with no rigor. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then said the Bishop, Yes, as I understand, she is affectioned to Dr. *Crome*, Sir *Guillam Whitehead*, and *Huntington*, that they might hear the matter, for she did know them to be learned and of a godly Judgment. Also he required my Cousin *Britain*, that he should earnestly perswade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak; but if I said any manner of thing amiss, he with other more would be glad to reform me therein, with most godly counsel.

M. Britain seeketh to bail Anne Askew his Cousin.

Mr. Britain for the bail, ing of Anne Askew sent from the Mayor to the Chancellor, from the Chancellor to the Bishop.

Bonner Promiseth to Mr. Britain.

On the Morrow after, the Bishop of *London* sent for me at one of the Clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my Opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also in any wise, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in his House, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, forsomuch as your Lordship appointed three of the Clock, and my Friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come. Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those four men which were aforenamed and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should not need, because the two Gentlemen which were my Friends, were able enough to testifie what I should say. Anon after he went into his Gallery with Mr. *Spilman*, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his Archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the Bishop? To whom I answered again and said; Sir, ask, I pray you, my Accusers, for I know not as yet. Then took he my Book out of my hand, and said, Such Books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware, said he, beware, for he that made this Book, and was the Author thereof, was an Heretick I warrant you, and burned in *Smithfiel*. And then I asked him if he were certain and sure that it was true that he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the Book was of *John Fryths* making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the Book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the Book and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in Judgment, till he through-hly know the truth, and so he departed from me. Immediately after came my Cousin *Britain* in, with divers others, as Mr. *Hall* of *Grays-Inne*, and such other like. Then my Lord of *London* perswaded my Cousin *Britain*, as he had done oft before, which was, That I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise. My Lord said after that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my Friends and Well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burthened my Conscience; for he ensured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For like as he promised them (he said) he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage of any word that I should speak, and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my Conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Talk between the Archdeacon and Anne Askew.

Rash judgment reproved.

Good counsel given to the Archdeacon.

Mr. Britain, Edm. Hall. Talk between Anne Askew and Bonner.

Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude; that if a man had a wound, no wise Chirurgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In like case, saith he, can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your Conscience is burthened. I answered, That my Conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a Plaister unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

Bonner finds a similitude.

Then you drive me (saith he) to lay to your charge your own report, which is this; You did say, He that doth receive the Sacrament by the hands of an ill Priest, or a Sinner, receiveth the Devil, and not God. To that I answered, that I never spake such words. But, as I said before, both to the Quest and to my Lord Mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the Priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the Body and Blood of Christ. Then said the Bishop unto me, what saying is this in Spirit? I will not take you at the advantage. Then I answered, My Lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.

Bonner first objecteth against Anne askew.

Then he said unto me, that I should say that the Sacrament remaining in the Pix, was but Bread. I answered, that I never said so, but indeed the Quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, I said, till such a time as they had assoiled me this question of mine, Wherefore *Stephen* was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

The 3. Article.

Then said my Lord unto me, that I had alleadged a certain Text of the Scripture, a answered that I alledged none other but St. *Paul's* own saying to the *Athenians*, in the eighteenth Chapter of the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, *That God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands.*

Then

Anne Askew brought forth to communication before Bonner.

Then asked he me what my Faith and Belief was in that matter? I answered him, I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.

The 4. Article.

Then enquired he of me, what if the Scripture doth say, that it is the Body of Christ? I believe, said I, as the Scripture doth teach me. Then asked he again, what if the Scripture doth say that it is not the Body of Christ? My answer was still, I believe as the Scripture informeth me. And upon this Argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believe therein and in all other things, as Christ and his Apostles did leave them.

Anne Askew charged with new words.

Then he asked me why I had so few words? And I answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and *Solomon* saith, *That a Woman of few words is the gift of God*, Prov. 19.

The 5. Article.

Fifthly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the Mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than Idolatry. I answered him, no, I said not so. Howbeit I say the Quest did ask me whether private Mass did relieve Souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, O Lord, what Idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private Masses than in the healthsom death of the dear Son of God? Then said my Lord again, what an answer is that? Though it be but mean, said I, yet is it good enough for the question.

Then I told my Lord, that there was a Priest which did hear what I said there before my Lord Mayor and them. With that the Chancellor answered, which was the same Priest? So she spake it in very deed, saith he, before my Lord Mayor and me.

Then were there certain Priests, as Dr. *Standish* and other, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus; that I said to my Lord of *London*, I have said. Then Dr. *Standish* desired my Lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same Text of St. *Pauls* learning, that I being a Woman should interpret the Scriptures, especially where so many wise learned men were.

Dr. Standish his demand.

Then my Lord of *London* said, he was informed that one should ask of me if I would receive the Sacrament at *Easter*, and I made a mock of it.

Then I defired that mine Accuser might come forth, which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Papist. That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet made I him none answer unto it.

Anne Askew could not have her Accuser.

Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore Priests at *Lincoln*. Indeed, quoth I, I said so. For my Friends told me, if I did come to *Lincoln*, the Priests would assault me and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the *Minster* reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.

The Priests of Lincoln against Anne Askew.

Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak to me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my Lord, there are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter: I said again, my Lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure my self this hour that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth. Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meanings, and so he wrote a great circumstance. But what it was, I have not in my memory: for he would not suffer me to have the Copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it.

Anne Askew standeth upon her honesty.

The 3. Article.

Be it known, saith he, *of all men, that I* Anne Askew *do confess this to be my Faith and Belief, notwithstanding many Reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a Priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the Body and Blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the Consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very Body and Blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other Sacraments of holy Church in all points, according to the old Catholick Faith of the same. In witness whereof, I the said* Anne *have subscribed my Name.*

Bonner misreporteth of Anne Askews Confession.

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the Copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I did agree to it. And I said again, I believe so much thereof, as the holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that you will add that thereunto. Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great Chamber and read the same Bill before the Audience, which inveigled and willed me to set to my hand, saying also, that I had favour shewed me. Then said the Bishop, I might thank other, and not my self for the favour that I found at his hand: for he considered, he said, that I had good Friends, and also that I came of a worshipful Stock.

The tenor of D. Bonners Writing, whereunto Anne Askew subscribed.

Then answered one *Christopher*, a Servant unto Mr. *Denny*: Rather ou, ht you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for Gods sake than for mans. Then my Lord sate down, and took me the Writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: I Anne Askew *do believe all manner of things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church.*

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the Writing of Boner, *which this godly Woman said before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to infer the same, both with the whole circumstance of* Boner, *and with the Title thereunto prefixed by the Register, and also with her own Subscription: to the intent the Reader seeing the same Subscription, neither to agree with the time of the Title above prefixed, nor with the Subscription after the Writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such Bishops, and to such Registers. The tenour of* Boners *Writing proceedeth thus.*

The words of the Register.

The true Copy of the Confession and Belief of *Anne Askew*, otherwise called *Anne Kyme*, made before the Bishop of *London* the twentieth day of *March*, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of *England*, 1545. and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said Bishop and other, whose Names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present, to the intent the World may see what credence is to be given unto the same Woman, who in so short a time hath so damnably altered and changed her Opinion and Belief, and therefore rightly in open Court arraigned and condemned. *Ex Regist.*

Ex Regist.

The Copy of the Bishops report upon the Confession of Anne Askew, as it is Recorded in the Registers.

BE it known to all faithful People, that as touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of Consecration be spoken by the Priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, *there is present really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the Minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also whensoever the said Sacrament is received, whether the Receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do believe, that whether the said Sacrament be then received of the Minister, or else reserved to be put into the Pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very Body and Blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the Minister or the Receiver be good or bad, yea, whether the Sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed Body of Christ really.*

And this thing, with all other things touching the Sacrament and other Sacraments of the Church, and all things else touching the Christian Belief, which are taught and declared in the Kings Majesties Book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian People, I Anne Askew, *otherwise called* A. Kyme, *do truly and perfectly believe, and so here presently confess and acknowledge*

And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say nor do any thing against the premisses, or against any of them. In witness whereof, I the said Anne *have subscribed my Name unto these presents.*

Written the 20th day of *March*, in the year of our Ex Regist. Lond. Lord God 1545. *Ex Regist.*

By me Anne Askew, *otherwise called* Anne Kyme.

Witnesses.

Edmund Bishop of *London.*
John Bishop of *Bathe.*
Owen Oglethorp Doctor of Divinity.
Richard Smith Doctor of Divinity.
John Rudde Bachelor of Divinity.
William Pie Bachelor of Divinity.
John Wimsley Archdeacon of *London.*
John Cook.
Robert Tohn.
Francis Spilman.
Edward Hall.
Alexander Bret.
Edmund Buts.

With divers other more being then present.

Bonner and his Register reproved with an untruth.

Here maist thou note, gentle Reader, in this Confession, both in the Bishop and his Register, a double sleight of false conveyance. For although the Confession purport the words of the Bishops writing, whereunto she did set her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, maist thou see that both she was arraigned and condemned before this was Registred, and also that she is falsly reported to have put to her Hand, which indeed by this her own Book appeareth not so to be but after this manner and condition; I *Anne Askew* do believe all manner of things contained in the Faith of the Catholick Church, and not otherwise. *It followeth more in the story.*

Bonner Bishop of London in a chafe against Anne Askew.

Then because I did add unto it the Catholick Church, he flang into his Chamber in a great fury. With that, my Cousin Britain *followed, desiring him for Gods sake to be a good Lord unto me. He answered, that I was a Woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my Cousin* Britain *desired him to take me as a Woman, and not to set my weak Womans wit to his Lordships great wisdom.*

Dr. Weston.

*Then went in unto him Dr.*Weston, *and said, That the cause why I did write there the Catholick Church, was, that I understood not the Church written afore. So with much ado they perswaded my Lord to come out again, and to take my Name, with the Names of my Sureties, which were my Cousin* Britain *and Master* Spilman *of* Grays-Inne.

This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the Law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to Prison again until the next Morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guild-Hall, *and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the Bishops Writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to Prison. Then were my Sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in* Pauls Church, *which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another Woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge. Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a Bond of them of Recognizance for my forth coming: and thus I was at the last delivered.*

Anne Askew brought to the Guild-hall.

Anne Askew bailed at last under Sureties, with much ado.

Written by me *Anne Askew.*

The latter Apprehension and Examination of the worthy Martyr of God Mrs. Anne Askew, *Anno* 1546.

Anne Askew, Martyr.

Anno 1546.

I Do perceive (dear Friend in the Lord) that thou art not yet perfwaded throughly in the Truth, concerning the Lords Supper, because Christ said unto his Apostles, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you.*

In giving forth the Bread as an outward sign or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect belief to receive that Body of his which should die for the People, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and salvation of their Souls. The Bread and the Wine were left us for a Sacramental Communion, or a mutual participation of the ineffinable benefits of his most precious death and bloodshedding, and that we should in the end thereof be thankful together for that most neccessary grace of our Redemption. For in the closing up thereof he said thus, *This do ye in remembrance of me.* Yea, *so oft as ye shall eat it or drink it,* 1 Cor. 11. *Luke* 11. and 1 *Cor.* 11. Else should we have been forgetful of that we ought to have in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it; therefore it is meet that in our Prayers we call unto God to graft in our Foreheads the true meaning of the Holy Ghost concerning this Communion. For St.*Paul* saith, *The Letter slayeth; the Spirit is it only that giveth life,* 2 *Cor.* 3. Mark well the sixth Chapter of *John*, where all is applied unto Faith: note also the fourth Chapter of St.*Pauls* second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and in the end thereof ye shall find, that *the things which are seen are temporal, but they that are not seen are everlasting.* Yea, look in the third Chapter to the *Hebrews*, and ye shall find that Christ as a Son (and no Servant) ruleth over his House, *whose House are we*, and not the dead Temple, *if we hold fast the confidence and rejoycing of that hope to the end.* Wherefore, as said the Holy Ghost, *To day if ye shall hear his voice harden not your hearts, &c.* Psal. 95.

A declaration of Anne Askew of their words of our Saviour, Christ my Body.

Luke 22. 1 Cor. 11.

2 Cor. 3.

2 Cor. 4.

Heb. 3.

Psalm 95.

The sum of my Examination before the Kings Council at Greenwich.

Concerning that which they here demanded as touching me, and in the answering to John Taverner in this place.

Y Our Request as concerning my Prison-fellows I am not able to satisfie, because I heard not their Examinations. But the effect of mine was this. I being before the Council, was asked of Mr.*Kyme*. I answered, that my Lord Chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the Kings pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not so do; but if it were the Kings pleasure to hear me, I would shew him the truth. Then they said it was not meet for the King to be troubled with me. I answered, that *Solomon* was reckoned the wiseſt King that ever lived, yet milliked he not to hear two poor common Women, much more his Grace a simple Woman and his faithful Subject. So in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my Lord Chancellor asked of me my Opinion in the Sacrament. My Answer was this, I believe that so oft as I in a Christian Congregation do receive the Bread in remembrance of Christs death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy Institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious Passion. The Bishop of *Winchester* bade me make a direct answer: I said I would not sing a new Song of the Lord in a strange Land. Then the Bishop said I spake in Parables. I answered, it was best for him, for if I shew the open truth (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he said I was a Parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

This Lord Chancellor was Wriothsly. Parables best for Winchester. Winch. he giveth to fould.

Then had I divers rebukes of the Council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the Clerk of the Council conveyed me from thence to my Lady *Garnish*.

Anne Askew brought again before the Council.

The next day I was brought again before the Council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the Sacrament. I answered, That I already had said what I could say. Then after divers words they bade me go by. Then came my Lord *Lisle*, my Lord of *Essex*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the Sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said I to my Lord *Parre* and my Lord *Lisle*, that

that it was a great shame for them to Counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

Winchester answered home.

Then the Bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, So did *Judas*, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ. Then desired the Bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me why; I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christs and *Pauls* Doctrin. *Matth.* 18. 2 *Cor.* 13.

Matth 18. 2 Cor. 13.

Then my Lord Chancellor began to examin me again of the Sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I said in the Scripture, 3. *Reg.* 18. Then he went his way. Then the Bishop said I should be burnt. I answered, That I had searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his Apostles put any creature to death. Well, well said I, God will laugh your threatnings to scorn, *Psal.* 2. Then was I commanded to stand aside. Then came to me Doctor Cox, and Dr. *Robinson*. In conclusion, we could not agree.

3 Reg. 18. The Lord Chancellor mute.

Psal. 2.

Doctor Cox Dr. Robinson.

Then we made me a Bill of the Sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto, but I would not. Then on the *Sunday* I was fore sick, thinking no less than to die. Therefore I desired to speak with Master *Latimer*, but it would not be. Then was I sent to *Newgate* in my extremity of sickness; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the Truth. Pray, pray, pray.

Anne Askew desired to speak with M. Latimer.

The Confession of me *Anne Askew*, for the time I was in *Newgate*, concerning my Belief.

The confession of Anne Askew in Newgate.

I *Find in the Scripture (said she) that Christ took the Bread and gave it to his Disciples, saying,* Take, eat, this is my Body which shall be broken for you, *meaning in Substance, his own very Body, the Bread being therefore an only sign or Sacrament. For after like manner of speaking, he said he would break down the Temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying his own Body by the Temple, as Saint* John *declareth it,* John. 2. *and not the stony Temple it self. So that the Bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a Sacrament of thankſgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a Communion of Christian love, although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof, for the Veil that* Moses *put over his face before the Children of* Israel, *that they should not see the clearness thereof,* Exod. 24. *and* 2 Corinth. 3. *I perceive the same Veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the History of* Bell *in the Bible, that God dwelleth in no thing material.* O King (*saith* Daniel) be not deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men, *Dan.* 14. *Oh, what ſtiff-necked People are these, that will always reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt? But as their Fathers have done, ſo do they, because they have ſtony hearts.*

As Christs Body is called the Temple in the Scripture, ſo is the Bread called Christs Body. Rend. 14. 2 Cor. 3.

Ben. 14. Acts 7.

Written by me *Ann Askew*, that neither wiſheth death, nor feareth his might, and as merry as one that is bound towards Heaven.

Luke 21. Amos 6. Ia. 59.

TRuth is laid in Prison, *Luke* 21. The law is turned to wormwood, *Amos* 6. And there can no right judgment go forth, *Isa.* 59.

Oh forgive us all our ſins, and receive us graciouſly. As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them. For it is thou Lord that art our God. Thou ſheweſt ever mercy unto the fatherleſs.

Oh if they would do this (saith the Lord) *I ſhould heal their ſores, yea withal my heart would I love them.*

Hos. 14.

O Ephraim, *what have I to do with Idols any more? whoſo is wiſe, ſhall underſtand this: And he that is rightly inſtructed will regard it, for the ways of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly will walk in them, and as for the wicked, they will ſtumble at them,* Hoſ. 14.

Solomon (saith St. Stephen) *builded an House for the God of* Jacob. *Howbeit, the higheſt of all dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, as ſaith the Prophet, Heaven is my Seat, and Earth is my footſtool. What houſe will ye build for me, ſaith the Lord? or what place is it that I ſhall reſt in? Have not my hands made all things?* Acts 7.

Isa. 66.

Woman believe me, (saith Christ to the Samaritane) *the time is at hand, that ye ſhall neither in this Mountain, nor yet at* Jeruſalem *worſhip the Father. Ye worſhip ye wot not what, but we know what we worſhip. For ſalvation cometh of the* Jews: *But the hour cometh, and is now, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and verity.* John. 4.

Acts 7.

John. 4.

Labour not (saith Christ) *for the meat that periſheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlaſting, which the Son of Man ſhall give you: for him hath God the Father Sealed.* John 6.

John 6:

The ſum of the Condemnation of me *Anne Askew* at the *Guild-Hall*

Another Examination of Anne Askew at Guild-Hall.

THey said to me there, That I was an Heretick, and condemned by the Law, if I would ſtand in mine Opinion. I answered, That I was no Heretick, neither yet deſerved I any death by the Law of God. But as concerning the Faith which I uttered and wrote to the Council, I would not (I said) deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know if I would deny the Sacrament to be Chriſts Body and Blood. I ſaid, yea. For the ſame Son of God that was born of the Virgin *Mary* is now glorious in Heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up. *Acts* 1. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of Bread. For a more proof thereof, mark it when you lift, let it but lie in the Box three months, and it will be mouldy and ſo turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am perſwaded that it cannot be God.

The Subſtance of the Sacrament denied to be God.

Then they asked me if it were not good; I ſaid, I would confeſs my faults unto God, for I was ſure that he would hear me with favour. And ſo we were condemned with a Queſt.

Anne Askew with her Fellows condemned by a Queſt.

My beleif which I wrote to the Council was this, That the Sacramental Bread was left us to be received with thankſgiving, in remembrance of Chriſts death, the only remedy of our Souls recovery; and that thereby we alſo receive the whole benefits and fruits of his moſt glorious Paſſion. Then would they needs know whether the Bread in the Box were God or no: I ſaid, *God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth.* John 4. Then they demanded, Will you plainly deny Chriſt to be in the Sacrament? I anſwered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witneſs whereof I recited again the Hiſtory of *Bell*, and the nineteenth Chapter of *Daniel*, the ſeventh and ſeventeenth of the *Acts*, and the four and twentieth of *Matthew*: concluding thus; I neither wiſh death, nor yet fear his might, God have the praiſe thereof with thanks.

The belief of Anne Askew with her concerning the Sacrament, written to the Council.

John 4.

Dan. 14. Act. 7. 17. Matth 24.

My Letter ſent to the Lord Chancellor.

The Letter of Anne Askew to the L. Chancellor.

THe Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bleſs you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

My duty to your Lordſhip remembred, &c. It might pleaſe you to accept this my bold ſute, as the ſute of one which upon due conſideration is moved to the ſame, and hopeth to obtain. My requeſt to your Lordſhip is only that it may pleaſe the ſame to be a mean for me to the Kings Majeſty, that his Grace may be certified of theſe few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which when it ſhall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me for the ſame, I think his Grace ſhall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of Balances. But I remit my matter and cauſe to Almighty God, which rightly judgeth all ſecrets. And thus I commend your Lordſhip to the governance of him, and fellowſhip of all Saints, Amen.

By your Handmaid, *Ann Askew.*

My

My Faith briefly written to the Kings Grace.

The belief of Anne Askew touching the Sacrament written to the King.

I Anne Askew, *of good Memory, although God hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the Water of trouble, yet not so much as my Sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your Grace, That for as much as I am by the Law condemned for an evil Doer; here I take Heaven and Earth to Record, that I shall die in my Innocency. And according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all Heresies. And as concerning the Supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed Blood. I believe so much as he willed me to follow, and believe so much as the Catholick Church of him doth teach. For I will not forsake the Commandment of his Holy Lips. But look what God hath charged me with his Mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end for lack of learning.*

Anne Askew.

The effect of my Examination and handling since my departure from Newgate.

The cruel handling and racking of Anne Askew after her condemnation.

ON *Tuesday* I was sent from *Newgate* to the sign of the Crown, where Master *Rich*, and the Bishop of *London*, with all their power and flattering words went about to perswade me from God; but I did not esteem their glozing pretences.

Then came there to me *Nicolas Shaxton*, and Counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, That it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

Then Mr. *Rich* sent me to the *Tower*, where I remained till three of clock.

This Counsellor was Sir John Baker.

Anne Askew urged to accuse others

Then came *Rich* and one of the Councel, charging me upon my Obedience to shew unto them if I knew any Man or Woman of my Sect. My answer was that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady of *Suffolke*, my Lady of *Sussex*, my Lady of *Hertford*, my Lady *Denny*, and my Lady *Fitzwilliams*. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, That the King was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my Sect. I answered, That the King was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.

Then commanded they me to shew how I was maintained in the *Counter*, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me. And as for the help that I had in the *Counter*, it was by the means of my maid. For as the went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the Prentices, and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

Then they said that there were divers Gentlewomen that gave me money. I said I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers Ladies that had sent me mony. I answered, That there was a Man in a blew coat which delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of *Hertford* sent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady *Denny* sent it me. Whether it were true or no I cannot tell. For I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said there were of the Councel that did maintain me. And I said, No.

Anne Askew put on the rack. Wrisley and Rich racking Anne Askew.

Then they did put me on the Rack, because I confessed no Ladies or Gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time, and because I lay still and did not cry, my Lord Chancellor and Master *Rich* took pains to Rack me with their own Hands till I was nigh dead.

Then the *Lieutenant* caused me to be loosed from the Rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I fate two long hours reasoning with my Lord Chancellor upon the bare floor. Where he with many flattering words perswaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting goodness, gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

Anne Askew confident in her faith.

Then was I brought to an House, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient *Job*, I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my Lord Chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to *Newgate*, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather dye than break my Faith.

Anne Askew threatned to be burned.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewel dear Friend, and pray, pray, pray.

The order of the racking of Anne Askew.

Touching the order of her racking in the *Tower* thus it was; first she was led down into a Dungeon, where Sir, *Anth. Knevet* the *Lieutenant* commanded his *Gaoler* to pinch her with the Rack. Which being don so much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But *Wrisley* the Chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the *Lieutenant* to strain her one the Rack again. Which because he denied to do, tending the weakness of the Woman, he was threatned therefore grievously of the said *Wrisley*, saying, That he would signifie his Disobedience unto the King; and so consequently upon the same, he and Master *Rich* throwing off their gowns, would needs play the Tormentors themselves; first asking her if she were with Child. To whom she answering again, said, Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me; and so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joynts were almost pluckt asunder, in such sort as she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, *Wrisley* and his Fellow took their horse toward the Court.

The Lord Wrisley and Mr. Rich play the Tormentors.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good *Lieutenant* estsoons taking Boat sped him to the Court in all haste to speak with the King before the other, and so did. Who there making his humble suit to the King, desired his pardon, and shewed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mistress *Askew*, and he was threatned by the Lord Chancellor, because at his commandment, not knowing his highness pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly desired his Highness Pardon. Which when the King had underfood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the Woman, and also granted to the *Lieutenant* his Pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

Wrisley the Lord Chancellor reproved by the Lieutenant.

The Lieutenant pardoned of the King.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the Warders and Officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. Whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the King, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God therefore.

Anne Askews answer unto *John Lacels* Letter.

The answer of Anne Askew to M. Lacels Letter.

O Friend, most dearly beloved in God, I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a Faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire you not to believe of me such weakness. For I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the Councel is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. *They say now, That what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the Kings Majesty should have information thereof, wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them.*

Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell and pray.

The purgation or answer of Anne Askew, *against the false surmises of her Recantation.*

Anne Askew answering to the vile Suspicion of her recantation.

I Have read the Process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my Recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the Bishop of *London* about the

the Sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my Mouth but this, That I believed therein as the Word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my Hand. But I refused it. Then my two Sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matters, they said.

Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus; I *Anne Askew* do believe this, if Gods Word do agree to the same, and the true Catholick Church. Then the Bishop being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to Prison, where I was a while, but afterwards by the means of Friends I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to the sixth of *John*, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well.

Anne Askew.

Anne Askew stiffly refelled to recant, and upon what occasion.

The Confession of the Faith which *Anne Askew* made in *Newgate* before she suffered.

The confession of Anne Askew going to her execution.

I Anne Askew *of good Memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the Bread of Adversity, and the Water of trouble, yet not so much as my Sins have deserved, do confess my self here a Sinner before the Throne of his Heavenly Majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forsomuch as I am by the Law unrighteously condemned for an evil Doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, which hath made both Heaven and Earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy Word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, which is the Giver of all Grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinion; and that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions and heresies contrary to his blessed Verity. For I take him which are contrary to his blessed Verity. For I take him to witness, that I have done, and will, unto my lives end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my Power.*

But this is the Heresie, which they report me to hold, that after the Priest hath spoken the Words of Consecration, there remaineth Bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary Article of Faith, that after these words be once spoken, there remaineth no Bread, but even the self same Body that hung upon the Crose on good-Friday, both Flesh, Blood, and Bone. To this belief of theirs I say I nay. For then were our common Creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right Hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to Judge the Quick and the Dead. Lo, this is the Heresie that I hold, and for it must suffer the Death. But as touching the Holy and blessed Supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary Remembrance of his glorious sufferings and Death. Moreover I believe as much thereof, wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, they can imagine, they fall upon me which am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them which are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is onely acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasie of sinful Men. So be it, O Lord, so be it.

By me Anne Askew.

Anne Askew brought into the Stake.

Anne Askew lifted upon the rack.

Shaxton preached at Anne Askews burning.

HItherto we have intreated of this good Woman now it remaineth that we touch somewhat as concerning her end and Martyrdom. After that she, being born of such stock and kindred that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would rather have followed the world than Christ, now had been to tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet by her Adversaries be suffered to die in secret; the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into *Smithfield* in a Chair, because she could not go on her Feet, by means of her great Torments. When she was brought to the Stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain that held up her Body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Doctor *Shaxton*, who was then the appointed to preach, began his Sermon. *Anne Askew* hearing, and answering again unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, there, said she, he misseth, and speaketh without the Book.

Anne Askew burned, &c.

The Sermon being finished, the Martyrs, standing there tyed at three several stakes ready to their Martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the People was exceeding, the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the preass. Upon the Bench under St. *Bartholomews* Church sate *Wrisley* Chancellour of *England*, the old Duke of *Norfolk*, the old Earle of *Bedford*, the Lord Mayor, with divers other more. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the Bench hearing that they had Gunpowder about them, and being afraid left the Fagots by strength of the Gunpowder would come flying about their Ears began to be afraid: but the Earl of *Bedford* declaring unto him how the Gunpowder was not layd under the Fagots, but onely about their Bodies to rid them out of their pain which having vent there was no danger to them of the Fagots, so diminished that fear.

Anne Askew refuseth the Kings pardon.

Then *Wrisley* Lord Chancellour sent to *Anne Askew* Letters, offering to her the Kings Pardon if she would recant. Who, refusing once to look upon them, made this answer again, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the Letters likewise offered unto the other, who in like manner, following the constancy of the Woman, denied not onely to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the L. Mayor, commanding fire to be put to them, cryed with a loud voice, *Fiat justitia.*

Justitia, Justitia.

And thus the good *Anne Askew* with these blessed Martyrs, being troubled so many manner of ways, and having passed through so many Torments, having now ended the long course of her Agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed Sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord *Anno.* 1546. leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

John Lacels, John Adams and *Nicholas Belenian.*

The Martyrdom of Anne Askew, John Lacels, John Adams, Nicholas Belenian.

THere was at the same time also burnt together with her, one *Nicholas Belenian* Priest of *Shropshire*, *John Adams* a Taylor, and *John Lacels* Gentleman, of the Court and houshold of King *Henry*.

It happened well for them, that they died together with *Anne Askew*. For albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they being the more boldned received occasion of greater comfort in that so painful and doleful kind of Death: who beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her perswasions, did set apart all kind of fear.

Thus

Scripture sufficient to our salvation

Psalm 28. Anne Askew stilly reported to deny the holy Eucharist.

The Mass an abominable Idol.

Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most Precious Blood. Yea, and as Saint Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and Salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe, we need no unwritten verities to rule his Church with. Therefore look what he hath said unto me with his own Mouth in his Holy Gospel, that I have with Gods Grace closed up in my Heart, and my full trust is (as David *saith) that it shall be a Lantern to my Footsteps, Psalme 28.*

There be some that do say I deny the Eucharist or Sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruely report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your Mass as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable Idol that is in the world. For my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer Death.

The prayer of Anne Askew.

O Lord I have more Enemies now, than there be haires on my head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou Lord in my stead; for on thee cast I my care. With all the spight

The manner of burning Anne Askew, John Lacels, John Adams, &c. Nicolas Beleman, with certane of y counsell sitting in Smithfield.

Thus they confirming one another with mutual exhortations carried looking for the Tormentor and fire, which, at the laſt flaming round about them, conſumed their bleſſed Bodies in happy Martyrdom, in the year of our Salvation, 1546. about the Month of *June*.

There is alſo a certain Letter extant, which the ſaid *John Lacels* briefly wrote, being in Priſon, touching the Sacrament of Chriſts Body and Blood; wherein he doth both confute the errour of them, which being not contented with the ſpiritual receiving of the Sacrament, will leave no ſubſtance of Bread therein, and alſo confuteth the ſiniſter Interpretation of many thereupon. The tenor of which Letter is as hereunder followeth.

The Copie of the Letter of John Lacels *written out of Priſon.*

The Letter of Mr. John Lacels written out of Priſon.

SAint *Paul* becauſe of Sects and diſſenſion among the *Corinthians*, wrote the Epiſtle unto them; and in like caſe pertaining to my Conſcience, I do proteſt my whole Heart touching the bleſſed Supper of the Lord, wherein I truſt in God to bring nothing for me, but I ſhall be able with Gods Holy Word to declare and manifeſt the ſame. And herein I take occaſion to recite the ſaying of Saint *Paul* in the ſaid Epiſtle the eleventh Chapter, *That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jeſus, the ſame night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and ſaid, take ye, eat ye, this is my Body, which is broken for you.*

1 Cor. 11.

Here, me ſeemeth, Saint *Paul* durſt not take upon him his Lord and Maſters Authority. Wherefore, as at Gods Hand the breaking of the moſt innocent and immaculate Body and Blood of Chriſt is the quietneſs of all mens Conſciences, the onely remedy of our ſins, and redemption of mankind which is called in the Scripture the daily Offering: ſo the Maſs which is the Invention of Man (whoſe author is the Pope of *Rome*, as it doth appear in *Polydore Virgil* and many others) is the unquietneſs of all Chriſtendom, a Blaſphemy unto Chriſts Blood, and (as *Daniel* calleth it) the abominable deſolation, as the Scripture ſhall hereafter more manifeſt it. Saint *Paul* was belike to learn of the *Romans-Church*, the manner of the Conſecration as they call it, with the breathing over the Hoſt, and other Ceremonies beſides, that he durſt not take upon him to ſay, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*. But this I will admit: it was the Lord Jeſus that made the Supper, which alſo did finiſh it, and made an end of the onely Act of our Salvation, not only here in this world, but with his Father in Heaven, as he declareth himſelf, that he will drink no more of this bitter Cup, till he drink it new in his Fathers Kingdom, where all bitterneſs ſhall be taken away.

The blaſphemy and wickedneſs of the maſs.

Approphecie.

S. Paul did not take upon him the perſon of Chriſt to ſay, Hoc eſt corpus meum, as our Prieſts do.

Now if any man be able to finiſh the Act of our Saviour, in breaking of his Body, and ſhedding of his Blood here, and alſo to finiſh it with the Father in Heaven, then let him ſay it. But I think that if men will look upon Saint *Pauls* Words well, they ſhall be forced to ſay, as St. *Paul* ſaith; the Lord Jeſus ſaid it, and once for all, which onely was the fulfiller of it. For theſe Words *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, were ſpoken of his natural preſence (which no man is able to deny) becauſe the Act was finiſhed on the Croſs, as the Story doth plainly manifeſt it to them that have eyes. Now this Bloody Sacrifice is made an end of, the Supper is finiſhed, forſomuch as, *Chriſt hath once ſuffered for ſins, the juſt for the unjuſt, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the Fleſh, and hath entred in by his own Blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternal redemption.*

None but Chriſt can ſay, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, for all.

1 Pet 3; Heb. 9.

Here now followeth the Adminiſtration of the Supper of the Lord, which I will take at Chriſts Hands after the reſurrection, although other men will not be aſhamed to bring the wicked Counſels of fooliſh inventions for them. *And it came to paſs as Chriſt ſate at meat with them, he took Bread, bleſſed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vaniſhed out of their ſight.* And the Apoſtles did know him in breaking of Bread.

Luke 24;

The right uſe of the Lords Supper in the Apoſtles time.

Acts 2.

Here alſo it ſeemeth to me the Apoſtles to follow their Maſter Chriſt, and to take the right uſe of the Sacrament, and alſo to teach it to thoſe that were converted to Chriſt as mention is made in the Acts of the Apoſtles, where it is ſaid, *They continued in the Apoſtles Doctrine and Fellowſhip, in breaking of Bread, and prayer, and they continued daily with one accord in the Temple, and brake Bread in every Houſe, and did eat there with gladneſs and ſingleneſs of heart, praiſing God, and had favour with all the people.* And Saint *Paul* following the ſame Doctrin, doth plainly ſhew the duty of the Miniſter, and alſo of them that ſhall receive it; *As oft as ye ſhall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew the Lords Death until he come.* Here I do gather that the Miniſter hath no further Power and Authority than to preach and pronounce the Lords Death, or elſe to ſay the Lord Jeſus ſaid it, which did fuſil it on the Croſs.

1 Cor. 11.

Now far the power of the Miniſter extendeth in conſecrating the Supper.

Further-

How the Fleſh of Chriſt is eaten in the Supper.

Furtheremore, I do ſtedfaſtly believe, that where the Bread is broken according to the Ordinance of Chriſt, the bleſſed and Immaculate Lamb is preſent to the eyes of our Faith, and ſo we eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood, which is to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are ſure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his Holy Spirit, even as the Forefathers, that were before Chriſts coming, did preſently ſee the Lords Death, and did eat his Body and drink his Blood.

Popiſh Prieſts take upon them to do more than ever Chriſt did.

In this I do differ from the Popes Church, that the Prieſts have Authority to make Chriſts natural preſence in the Bread, for ſo doth he more than our Lord and Saviour did; As the example is manifeſt in *Judas*, which at Chriſts Hands received the ſame Wine and Bread, as the other Apoſtles did. But the Pope and his adherents are even they whom *Daniel* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *He ſhall ſet men to unhallow the Sanctuary, and to put down the daily offering, and to ſet up the abominable deſolation. Yea, he (of* Rome) *ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Heaven, and God of all Gods, wherein he ſhall proſper ſo long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the concluſion is deviſed already. He ſhall not regard the God of Heaven, nor the God of his Fathers, yea in his place ſhall he worſhip the mighty Idol, and the God whom his Fathers knew not, which is the God of* Maozim.

Dan. 11. Maozim ſignifieth in Hebrew, as much as the God of divers Temples.

The God Maozim in Daniel, alludeth much neer to Mezzes, which ſignifieth Bread. Matth. 24. Marke. 13. Luke 21. 2 Theſſ. 2.

For lack of time I leave the Commemoration of the bleſſed Supper of the Lord, and the abominable Idol the Maſs, which is it that *Dainel* meaneth by the God *Maozim*. Read the ſecond and laſt Chapters of *Daniel*, the ſecond to the *Theſſalonians*, the ſecond Epiſtle; where they recite the abomination of deſolation, which, *Matthew* ſaith, ſtandeth in the holy place, which is the Conſciences of Men. *Mark* ſaith, where it ought not to ſtand, which is a plain denial of all the Inventions of Men. Further *Luke* ſaith, the time is at hand. *Paul* ſaith, the myſtery of iniquity worketh already, yea, and ſhall continue until the appearance of Chriſt, which in my judgment is at hand.

The faithfull and reverend confeſſion of Lacels touching the Lords Supper.

Now for the Supper of the Lord, I do proteſt to take it as reverently as Chriſt left it, and as his Apoſtles did uſe it, according to the Teſtimonies of the Prophets, the Apoſtles, and our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt, which accordingly Saint *Paul* to the *Epheſians* doth recite.

Now with quietneſs I commit the whole world to their Paſtor and Heardman Jeſus Chriſt the onely Saviour and true *Meſſias*, and I commend my Soveraign Lord and Maſter, the Kings Majeſty, King *Henry* the eighth to God the Father, and to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; the Queen and my Lord the Prince, with this whole Realm, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lamb, that his Blood may waſh and purifie their Hearts and Souls from all iniquity and ſin, to Gods glory and to the Salvation of their Souls. I do proteſt, that the inward part of my Heart doth groan for this, and I doubt not but to enter into the holy Tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewel in Chriſts Jeſus.

John Lacels, *late Servant to the King, and now I truſt to ſerve the everlaſting King, with the Teſtimony of my Blood in* Smithfield.

Rogers, *Martyr, burned in* Smithfield.

One Rogers in Norfolke Martyr.

LIke as *Winchester* and other Biſhops did ſet on King *Henry* againſt *Anne Askew* and her Fellow Martyrs, ſo Doctor *Repſe*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, did incite no leſs the old Duke of *Norfolke* againſt one *Rogers* in the Countrey of *Norfolke*; who much about the ſame year and time, was there condemned and ſuffered Martyrdom for the ſix Articles. After which time it was not long, but within an half year both the King himſelf and the Dukes Houſe deceaſed: albeit, the Dukes Houſe by Gods Grace recovered again afterward, and he himſelf converted to a more moderation in this kind of dealing.

The Martyrdom of Rogers.

The Story of Queen Katharine Parre, *late Queen, and Wife to King Henry the eighth. Wherein appeareth in what danger ſhe was for the Goſpel, by the means of* Steven Gardiner *and other of his Conſpiracy; and how graciouſly ſhe was preſerved by her kind and loving Husband the King.*

AFter theſe ſtormy ſtories above recited, the courſe and order as well of the time as the matter of the ſtory doth require now ſomewhat to intreat likewiſe touching the troubles and afflictions of the vertuous and excellent Lady Queen *Katharine Parre*, the laſt wife to King *Henry*: the ſtory whereof is this.

Anno 1546.

About the ſame time above noted, which was about the year after the King returned from *Bullein*, he was informed that Queen *Katharin Parre*, at that time his Wife, was very much given to the reading and ſtudying of the Holy Scriptures, and that ſhe for that purpoſe had retained divers well learned and godly Perſons to inſtruct her thorowly in the ſame; with whom as at all times convenient ſhe uſed to have private Conference touching ſpiritual matters; ſo alſo of ordinary, but eſpecially in Lent every day in the afternoon for the ſpace of an hour, one of her ſaid Chaplains in her privie Chamber made ſome Collation to her and to her Ladies and Gentlewomen of her Privie Chamber, or other that were diſpoſed to hear: In which Sermons they oft times touched ſuch abuſes as in the Church were then riſe. Which things as they were not ſecretly done, ſo neither were their preachings unknown unto the King. Whereof at the firſt, and for a great time, he ſeemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the Goſpel, and the Profeſſors thereof) frankly to debate with the King touching Religion, and therein ſtatly to diſcover her ſelf; oftentimes withing, exhorting, and perſwading the King, that as he had, ſo the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in baniſhing that monſtrous Idol of *Rome*, ſo he would throughly perfect and finiſh the ſame, cleanſing and purging his Church of *England* clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great ſuperſtition.

Q. Katherine Parre.

The zelous Zeal of Q. Katharine toward Gods Word.

The exhortation of Q. Katharine to the King.

And albeit the King grew towards his latter end very ſterne and opinionate, ſo that of few he could be content to be taught, but worſt of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithſtanding, toward her he refrained his accuſtomed manner (unto others in like caſe uſed) as appeared by great reſpects, either for the reverence of the cauſe, whereunto of himſelf he ſeemed well inclined, if ſome others could have ceaſed from ſeeking to pervert him, or elſe for the ſingular affection, which, until a very ſmall time before his death, he always bare unto her. For never handmaid fought with more careful diligence to pleaſe her Miſtreſs, than ſhe did with all painful indeavour apply her ſelf by all vertuous means in all things to pleaſe his humour.

The King toward his latter end impatient.

Moreover beſides the vertues of the mind, ſhe was indued with very rare gifts of Nature, as ſingular beauty, favour, and comely perſonage, being things wherein the King was greatly delighted: and ſo enjoyed ſhe the Kings favor, to the great likelihood of the ſetting at large of the Goſpel within this Realm at that time; had not the malicious practiſe of certain profeſſed Enemies againſt the truth (which at that time alſo were very great) prevented the ſame, to the utter alienating of the Kings mind from Religion, and almoſt to the extreme ruin of the Queen and certain others with her, if God had not marvelouſly ſuccoured her in the diſtreſs. The Conſpirers and practiſers of her death were *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Winchester*, *Wrisley* then Lord Chancellour, and others more both of the Kings Privy Chamber, and of his Privy Council. Theſe ſeeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpoſe) to revive, ſtir up, and kindle evil and pernicious humours in their Prince and Soveraign Lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then ſhe ſtood in with the King (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their Antichriſtian Sect, if it ſhould continue) and thereby to ſtop the paſſage of the Goſpel; and conſequently, having taken away her, who was the onely Partroneſs of the Profeſſors of the truth, openly without fear of check or controlment, with fire and ſword, after their accuſtomed manner, to invade the ſmall remainder, as they hoped, of that poor flock, made their wicked entry unto this their miſchievous enterpriſe, after this manner following.

The vertuous Indivition of Q. Katharine toward the King.

Enemies & conſpirers againſt the Goſpel.

The

The Kings Majesty, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although the Queen would not Croſs in ſmaller matters, yet in caſes of Religion as occaſion ſerved, ſhe would not ſtick in Reverent Terms and humble talk, entering with him into diſcourſe, with found reaſons of Scripture now and then to contrary. The which the King was ſo well accuſtomed unto in thoſe matters, that at her Hands he took all in good part, or at the leaſt did never ſhew countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appale her Adverſaries to hear and fee. During which time, perceiving her ſo throughly grounded in the Kings Favour, they durſt not for their lives once open their Lips unto the King in any reſpect touch her, either in her preſence, or behind her back. And ſo long ſhe continued this her accuſtomed uſage, not onely of her hearing Private Sermons (as is ſaid) but alſo of her free Conference with the King in matters of Religion, without all peril, until at the laſt by reaſon of his fore legg (the anguiſh whereof began more and more to increaſe) he waxed ſickly, and there-withal froward, and difficult to be pleaſed.

The King *ſometime* contrary to the Queens argument.

The King waxeth ſickly and difficult to pleaſe.

In the time of this his ſickneſs he had left his accuſtomed manner of coming and viſiting of the Queen: and therefore ſhe, according as ſhe underſtood him, by ſuch aſſured intelligence as ſhe had about him, to be diſpoſed to have her company, ſometimes being ſent for, other ſometimes of her ſelf would come to viſit him, either at after dinner or after Supper, as was moſt fit for her purpoſe. At which time ſhe would not fail to uſe all occaſions to move him, according to her manner, zealouſly to proceed in the Reformation of the Church. The ſharpneſs of the diſeaſe had ſharpened the Kings accuſtomed patience, ſo that he began to ſhew ſome tokens of miſliking; and contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occaſion to enter into other talk, which ſomewhat amazed the Queen. To whom notwithſtanding in her preſence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all Arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleaſant talk, ſhe for that time took her leave of his Majeſty. Who after his manner bidding her farewel ſweet heart (for that was his uſual Term to the Queen) licenſed her to depart.

The King beginneth to miſlike of the Queen.

At this viſitation chanced the Biſhop of *Winchester* aforenamed to be preſent, as alſo at the Queens taking her leave (who very well had printed in his Memory the Kings ſudden interrupting of the Queen in her tale, and falling into other matter) and thought that if the Iron were beaten whilſt it was hot, and that the Kings humor were holpen, ſuch miſliking might follow towards the Queen, as might both overthrow her and all her endeavours; and he onely awaited ſome occaſion to renew into the Kings memory the former miſliked Argument. His expectation in that behalf did nothing fail him; for the King at that time ſhewed himſelf no leſs prompt and ready to receive any information, than the Biſhop was maliciouſly bent to ſtirr up the Kings Indignation againſt her. The King, immediately upon her departure from him, uſed theſe or like words; A good hearing, quoth he, it is when Women become ſuch Clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my Wife,

The Biſhop of *Winchester* taketh his occaſion to work his miſchief.

The Biſhop hearing this, ſeemed to miſlike that the Queen ſhould ſo much forget her ſelf, as to take upon her to ſtand in any Argument with his Majeſty, whom he to his Face extold for his rare vertues, and ſpecially for his learned Judgment in matters of Religion, above not onely Princes of that and other ages, but alſo above Doctors profeſſed in Divinity, and ſaid that it was an unſeemly thing for any of his Majeſties Subjects to reaſon and argue with him ſo malapertly, and grievous to him for his part, and other of his Majeſties Counſellors and Servants, to hear the ſame; and that they all by proof knew his wiſdom to be ſuch, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any ſuch matters; inferring moreover how dangerous and perillous a matter it is, and ever hath been for a Prince to ſuffer ſuch inſolent words at his Subjects Hands: who as they take boldneſs to contrary their Sovereign in words, ſo want they no will, but onely power and ſtrength to overthrow them in deeds.

The Biſhop of *Winchester's* words to the King.

Beſides this, that the Religion by the Queen ſo ſtiffly maintained did not onely diſallow and diſſolve the policy and politique Government of Princes, but alſo taught the people that all things ought to be in common; ſo that what colour ſoever they pretended, their opinions were indeed ſo odious, and for the Princes Eſtate ſo perillous, that (ſaving the reverence they bear unto her for his Majeſties ſake) they durſt be bold to affirm that the greateſt Subject in this Land, ſpeaking thoſe Words that ſhe did ſpeak, and defending likewiſe thoſe Arguments that ſhe did defend, had with indifferent juſtice by law deſerved death.

Winchesters accuſation againſt the Queen.

Hobeit for his part, he would not, nor durſt not, without good Warrant from his Majeſty, ſpeak his knowledge in the Queens caſe, although very apparent reaſons made for him, and ſuch as his dutiful affection towards his Majeſty, and the Zeal and preſervation of his eſtate, would ſcarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might through her, and her faction, be the utter deſtruction of him, and of ſuch as indeed did chiefly tender the Princes ſafety, without his Majeſty would take upon him to be their Protector, and as it were their Buckler. Which if he would do (as in reſpect of his own ſafety he ought not to refuſe) he with others of his faithful Counſellors could within ſhort time diſcloſe ſuch treaſon, cloaked with this cloak of Hereſie, that his Majeſty ſhould eaſily perceive how perillous a matter it is to cheriſh a Serpent in his own Boſom: Howbeit he would not for his part willingly deal in the matter both for reverend reſpect aforeſaid, and alſo for fear leaſt the faction was grown already too great, there with the Princes ſafety to diſcover the ſame. And therewithal, with heavy countenance, and whiſpering together with them of that Sect there preſent, held his Peace.

These and ſuch other kinds of *Winchesters* flattering phraſes marvellouſly wherred the King both to anger and diſpleaſure toward the Queen, and alſo to be jealous and miſtruſtful of his own eſtate. For the aſſurance where-of Princes uſe not to be ſcrupulous to do any thing: Thus then *Winchester* with his flattering words, ſeeking to frame the Kings diſpoſition after his own pleaſure, ſo farr crept into the King at that time, and with doubtful fears he, with other his Fellowes, ſo filled the Kings miſtruſtful mind; that before they departed the place, the King (to fee belike what they would do) had given commandment, with Warrant to certain of them made for that purpoſe, to conſult together about the drawing of certain Articles againſt the Queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the King, by their perſwaſions pretended to be fully reſolved not to ſpare, having any rigor or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this Commiſſion they departed for that time from the King, reſolved to put their pernicious practiſe to as miſchievous an execution.

Winchester abuſeth the King with his flatteries.

During the time of Deliberation about this matter, they failed not to uſe all kind of policies, and miſchievous practiſes, as well to ſuborn Accuſers, as otherwiſe to betray her, in ſeeking to underſtand what Books by law forbidden ſhe had in her Cloſet. And the better to bring their purpoſe to paſs, becauſe they would not upon the ſudden but by means deal with her, they thought it beſt, at the firſt, to begin with ſome of thoſe Ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her Blood. The cheifeſt whereof, as moſt of eſtimation, and Privy to all her doings, where theſe; the Lady *Herbert*, afterward Counteſs of *Pembrook*, and Siſter to the Queen, and chief of her Privy Chamber; the Lady *Lane*, being of her Privy Chamber, and alſo her Couſin germain; the Lady *Tyrwis*, of her Privy Chamber, and for her vertuous diſpoſition in very great favour and credit with her.

How *Winchester* and his fellows deviſe againſt the goſpellers.

Lady *Herbert*.

Lady *Lane*.

Lady *Tyrwis*.

It was deviſed that theſe three above named ſhould firſt of all have been accuſed and brought to anſwer unto the ſix Articles, and upon their Apprehenſion in the Court, their Cloſets and Coffers ſhould have been ſearched, that ſomewhat might have him found whereby the Queen might be charged; which being found, the Q. her ſelf preſently ſhould have been taken, and likewiſe by Barge carried by night unto the *Tower*. This platform thus deviſed, but yet in the end coming to no effect; the King by thoſe aforeſaid was forthwith made Privie unto the device by *Winchester* and *Wrisley*, and his conſent thereunto demanded. Who (belike to prove the Biſhops Malice

Winchesters platform.

malice, how far it would preſume.) like a wiſe politick Prince, was contented (diſſembling) to give his conſent, and to allow of every Circumſtance (knowing notwithſtanding in the end what he would do.) And thus the day, the time, and the place of theſe apprehenſions aforeſaid was appointed; which device yet after was changed.

The King at that time lay at *Whitehall*, and uſed very ſelden, being not well at eaſe, to ſtir out of his Chamber or privy Gallery; and few of his Councel, but by eſpecial commandment, reſorted unto him; theſe only except, who by reaſon of this practiſe uſed oftner than ordinary to repair unto him. This purpoſe ſo finely was handled, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor Queen neither knew nor ſuſpected any thing at all, and therefore uſed after her accuſtomed manner, when ſhe came to viſit the King, ſtill to deal with him touching Religion, as before ſhe did.

The King all this while gave her leave to utter her mind at the full without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or miſliking (ye muſt conceive) to have her ſpeedy diſpatch, but rather cloſely diſſembling with them, to try out the uttermoſt of *Winchesters* fetches. Thus after her accuſtomed Conference with the King, when ſhe had taken her leave of him (the time and day of *Winchesters* final day approaching faſt upon) it chanced that the King of himſelf, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in miſlike of her Religion, brake the whole practiſe unto one of his Phyſicians, either Dr. *Wendy*, or elſe *Owen*, but rather *Wendy*, as is ſuppoſed: preſenting unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with ſuch a Doctreſs as ſhe was; and alſo declaring what trouble was in working againſt her by certain of her Enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any Creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the Parties above named, with all Circumſtances, and when and what the final reſolution of the matter ſhould be.

The wiles of this Archpriſt, Wendy, diſcouered.

The Articles drawn, againſt the Queen, how they came to her hands.

The Queen in an agony.

Dr. *Wendy* the Kings Phyſician ſent to the Queen.

The exhortation of Dr. *Wendy* to the Queen.

The Queen coming to comfort her.

The Queens politick ſubmiſſion to the King.

The Queen alſo with all Diligence and Expedition gave Intelligence thereof unto her Friends, who ſhortly after found means to get a ſight of the Articles, and to have a Copy of them. Whereupon ſhe ſaw preſently what was meant, and how ſhe ſtood at the Stake to be burnt, if ſhe ſhould ſtand in defence of her ſelf, and of the Truth of Chriſt's Goſpel. Which Articles when ſhe had read, and well conſidered, ſhe was ſtricken into ſuch a Paſſion of Grief, that ſhe was not able to refrain Tears, and to ſpeak for a long time. Which Paſſion of hers was not ſo ſtrange unto the Lord Chancellor, and the reſt of the Counſellors, but that they looked for it, and were glad to ſee it, as thinking that now they had their full purpoſe againſt her. Which Paſſion of hers continued with her for the ſpace of two days, ſo that ſhe could not be ſpoken unto of any body, but ſhe fell into the ſame Paſſion again. Which the Lord Chancellor and the reſt of the Counſellors underſtanding, and fearing leſt his Majeſty, ſhe ſaid, had taken diſpleaſure with her, and had utterly forſaken her, he like a loving Husband, with ſweet and comfortable words, ſo refreſhed and appeaſed her careful mind, that ſhe upon the ſame began ſomewhat to recover; and ſo the King, after he had carried there about the ſpace of an hour, departed.

After this the Queen, remembring with her ſelf the words that Mr. *Wendy* had ſaid unto her, deviſed how by ſome good opportunity ſhe might repair to the Kings preſence. And ſo firſt commanding her Ladies to convey away their Books which were againſt the Law, the next night following after Supper, ſhe (waited upon only by the Lady *Herbert* her Siſter, and the Lady *Lane*, who carried the Candle before her) went unto the Kings Bed-chamber, whom ſhe found ſitting and talking with certain Gentlemen of his Chamber. Whom when the King did behold, very courteouſly he welcomed her, and breaking off the talk, which before her coming he had with the Gentlemen aforeſaid, began of himſelf, contrary to his manner before accuſtomed, to enter into talk of Religion, ſeeming as it were deſirous to be reſolved by the Queen of certain Doubts which he propounded.

The Queen perceiving to what purpoſe this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what ſort to behave herſelf towards the King, with ſuch Anſwers reſolved his Queſtions as the time and opportunity preſent did require, mildly, and with reverent Countenance, anſwering again after this manner:

Your Majeſty, quoth ſhe, *doth right-well know, neither I my ſelf am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakneſs by our firſt Creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferiour and ſubject unto man as our Head, from which Head all our direction ought to proceed, and that as God made man to his own ſhape and likeneſs, whereby he, being indued with more ſpecial gifts of perfection, might rather be ſtirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earneſt endeavour to obey his Commandments, even ſo alſo made he woman of man, of whom and by whom ſhe is to be governed, commanded and directed. Whoſe womanly weakneſſes and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided and borne withal, ſo that by his wiſdom ſuch things as be lacking in her ought to be ſupplied.*

Sithence therefore that God hath appointed ſuch a natural difference between man and woman, and your Majeſty being ſo excellent in gifts and ornaments of wiſdom, and I a ſilly poor woman, ſo much inferiour in all reſpects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to paſs that your Majeſty, in ſuch diffuſe Cauſes of Religion, will ſeem to require my judgment? Which when I have uttered and ſaid what I can, yet muſt I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other Cauſes, to your Majeſties wiſdom, as my only Anchor, Supream Head and Governour here in Earth, next under God, to lean unto.

Not ſo by S. *Mary*, quoth the King, you are become a Doctor, *Kate*, to inſtruct us (as we take it) and not to be inſtructed or directed by us.

If your Majeſty take it ſo, quoth the Queen, then hath your Majeſty very much miſtaken, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unſeemly, and prepoſterous for the woman to take upon her the office of an Inſtructer or Teacher to her Lord and Husband, but rather to learn of her Husband, and to be taught by him. And where I have with your Majeſties leave heretofore been bold to hold talk with your Majeſty, wherein ſometimes in Opinion there hath ſeemed ſome difference, I have not done it ſo much to maintain Opinion, as I did it rather to miniſter talk, not only to the end your Majeſty might with leſs grief

pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being intentive to our talk, and hoping that your Majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also, that I bearing your Majesties learned Discourse might receive to my self some profit thereby. Wherein, I assure your Majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring my self in all such matters unto your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.

Perfect agreement between the King and the Queen.

And is it even so, sweet heart, quoth the King? And tended your Arguments to no worse end? Then perfect Friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore: and as he fate in his Chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added this, saying, That it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard prefent news of an hundred thousand pounds in mony faln unto him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances never again in any sort more to mistake her, entring into other very pleasant Discourses with the Queen and the Lords, and Gentlemen standing by, in the end (being very far in the night) he gave her leave to depart. Whom in her absence to the standers by, he gave as singular and as affectuous commendations, as before time to the Bishop and the Chancellor (who then were neither of them present) he seemed to mislike of her.

The King abhorred the malicious workings of the bloody Papists.

Now then, God be thanked, the Kings mind was clean altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly shewed) this Tragical practise of those cruel *Cataphases*; who nothing understanding of the Kings well reformed mind, and good disposition toward the Queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next days labour, which was the day determined to have carried the Queen to the *Tower*.

This purpose being altered that the Ladies should be first taken, it was then appointed that they, with the Queen, should altogether be apprehended in manner as is here declared.

The day, and almost the hour appointed being come, the King being disposed in the Afternoon to take the air (waited upon with two Gentlemen only of his Bedchamber) went into the Garden) whither the Queen also came, being sent for by the King himself, the three Ladies above named alone waiting upon her. With whom the King at that time disposed himself to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before: When suddenly in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in cometh the Lord Chancellor into the Garden with forty of the Kings Guards at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the Queen, together with the three Ladies aforesaid, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the *Tower*. Whom then the King sternly beholding, breaking off his mirth with the Queen, stepping a little aside, called the Chancellour unto him. Who upon his knees spake certain words unto the King, but what they were (for that they were softly spoken, and the King a good pretty distance from the Queen) it is not well known, but it is most certain that the Kings replying unto him, was *Knave*, for his answer; yea, *arrant Knave, Beast, and Fool*; and with that the King commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. Which words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the King, that the Queen did easily, with her Ladies aforesaid, over-hear them: which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming, so perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the Lord Chancellour out of the Kings Presence as he came, with all his Train, the whole mould of all his devilish being utterly broken.

The King revileth Bishop Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor commanded to avaunt out of the Kings sight.

Winton devises, and Winchesters platform, lye in the dust.

The King, after his departure, immediately returned to the Queen. Whom she perceiving to be very much chafed (albeit coming towards her, he inforced himself to put on a merry countenance) with as sweet words as she could utter, she indeavoured to qualifie the King his displeasure, with request unto his Majesty in the behalf of the Lord Chancellour, whom he seemed to be offended withal; saying, for his Excuse, *That albeit she knew not what just cause his Majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance is not ill, was the cause of his Error, and a sufficient his Majesty (if the cause were not very heinous) at her humble suit to take it.*

The Queen makes excuse for her Enemy.

Ah poor Soul, quoth he, *thou little knowest how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my sword, Sweet-heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant Knave, and so let him go.* To this the Queen in charitable manner replying in few words, ended that talk; having also by Gods only blessing happily, for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous Snares of her bloody and cruel Enemies for the Gospels sake.

The Queen, by Gods marvellous blessing, delivered of all her Adversaries.

The pestiferous purpose of this Bishop, and of such like bloody Adversaries practising thus against the Queen, and proceeding of Gods Gospel (as ye have heard) putteth me in remembrance of such another like story of his wicked working in like manner, a little before: but much more pernicious and pestilent to the publick Church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the Queen. Which Story likewise I thought here, as in convenient place, to be adjoyned and notified, to be known to all Posterity, according as I have it faithfully recorded and storied by him, which heard it of the Archbishop *Cranmers* own mouth declared, in order and form as followeth.

A Discourse touching a certain policy used by Stephen Gardiner *Bishop of* Winchester, *in staying King* Henry *the Eighth from redressing of certain abuses of Ceremonies in the Church, being Embassadour beyond the Seas.*

Also the Communication of King Henry *the Eighth had with the Embassadour of* France *at* Hampton-Court *concerning the Reformation of Religion, as well in* France, *as in* England, Anno 1546. Mens. August.

Steph. Gardiner Embassadour.

IT chanced in the time of King *Henry* the Eighth, when his Highness did lastly (not many years before his death, conclude a League between the Emperour, the French King, and himself, that the Bishop of *Winchester, Stephen Gardiner* by name, was sent in Embassage beyond the Seas, for that purpose. In whose absence the Archbishop of *Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer*, attending upon the Kings Court, sought occasion somewhat to further the Reformation of the corrupt Religion, not yet fully restored unto perfection. For like as the said Archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere Doctrine of the Gospel; so was that other Bishop a contrary Instrument, continually spurring against the same, in whatsoever Coast of the World he remained. For even now he being beyond the Seas, in the temporal Affairs of the Realm, forgat not, but found the means, as a most valiant Champion of the Bishop of *Rome*, to stop and hinder, as well the good diligence of the said Archbishop, as the godly dispositions of the Kings Majesty in that behalf, which thus chanced.

Winchester a great hinderer of the course of the Gospel.

Whilst the said Bishop of *Winchester* was now remaining beyond the Seas about the Affairs aforesaid, the Kings Majesty and the said Archbishop having conference together for Reformation of some superstitious enormities in the Church; amongst other things, the King determined forthwith to pull down the Roods in every Church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on *Allhallow*-night, with a few such like vain Ceremonies and therefore when the said Archbishop took his leave of the King, to go into *Kent* his Diocese, his Highness willed him to remember that he should cause two Letters to be devised, by me, quoth the King, to be signed, the one to be directed unto you my Lord, and the other unto the Archbishop of *York*, wherein I will command you both to send forth your Precepts unto all other Bishops within your Provinces, to see those enormities and Ceremonies reformed undelayedly that we have communed of.

The Kings conference with Dr. Cranmer about Reformation of the Church, Rood-lofts, ringing on All-hallow-night.

Letters of Reformation to be signed by the King.

So upon this, the Kings pleasure known, when the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was then come into *Kent*, he caused his Secretary to conceive and write these Letters according to the Kings mind, and being made in a readiness, he sent them to the Court to Sir *Anthony Dene*, for him to get them signed by the King. When Mr. *Dene* had moved the King thereunto; the King made answer; *I am now otherways resolved, for you shall send my Lord of* Canterbury *word, that sithence I spake with him about those matters, I have received Letters from*

The King mind altered by Winchester.

from my Lord of Winchester, *now being on the other side of the Sea, about the conclusion of a League between us and the Emperor, and the French King, and he writeth plainly unto us, That the League will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in Religion or Ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done. Wherefore my Lord of* Canterbury *must take patience herein, and forbear until we may espy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose.*

Reformation of Religion stopped by Steven Gardiner.

Anno 1546

Which matter of Reformation began to be revived again, at what time the great Embassadour from the French King, came to the Kings Majesty at *Hampton Court*, not long before his death. Where then no Gentleman was permitted to wait upon his Lord and Master, without a Velvet Coat and a Chain of Gold. And for that entertainment of the Embassadour, were builded in the Park there three very notable great and sumptuous Banquetting Houses. At the which it was purposed, that the said Embassadour should have been three dandry nights very richly banqueted. But as it chanced, the French Kings great Affairs were then suddenly such, that this Embassadour was sent for home in post haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, so that he had but the fruition of the first Banquetting House.

This Embassador was Admiral of France, whose name was Monsieur de Annebault, he came to Hampton Court, the 20 day of August, ann. 1546. The matter of Reformation again remembred a little before the Kings death. The Kings Banquet for the French Embassadour.

Now what Prince-like order was there used in the furniture of the Banquet, as well in places of the noble Estates; namely, the Kings Majesty, and the French Embassadour, with the Noblemen both of *England* and *France* on the one part, and of the Queens Highness and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, with other Noble women and Ladies of the other part, as also touching the great and sumptuous preparation of costly and fine dishes there out of number spent, it is not our purpose here presently to intreat thereof, but only to confider and note the conference and communication had the first night after the said banquet was finished, between the Kings Majesty, the said Embassadour, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (the Kings Highness standing openly in the Banquetting-House, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one Arm upon the Shoulder of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Arm upon the Shoulder of the Embassadour) touching the establishing of Godly Religion between those two Princes in both their Realms: As by the report of the said Archbishop unto his Secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in King *Edwards* Visitation, then being Register in the same Visitation, relation was made on that behalf in this sort.

Secret communication between the King and the French Embassadour and the Archb. of *Canterbury*. The substance. Fruit-fruitfulness of the story.

The name of this Register was M. *Morice*, Secretary sometimes to the Arch. Tho. Cranmer.

When the said Visitation was put in a readiness, before the Commissioners should proceed in their Voyage, the said Archbishop sent for the said Register his man unto *Hampton Court*, and willed him in any wife to make Notes of certain things in the said Visitation; whereof he gave unto him instruction, having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the said Visitation. Upon which occasion the Register said unto his Master the Archbishop, I do remember, that you not long ago caused me to conceive and write Letters, which King *Henry* the eighth should have signed and directed unto your Grace, and the Archbishop of *York*, for the Reformation of certain enormities in the Churches, as taking down of the Roods, and forbidding of ringing on *Allhallow*-night, and such like vain Ceremonies. Which Letters your Grace sent to the Court to be signed by the Kings Majesty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein.

Why, quoth the Archbishop again, never heard you those Letters were suppressed and stopped? Whereunto the Archbishops Servant answering again, as it was (said he) my duty to write those Letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon. Mary, quoth the Archbishop, my Lord of *Winchester* then being beyond the Seas, about the conclusion of a league between the Emperor, the *French* King, and the King our Master, and fearing that some Reformation should here pass in the Realm, touching Religion in his absence against his appetite, wrote to the Kings Majesty, bearing him in hand, that the league then towards would not prosper nor go forwards on his Majesties behalf if he made any other innovation, or alteration in Religion, or Ceremonies in the Church, than was already done; which his Advertisement herein caused the King to stay the signing of those Letters, as Sir *Anthony Deny* wrote to me by the Kings Commandment.

Mark the mischievous practises of this old Fox Winchester.

Then said his Servant again unto him; Forsomuch as the Kings good intent took no place then, now your Grace may go forward in those matters, the opportunity of the time much better serving thereunto than in King *Henries* days.

Not so, quoth the Archbishop. It was better to attempt such Reformation in King *Henry* the eighth his days than at this time, the King being in his Infancy. For if the Kings Father had set forth any thing for the Reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gain say it? Mary, we are now in doubt how men will take the change, or alteration of abuses in the Church, and therefore the Council hath forborn especially to speak thereof, and of other things which gladly they would have reformed in this Visitation; referring all those and such like matters unto the discretions of the Visitors. But if King *Henry* the eighth had lived unto this day with the *French* King, it had been past my Lord of *Winchesters* power to have visured the Kings Highness, as he did when he was about the same league.

I am sure you were at *Hampton-Court*, quoth the Archbishop, when the *French* Kings Embassadour was entertained there at those Solemn Banquetting Houses, not long before the Kings death; Namely, when after the Banquet was done the first night, the King leaning upon the Embassadour and upon me; if I should tell what Communication between the Kings Highness and the said Embassadour was had, concerning the establishing of sincere Religion then, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I my self thought the Kings Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you it passed the pulling down of Roods, and suppressing the ringing of Bells. I take it, that few in *England* would have believed, that the Kings Majesty and the *French* King had been at this point, not only within half a year after to have changed the Mass in both the Realms into a Communion (as we now use it) but also utterly to have extirped and banished the Bishop of *Rome*, and his usurped Power, out of both their Realms and Dominions.

The purpose of K. Henry the eight and of the *French* King a little before their death.

Yea, they were so throughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the Emperour to do the like in *Flanders* and other his Countries and Seigniories, or else they would break off from him. And herein the Kings Highness willed me (quoth the Archbishop) to pen a form thereof to be sent to the *French* King to consider of. But the deep and most secret Providence of Almighty God, owing to this Realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most Godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these Princes.

A brief Narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.

Sir George Blage falsly accused.

HEre would also something be said of Sir *George Blage*, one of the Kings Privy Chamber, who being falsly accused by Sir *Hugh Caverley*, Knight, and Master *Littleton*, was sent for by *Wrisly* Lord Chancellor the *Sunday* before *Anne Askew* suffered, and the next day was carried to *Newgate*, and from thence to *Guildhall*, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the *Wednesday* following. The words which his Accusers laid unto him were these; What if a Mouse should eat the Bread? Then by my consent they should hang up the Mouse. Whereas indeed these words he never spake, as to his lives end he protested. But the truth (as he said) was this, that they craftily to undermine him, walking with him in *Pauls Church* after a Sermon of Doctor *Crome*, asked if he were at the Sermon. He said, Yea. I heard say (saith Master *Littleton*) that he said in his Sermon, That the Mass profiteth neither for the quick nor for the dead. No, saith M. *Blage*, wherefore then? belike for a Gentleman when he rideth on hunting, to keep his Horse from stumbling. And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended (as is shewed) and condemned to be burned. When this

Sir George Blage sent to Newgate and condemned. The cause of his condemnation.

The crafty undermining of these false accusers.

was heard among them of the Privy Chamber, the King hearing them whispering together (which he could never abide) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and sute made to the King, especially by the good Earl of *Bedford*, then Lord Privy Seal, the King being fore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, sent for *Wrisley*, commanding efftoons to draw out his Pardon himself, and so was he set at liberty. Who coming after to the Kings Presence; *Ah my Pig* (saith the King to him, for so he was wont to call him.) *Yea*, said he, *if your Majesty had not been better to me than your Bishops were, your Pig had been vofsed e're this time.*

Mr. Wrisley pardoned by the King.

The Kings Pig almost roasted.

But to let this matter of Sir *George Blage* pass, we will now reduce our Story again to *Anne Askew* and her fellow Martyrs, who the same week were burned, and could find no Pardon.

Then the Catholick Fathers, when they had brought this Christian Woman, with the residue (as above hath been declared) unto their Reft, they being now in their Ruff and Triumph, like as the Pharisees when they had brought Christ to his Grave, devised with themselves how to keep him down ſtill, and to over-tread Truth for ever. Whereupon conſulting with certain of the Councel, they made out a ſtreight and hard Proclamation, authorized by the Kings Name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all ſuch Engliſh Books which might give any ſight to the ſetting forth of Gods true Word, and Grace of the Goſpel. The Copy and Tenour of which Proclamation is this, as followeth.

Anno 1546.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of Engliſh Books, after the death of Anne Askew, *ſet forth by the King,* Anno 1546. *the eighth day of* July.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of Engliſh Books.

THe *Kings moſt excellent Majeſty underſtanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of Gods Scripture, divers lewd and evil diſpoſed perſons have taken upon them to utter and ſow abroad, by Books imprinted in the Engliſh Tongue, ſundry pernicious and deteſtable Errors and Hereſies, not only contrary to the Laws of this Realm, but alſo repugnant to the true ſenſe of Gods Law and his Word, by reaſon whereof certain men of late, to the deſtruction of their own Bodies and Souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciouſly to impugn the Truth, and therewith trouble the ſober, quiet, and godly Religion, united and eſtabliſhed under the Kings Majeſty in this his Realm; his Highneſs minding to foreſee the dangers that might enſue of the ſaid Books, is enforced to uſe his general Prohibition, Commandment, and Proclamation, as followeth.*

Nay rather for the ignorance and lack of Gods Scripture many have taken occaſion of Error and Hereſies intolerable.

Firſt, That from henceforth no man, woman, or perſon, of what eſtate, condition, or degree ſoever he or they be, ſhall after the laſt day of Auguſt *next enſuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their poſſeſſion, the Text of the New Teſtament of* Tindals *or* Coverdales *Tranſlation in Engliſh, nor any other than is permitted by the Act of Parliament made in the Seſſion of the Parliament holden at* Weſtminſter *in the four and thirtieth and five and thirtieth year of his Majeſties moſt noble Reign; nor after the ſaid day ſhall receive, have, take or keep in his or their poſſeſſion, any manner of Books printed or written in the Engliſh Tongue, which be, or ſhall be ſet forth in the names of* Frith, Tindall, Wickliffe, Joy, Roy, Baſil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, *or by any of them, or any other Book or Books, containing matter contrary to the ſaid Act made in the year thirty four, or thirty five, but ſhall, before the laſt day of* Auguſt *next coming, deliver the ſame Engliſh Book, or Books, to his Maſter in that Houſhold, if he be a Servant, or dwell under any other, and the Maſter or Ruler of the Houſe, and ſuch other as dwell at large, ſhall deliver all ſuch Books of theſe ſorts as they have, or ſhall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwiſe, to the Maior, Baliff, or chief Conſtable of the Town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within fourty days next following after the ſaid delivery, to the Sheriff of the Shire, or to the Biſhops Chancellor, or Commiſſary of the ſame Diocеſs, to the intent the ſaid Biſhop, Chancellor, Commiſſary, and Sheriff, and every of them, may cauſe them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the Kings Majeſties pleaſure is, that every of them ſhall ſee executed in moſt effectual ſort, and of their doings thereof make Certificate to the Kings Majeſties moſt honourable Councel, before the firſt day of* October *next coming.*

The New Teſtament of Tindall and of Coverdale Tranſlation in Engliſh, forbidden.

Burning Scripture Books.

And to the intent that no man ſhall miſtruſt any danger of ſuch Penal Statutes as be paſſed in this behalf, for the keeping of the ſaid Books, the Kings Majeſty is moſt graciouſly contented by this Proclamation to pardon that offence to the ſaid time appointed by this Proclamation for the delivery of the ſaid Books, and commandeth that no Biſhop, Chancellor, Commiſſary, Maior, Baliff, Sheriff, or Conſtable, ſhall be curious to mark who bringeth forth ſuch Books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this Proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the laſt day of Auguſt *next coming, ſhall have any of the ſaid Books in his keeping, or be proved, and convinced by ſufficient witneſs before four of the Kings moſt honourable Councel, to have hidden them, or uſed them, or any Copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it ſhould appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this Proclamation, the ſame ſhall not only ſuffer impriſonment and puniſhment of his Body at the Kings Majeſties will and pleaſure, but alſo ſhall make ſuch fine and ranſome to his Highneſs for the ſame, as by his Majeſty, or four of his Graces ſaid Councel, ſhall be determined,* &c.

A Bait to bring in Books.

The Penalty limited.

Finally, His Majeſty ſtreightly chargeth and commandeth, that no perſon or perſons, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever he or they be, from the day of this Proclamation, preſume to bring any manner of Engliſh Book, concerning any manner of Chriſtian Religion, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, into this Realm, to ſell, give or diſtribute any Engliſh Book printed in outward parts, or the Copy of any ſuch Book, or any part thereof, to any perſon, dwelling within this his Graces Realm, or any other his Majeſties Dominions, unleſs the ſame ſhall be ſpecially licenſed ſo to do by his Highneſs's expreſs Grant to be obtained in writing for the ſame, upon the pains before limited, and therewithal to incur his Majeſties extream indignation.

Foraſmuch as it is, and always hath been the common guiſe and practiſe of the Popes Church, to extinguiſh, condemn, and abolish all good Books and wholeſome Treatiſes of Learned men, under a falſe pretence of Errors and Hereſies, whereof Examples now abundantly appear in this Hiſtory above: Now for the better trial hereof, to ſee and try the impudent and ſhameleſs vanity of theſe Catholick Clergy-men, in miſtaking, falſifying, depraving, blaſpheming, and ſlandering where they have no cauſe, againſt all right and honeſt dealing, yea, againſt their own knowledge, conſcience, and manifeſt verity of Gods Word; I ſhall therefore deſire the attentive Reader, before we paſs any further, to conſider and expend here two things by the way: Firſt, What Opinions and Articles theſe men gather out of their Books for Errors and Hereſies. Secondly, How wittingly and willingly they wreſt, pervert, and miſconſtrue their ſayings and writings, in ſuch ſenſe as the writers never ſpake nor meant, and all to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their Books.

The unjuſt dealing of the Papiſts in gathering Hereſies where none is.

So did they before with *John Wickliffe*, *John Hus*, and *Hierome*. So did they before with Mr. *Luther*, *Tindall*, *Frith*, *Lambert*, *Barnes*, *Joy*, *Roy*, *Seton*, and briefly yet do ſtill with all the Proteſtants, either perverting their ſayings otherwiſe than they meant, or noting for Hereſies ſuch as are manifeſt Principles, and Grounds of our Religion: or elſe falſly belying them, or untruly miſtaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may ſerve for their moſt advantage, to bring them out of credit with Princes and all the People.

Articles of Wickliffe and others, falſifyed by the Papiſts.

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou ſhalt ſee here (Chriſtian Reader) as in a Table laid before thine eyes, the Book or Catalogue of ſuch Errors, Blaſphemies and Hereſies, which the Catholick Papiſts

Papiſts in their own Regiſters have extracted out of their Books, whom in this, and other Proclamations, they have condemned. Whereunto moreover, we have annexed the very places alſo of the Authors, out of which every Article is gathered, keeping alſo the ſame ſignature of verſe and page, which they in their Regiſters do ſend us unto. So that with little diligence thou maiſt now, loving Reader, eaſily perceive, conferring the Articles and Places together, what truth and fidelity theſe bloody Catholicks have uſed toward the Children of God: Firſt in burning up their Bodies, then in conſuming and abolishing their Books, and afterward drawing out Articles, ſuch as they liſt themſelves, out of their Works, to make the People believe what damnable Hereticks they were, as by theſe Articles hereunder inſuing, collected and contained in their own Regiſters, may well appear. In all which Articles, there is not one (ſpeaking of theſe Writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect Truth and a Principle of Chriſtian Doctrine, or elſe it is falſly gathered, or perverſly recited, or craftily handled, and maliciouſly mangled, having either ſomething cut from it, or ſome more added, or elſe racked out of his right place, or wreſted to a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or elſe which ſome other place following doth not better expound and declare. This falſe and malicious dealing hath always been a common practiſe amongſt Gods enemies from the beginning, to falſifie, wreſt, and deprave all things whatſoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it never ſo true and juſt. So began they with *Stephen*, the firſt Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſo have they continued ſtill, and yet do to this preſent day.

The words of S. Stephen falſly depraved. Acts 6.7.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold what ſpite and falſhood was uſed in the Articles of the *Albingenſes*, *Waldenſes*, *Wickliffe*, *Swinderby*, *Brute*, *Thorpe*, *Armachanus*, Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, *John Hus*, the *Bohemians*, and ſuch other. Which thing, if the Booke and Places whence theſe Articles were gathered againſt them had been ſuffered to remain, we might more plainly underſtand. In the mean ſeaſon, as touching theſe Articles here preſent, for ſo much as the Biſhops own Regiſters have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the ſelf ſame Books from whence they be excerpted, I ſhall therefore deſire thee (friendly Reader) firſt to conſider the Articles, and lay them with the places which the Regiſters themſelves do aſſign, and then judge thy ſelf what is to be thought thereof. The Articles gathered out of the foreſaid Books with the Biſhops Decree prefixed before the ſame, is as hereunder followeth.

A Publick Inſtrument by the Biſhops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other Books, to be read in Engliſh.

A writing of the Biſhops againſt Engliſh Books.

IN the Name of God, *Amen. Be it known to all and ſingular, true and faithful People, to whom theſe preſent Letters teſtimonial, or this preſent publick and authentick Inſtrument ſhall come to be ſeen, read, heard, or underſtood, and whom this under written ſhall or may teach, or appertain unto in any manner of wiſe in time to come*; William *by the ſufferance of Almighty God, Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *Primate of all the Realm of* England, *ſendeth greeting in our Lord God everlaſting. We ſignifie unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by theſe Preſents, that the King our Soveraign Lord, hearing of many Books in the Engliſh Tongue, containing many deteſtable Errours, and damnable Opinions, printed in the parts beyond the Seas, to be brought into divers Towns, and ſundry parts of this his Realm of* England, *and ſown abroad in the ſame, to the great decay of our Faith Catholick, and perillous corruption of his People, unleſs ſpeedy remedy were briefly provided; his Highneſs willing evermore to imploy all his ſtudy and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his Subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but alſo be kept pure and clean of all Contagion, and wrong Opinions in Chriſts Religion: conſidering alſo that he, being Defender of the Faith, would be full loath to ſuffer ſuch evil Seed ſown amongſt his People, and ſo take root that it might overgrow the Corn of the Catholick Doctrine before ſprung in the Souls of his Subjects; for the repelling of ſuch Books, calling unto him of his great goodneſs and gracious diſcretion not only certain of the chief Prelats and Clerks of his Realm, but alſo of each Univerſity a certain number of the chief Learned men, preſcribed ſuch of thoſe Books, as his Grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them. Who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, peruſing over the ſaid Books, found in them many Errours and Hereſies, both deteſtable and damnable, being of ſuch ſort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his People; (if they might be ſuffered to remain in their hands any ſpace) gathering alſo out of them many great Errours and Peſtilent Hereſies, and noting them in writing to the intent to ſhew for what cauſe, they reputed the ſaid Books damnable, of which hereafter out of each Book gathered many do enſue: albeit many more there be in the ſaid Books, which Books totally do ſwarm full of Hereſies and deteſtable Opinions.*

Hereſies and Errours collected by the Biſhops out of the Book of *Tindall*, named the *Wicked Mammon* with the places of the Book annexed to the ſame, out of which every Article is collected.

Hereſies ſoſtly gathered by the Papiſts out of the corrupted Mammon.

1. *Faith only juſtifieth, Fol.* 59.

1. Article.

This Article being a Principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our Salvation, is plain enough by S. Paul and the whole Body of the Scripture: neither can any maſke this an Hereſie, but they muſt make S. Paul an Heretick, and ſhew themſelves enemies unto the promiſes of Grace, and to the Croſs of Chriſt.

Papiſts the enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt.

2. *The Law maketh us to hear God, becauſe we be born under the power of the Devil. Fol.* 59.

2. Article.

3. *It is impoſſible for us to conſent to the will of God. Fol.* 59.

3. Article.

The place of *Tindall* from whence theſe Articles be wreſted, is in the *Wicked Mammon*, ar followeth. Which place I beſeech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

Herein is nothing contained but that which is rightly conſonant unto the Scripture.

In the faith which we have in Chriſt, and in Gods promiſes, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the Law we find death, damnation, and wrath, moreover, the curſe and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to ſay the Law, is called of Paul, *the miniſtration of death and damnation. In the Law we are proved to be enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God, and love him, ſeeing we are conceived and born under the power of the Devil, and are his poſſeſſion and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, ſo that it is impoſſible for us to conſent to the will of God? Much more impoſſible it is for a man to fulfill the law of his own ſtrength and power, ſeeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation,* &c.

Scripture.

4. *The Law requireth impoſſible things of us. Fol.* 59.

4. Article.

Read the place. *The Law when it commandeth that thou ſhalt not luſt, giveth thee no power ſo to do, but damneth thee becauſe thou canſt not ſo do. If thou willeſt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then muſt thou turn to the Promiſes and to the Goſpel, which is called of* Paul *the miniſtration of righteouſneſs, and of the ſpirit.*

What Hereſie is in theſe words?

2 Cor. 3.

5. *The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a Tree doth bring forth fruit. Fol.*65.

5. Article.

The place is this: *The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himſelf in the Law of God, and ſeeth his miſerable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himſelf, and abhorreth himſelf. She bringeth Gods promiſes of all good things in Chriſt: God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith roateth her ſelf in the hearts of the Elect: and as faith entreth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looſeth the heart from the captivity and bondage*

This place ſpeaketh of the operation and effect of faith, containing nothing but which is maintainable by the Scripture.

under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God, altereth and changeth him clean, fashioneth and forgeth him anew, giveth him power to love and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new Nature; so that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed, and contrarily disposed, and is knit and coupled fast to Gods will, and naturally bringeth forth good works; that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination; and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of his own accord, &c.

5. Article. 6. *Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified. Fol.* 65.

If *Tindal* say, *That works do only declare our justification*; he doth not thereby destroy good works; but only sheweth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testifie a lively Faith, which only justifieth us: The Article is plain by the Scripture and S. *Paul.*

7. Article. 7. *Christ with all his works did not deserve Heaven. Fol.* 69.

Read the place. *All good works must be done freely with a single eye, without respect of any thing, so that no profit be sought thereby. That commandeth Christ, where he saith,* Free have you received, free give again. *For look as Christ with all his works * did not deserve Heaven (for that was his already) but did us service therewith, and neither looked for, nor sought his own profit, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only: even so we with all our works may not seek our own profit, neither in this World nor in Heaven, but must and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner of respect seek our Neighbours profit, and do him service,* &c.

Matth. 10. * He meaneth in his Divinity, but in his humanity he deserved Heaven by his works, not only for himself, but for us all.

8. Article. 8. *Labouring by good works to come to Heaven, thou shamest Christs Blood. Fol.* 69.

Read the place. *If thou wouldest obtain Heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so doest thou wrong, yea, and shamest the Blood of Christ, and unto thee Christ is dead in vain. Now is the true Believer heir of God by Christs deservings, yea and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the Gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God, and in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life, and we are in eternal life already, and already feel in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ; and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already,* &c.

To say that Heaven is gotten by our deservings is a Popish Heretic, and contrary to the Scriptures.

9. Article. 9. *Saints in Heaven cannot help us thither. Fol.* 69.

Whether Saints can help us unto Heaven, see the Scriptures; and mark well the Office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any further.

10. Article. 10. *To build a Church in the honour of our Lady, or any other Saint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends. Fol.* 71.

Read the place of *Tindal. What buildest thou Churches, foundest Abbeys, Chauntries and Colledges in the honour of Saints, to my Mother,* S. Peter, *Paul, and Saints that be dead, to make of them thy Friends? They need it not, yea, they be not thy Friends; thy Friends are thy poor Neighbours, which need thy help and succour. Then make thy Friends with the unrighteous Mammon, that they may testifie of thy Faith, and that thou mayest know and feel that thy Faith is right, and not feigned,* &c.

The place annexed.

Our friends to be made of the wicked Mammon are meant the poor alive, and not the Saints departed.

11. Article. 11. *All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin. Fol.* 74.

This Article is evident enough of it self, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no Allegations.

12. Article. 12. *Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved. Fol.* 76.

The place annexed. Read the place. *A Physician serveth but for sick men, and that for such men as feel their sickness, and mourn therefore, and long for health. Christ likewise serveth but for sinners only that feel their sin, and thirst for such sinners as sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfil the Law, or to keep the Commandments: Now he that longeth for that health, that is to say, to do the Law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole.* Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness sake, *(that is, to fulfil the Law)* for their lust shall be fulfilled, *Matth.* 5.

This longing, and the consent of the heart unto the Law of God is the working of the Spirit, which God hath powred into thine heart, in earnest, that thou might testifie here sure that God will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chuseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou feelest thy sin, and mournest, and consentest to the Law, and longest (though thou be never so weak) yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certifie thine heart, that God for his Truth shall deliver thee, and save thee, yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved, not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably, neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee: neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him, &c. The like comfortable words he hath afterward, fol. 38. which are these. *He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart to be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his Truth must hear him, which saith by the mouth of Christ,* Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. *God, for his Truths sake, must put the righteousness of Christ to him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, so feeble and frail, though he have sinned never so oft and so grievously; yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his Truths sake, and love in Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God that would be no sinner. He that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already. His heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the Law and Will of God, and justifieth God, that is, heareth record that God, which made the Law, is righteous and just. And such a heart trusting in Christs bloud, is accepted for full righteousness, and his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins are not looked upon, until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his desire,* &c.

The believing man standing upon the certainty of Gods promise, assure himself of his salvation, as truly as Christ himself is saved, and he can no more then Christ himself be damned, and altogether Scripture doth not use this phrase of speaking, yet it importeth no less in effect, but a certain of the verity of Gods promise which impossible it is to fail.

13. Article. 13. *The Commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God. Fol.* 76.

Read the place. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments, *Matth.* 15. 19. *First remember that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore because that we of our selves are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the Law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and so repent and come unto Christ and receive mercy,* &c.

This Article is fully wrested out of these words: which do not say that we should not do the commandments, but that we cannot do them.

14. Article. 14. *Fasting is only to avoid surfet, and to tame the body; all other purposes be naught. Fol.* 81.

The words of *Tyndall* be these: *Fasting is to abstain from surfeting or overmuch eating, from drunkenness and cares of the world, as thou mayest read,* Luke 20. *And the end of Fasting is to tame the body, that the Spirit may have the free course to God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, presseth down the spirit, choaketh it, and tangleth it, that it cannot lift up it self to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise it self in the things of God, the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth, and shooteth at a wrong mark, and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God,* &c.

The true end of Fasting.

15. Article. 15. *To bid the poor man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any trust in his Prayer. Fol.* 42.

The place holdeth us out of truth in Christ and in need and in poor estate prayeth, and so doth the Scripture likewise, and yet no Merit in the same, 16. Article.

The words of *Tyndal* be these. When we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our Neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness, our truth is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of Gods promises. We have also a promise, that when two or three or more agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us; notwithstanding as God heareth many, so heareth he few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God, &c.

16. *Though thou give me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before. Fol.* 83.

This place answereth for it self sufficiently.

The words be these. If thou give me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound then I was before. Man Imagination can make the Commandment of God neither greater nor smaller, neither can the Law of God either add or diminish. Gods Commandments be as great as himself, &c.

17. Article. 17. *A good deed done and not of fervent charity, as Christs war, is Sin. Fol.* 83.

This place reaseth to no such meaning as is in the Article, but only heareth our good deeds to be imperfect.

The words of *Tyndal* be these. Though then thew Mercy unto thy Neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love, as Christ did unto thee, so must thou knowledge thy Sin, and desire Mercy, in Christ, &c.

18. Article. 18. *Every Man is Lord of another Mans goods. Fol.* 83.

This place giveth to none any propriety of another mans goods but only by way of Christian Communion.

The words of *Tyndal* be these. Christ is Lord over all, and every Christian is Heir annexed with Christ, and therefore Lord of all, and every one Lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy Brother or Neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet sheweth not mercy, but withdraweth thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own, and art a thief, &c. Read more hereof in the xx. Article following.

19. Article. 19. *I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my Heart. Fol.* 83.

To love the Turk to that end to win him to Christ, is no Heresie but charity.

The place of this Article is this. I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the example that Christ loved me, neither to spare Goods, Body, nor Life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the World? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if Gods Spirit be in me, &c.

Lo, Reader how severely this place is wrested. Fifth here is no mention made of any Turk. Secondly, this place speaking of an infidel, meaneth of such Christians who forsake their own households. Thirdly, by his gift in the thy goods, he meaneth no property that he hath to claim, but only to put thee in remembrance of thy Christian duty what to give.

20. *The worst Turk living hath as much right to my goods as his needs, as my household, or mine own self. Fol.* 83.

Read and mark well the place in the *Wicked Mammon.*

In Christ we are all of one degree without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian Mans Heart be open unto all Men, and receiveth all Men, yet because that his liability of goods extendeth not so far, this provision is made, that every Man shall care for his own household, as Father and Mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee, Wife, Children, and Servants. If thou shouldest not care and provide for thine Household, then were thou an Infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do; and forasmuch as that is thy part committed unto thee of the Congregation, when thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessings of God, that oweth thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are destitute of friends: to the poor I mean which thou knowest, to them of thine own Parish. If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and heareth necessity to be among the Brethren a thousand mile off, to them art thou debtor. Yea, to the very Infidels we be debtors if they need, as forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to Blaspheme Christ. Thou is every Man that needeth thy help, thy Father, Mother, Sister, and Brother in Christ; even as every Man that doth the will of the Father, is Father, Mother, Sister, and Brother unto Christ.

Moreover, if any be an Infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his Household, his Wife, Children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound to them, if thou have wherewith, even as much as to thine own Household, and they have as good right in thy goods, as thou thy self, &c. *And if the whole World were thine, yet hath every Brother his right in thy goods, and is their with thee, as we are all heirs of Christ.*

21. Article. 21. *Alms deserveth no meed. Fol.* 84.

The place annexed.

The place is this: He that seeketh with his Alms more than to be merciful, to be a Neighbour, to succour his Brother need, to do his duty to his Brother, to give his Brother that he oweth him, the same is blind, and seeth not what it is to be a Christian man, and to have fellowship in Christs Blood, &c.

22. *There is no work better than another to please God, to make Water, to wash dishes; to be a Sowter, or an Apostle, all is one; to wash dishes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed to please God. Fol.* 44.

The words of *Tindal* be these. As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the Law of God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God, and understand that thou in thy doing pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the Law of God, as when thou makest water, &c.

The words of *Tindal* sufficiently discharge the Article of all heresie, for they be well weighed. The meaning whereof is this, that all our acceptation with God standeth only upon our Faith in Christ, and upon no work nor Office. Where Carnalness the Souldier, believing in Christ, is as well justified before God, as the Apostle or Preacher, so that Faith in Christ, which only is the work nor Office, but only in our Faith in Christ, which only justifieth us before God. Rom. 8. 4

Moreover, put no difference between works, but whatsoever cometh into thy hands, that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low. As touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy works, as the World doth, as though the beautifulness of the works pleased him, as it doth the World, or as though he had need of them; but God looketh first on the Heart, what Faith thou hast to his words, how thou believest him, and how thou loveth him for his great mercy that he hath shewed thee; he looketh with what Heart thou workest, and not what thou workest; how thou accepteth the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an Apostle or a Shoomaker. Set this Example before thine eyes: Thou art a Kitchin Page, and washest thy masters dishes. Another is an Apostle, and preacheth the Word of God. Of this Apostle hark what S. *Paul* saith, *If I preach (saith he) I have nought to rejoyce in, for necessity is put unto me.* As who should say, God hath made me so, woe is unto me if I preach not. *If I do it willingly (saith he) then have I my reward,* That is, then am I sure that God and his Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. *If I do it against my will, an Office is committed unto me;* That is, If I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had lever otherwise live, then do I that Office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God my self, &c. Moreover, howsoever he preach, he hath not to rejoyce in that he preacheth: But if he preach willingly with a true heart, and of Conscience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth Gods goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth and knowledgeth his Sin, in that the Heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord. And nevertheless is he yet at peace with God, through Faith and truft in Christ Jesus. For the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him testifieth and beareth witness unto his Heart, that God hath chosen him, and that his Grace shall suffice him, which Grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no truft.

No difference of men before God in respect of deeds, but only in respect of Faith.

Now thou that ministrest in the Kitchin, and art but a Kitchin Page, receivest all things at the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that Office, submittest thy self to his will, and serve st thy Master, not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart, according as *Paul* only teacheth; puttest thy truft in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy Heart rejoyceth therein, yea when thou hearest that the Word of God is Preached by this Apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consentest unto the deed, thy Heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured, and in thine Heart dost the same that the Apostles do, and happily with greater delectation and a more fervent Spirit. Now, he that receiveth a Prophet, in the Name of a Prophet, shall receive the reward of a Prophet; That is, he that consenteth to the deed of a Prophet and maintaineth it, the

the same hath the same Spirit, and earnest of everlasting life, which the Prophet hath, and is elect as the Prophet is.

Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt washing of dishes, and preaching the Word of God. But as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that, nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man, hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart by faith and trust in Christ, &c.

23 Article. 23. *Ceremonies of the Church have brought the World from God. fol.* 85.

The place annexed. Read the place of *Tindall*, "Seek the Word of God in all things, and without the Word of God do nothing, though it appear never so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the Word of God, that count Idolatry. The Kingdom of Heaven is within us. *Luke* 7. Wonder therefore at no monstrous appearance, nor at any outward thing without the Word. For the World was never drawn from God, but with an outward shew, and glorious appearance and shining of Hypocrisie, and of fained and usurped fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of Superstitious Ceremonies, and monstrous disguising, &c.

24. Article. 24. *Beware of good intents: They are Damned of God. Fol.* 87.

25. Article. 25. *See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee. Fol.* 87.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindal* out of the which these two Articles be gathered are these. Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal as they call it. *Peter* of good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, chid Christ, because he said that he must go to *Jerusalem* and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour, a Name that belongeth to the Devil, and said that he perceived not Godly things, but Worldly. Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the Sons of *Zebedee* would have had fire to come down from Heaven to consume the *Samaritanes*; but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wist not of what Spirit they were; that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether Worldly and Fleshly minded. *Peter* smote *Malchus* of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The Jews of a good intent and of a good zeal slew Christ and persecuted the Apostles, as *Paul* beareth them record, *Rom.* 10. I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to God-ward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for Knowledge that thou mayest know Gods Will, and what he would have thee to do.

Mat. 16.

Luke 9. Good intents.

Rom. 10.

Our mind, intent, and affection, or zeal, are blinded, and all that we do of them is Damned of God, and for that cause hath God made a Testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See therefore that thou do nothing to please God withal, but that he commandeth, neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promised thee, &c.

26 Article. 26. *Churches are for Preaching only, and not as they be used now. Fol.* 78.

This Article containeth neither Error nor Heresie, but is plain enough of it self, to all them that have their minds exercised in the Scriptures of God.

27. Article. 27. *To worship God otherwise than to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an Idol. Fol.* 87.

The place annexed. Read the words of *Tindall* with this Article. God is honored on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his Laws and Ordinances, and also true in all his Promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an Idol of him, &c.

28. Article. 28. Pharaoh *had no power to let the people depart, at Gods pleasure. Fol.* 95.

29. Article. 29. *Our Prelates, in sin say they have power. Fol.* 95.

The place annexed. Rom. 10. Read the place in the *Wicked Mammon*, out of the which these two Articles are gathered. Saint *Paul* saith, If thou confess with thy Mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe: That is, if thou believe that he raised him up again for thy Salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves: as that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God: *Pharaoh* for pain of the Plague was compelled to confess his Sins, but had yet no power to submit himself unto the Will of God, and to let the Children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for Gods pleasure. As our Prelates confess their Sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet we have the power. And again, the Scribes and the Pharisees, say they, fate in *Moses* Seat, do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confess they that they are abominable, &c.

Here follow other Heresies and Errors, collected by the Bishops out of the book Named, The Obedience of a Christian Man, *with the places of the Book annexed to the same.*

Articles of Heresie gathered by the Papists out of W. Tindal's obedience.

IF faith, *We are bound to make satisfaction to our Neighbour, but not to God. Fol.* 132.

Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends making to him we have offended, which recompence we are able to make one man to another, and are bound so to do; but to God no man can make any amends or recompence, but only Gods own Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ dyed in vain. *Gal.* 2. Loe, what Heresie or Errour is in this Article?

2. Article. 2. *He saith, That Children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents. Fol.* 120.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindall* in the *Obedience* be these: Let the Fathers and Mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and by experience of their own infirmities, help their Children, and keep them from occasions. Let them provide marriages for them in season, teaching them also to know, That the is not his Wife which the Son taketh, nor he her Husband which the Daughter taketh without the consent or good will of their Elders, or them that have Authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to be blame if they marry themselves. Let not the Fathers and Mothers always take the uttermost of their Authority of their Children, but at all times suffer with them and bear their weakness as Christ doth ours, &c.

The Fathers consent in Marriage.

3. Article. 3. *He saith that Vows are against the Ordinance of God. Fol.* 109.

They that say that this Article is an Heresie, let him shew where these Vows in all the New Testament be ordained of God, especially such Vows of single life and willful poverty, as by the Canon Law be observed to young Priests and Novices. S. *Paul* plainly forefendeth any Widows to be admitted under the Age of threescore years. Is not here trow you a perillous Heresie?

4. Article. 4. *He saith, that a Christian Man may not resist a Prince being an Infidel and an Ethnike. This taketh away freewill. Fol.* 113.

Saint *Peter* willeth us to be subject to our Princes, 1 *Pet.* 2. Saint *Paul* also doth the like, *Rom.* 13. Who was also himself subject to the power of *Nero*: and although every Commandment of *Nero* against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and state of *Nero*, as the Pope useth to do against the state not only of Infidels, but also of Christian Princes.

5. Article. 5. *Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, it is damnable Sin. This is against moral vertues. Fol.* 113.

What Heresie Aristotle in his Ethiks can find by this Article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God well considerd, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable Heresie.

6. Article. 6. *He reproveth men that make holy Saints their Advocates to God, and there he saith, That Saints were not rewarded in Heaven for their holy works. Fol.* 114.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindal* be these: They turn from Gods Word, and put their trust and confidence in the Saint, and his merits, and make an Advocate, or rather a God of the Saints, &c. They ascribe Heaven to their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberty of God, by the merits and deservings of Christ, &c.

7. Article. 7. *God moved the Hearts of the* Egyptians *to hate the people; likewise he moved Kings, &c. Fol.* 118.

The

The place annexed. The words in the *Obedience* be these: In the hundred and seventh Psalm thou readest, He destroyed the Rivers, and dryed up the Springs of Water, and turned the fruitful Land into barrenness, for the Inhabitants thereof. When the Children of Israel had forgotten God in *Egypt*, God moved the Hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with their craft and wyliness, *Psalm* 105.

God sometimes hardneth the heart of unfaithfulness for the wickedness of the people.

In the second Chapter of the first Book of the *Kings*, God was angry with his people, and moved *David* to number them, when *Joab* and the other Lords wondred why he would have them numbred, and because they feared left some evil should follow, diffwaded the King; yet it holpe not, God so hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people, &c.

6. Article. 8. *Paul was of higher Authority than Peter. Fol.* 125.

The place annexed. The words in the *Obedience* be these: I suppose (saith he, speaking of *Paul*) that I was not behind the high Apostles, meaning in Preaching Jesus Christ and his Gospel, and ministring the Spirit. And in the same Chapter he proveth by the Doctrine of Christ, that he was greater than the high Apostles: For Christ saith, To be great in the Kingdom of God, is to do service, and take pain for other. Upon which Rule *Paul* disputeth, saying, If they be the Ministers of Christ, I am more. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in Prisons more plenteous, in death oft, &c. If *Paul* Preached Christ more than *Peter*, and suffered more for his Congregation, then is he greater than *Peter*, by the testimony of Christ, &c.

9. Article. 9. *A Priest ought to have a Wife for two causes. Fol.* 133.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindall* be these: He must have a Wife for two causes; one, That it may thereby be known who is meet for the room: he is unapt for to chargeable an Office, which had never houthold to rule. Another cause is, That Chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perillous for that degree, in as much as the people look as well unto the living as unto the Preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the Faith, and believe not the word, &c.

The Doctrine made Heretic.

10. Article. 10. *He Condemneth Auricular Confession. Fol.* 140.

Confession. Of this read above.

11. Article. 11. *Every Man is a Priest, and we read no other Priest to be a mean for us unto God. Fol.* 144.

The place annexed. The words in the *Obedience* be these: There is a word called in Latin *Sacerdos*, in the Greek, ἱερεὺς, in Hebrew *Cohem*, that is a Minister, an Officer, a Sacrificer, or a Priest, as *Aaron* was a Priest, and Sacrificed for the People, and was a mediator between God and them, and in the English it should have had some other Name, than Priest, but Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange Terms to bring us into confusion and Superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a Priest for ever, and all we are Priests through him, and need no more of any such Priest to be a mean for us unto God, &c.

Archbishops Kings and Faiths to God his Forms, &c. Apoc. 1.

12. Article. 12. *He despraith the Sacraments of Matrimony and Orders. Fol.* 144.

As truly as Matrimony and Orders be Sacraments, so truly is this Article an Heresie.

13. Article. 13. *He saith that Purgatory is the Popes invention, and therefore he may do there whatsoever he will.* 150.

One of the Popes own Writers saith thus, Souls being in Purgatory are under the Popes jurisdiction, and the Pope may, if he will, evacuate all Purgatory. Furthermore the old Fathers make little mention of Purgatory, the Greek Church never believed the Purgatory: Saint *Augustine* doubteth of Purgatory, and the Scriptures plainly disprove Purgatory. Saint *John* saith, The Blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God purgeth us from all Sin. And the Pope saith, Sin cannot be purged but by the Fire of Purgatory: Now whose invention can Purgatory be, but only the Popes?

Jam. Angelus.

1 John 1.

14. Article. 14. *Saints be saved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ. Fol.* 151.

Verily made Heretic.

What can be more manifest and plain by the Scriptures, than this? *Esay* saith, All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath layd upon him all our iniquities, &c.

15. Article. 15. *He saith, no Man may be hired to pray. Fol.* 155.

The place annexed. The words in the *Obedience* be true, which are these. To pray one for another are we equally bound: and to pray is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand; and that to do, may no man hire another: Christs Blood hath hired us already, &c.

16. Article. 16. *Why should I trust, saith he, in* Pauls *Prayer or Holiness? If* Saint Paul *were alive, he would compare himself to Saint* Paul, *and be as good as he. Fol.* 159.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindall* be these. Why am not I also a false Prophet if I teach thee to truft in *Paul*, or in his Holiness or Prayer, or in any thing saving in Gods Word, or *Paul* did? If *Paul* were here and loved me, as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a Servant to preach Christ, what good could he do for me, or with me, but preach Christ, and pray to God for me to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Christ? Unto which Port or Haven when I am once come, I am as safe as *Paul*, joynt heir with *Paul* of all the promises of God, &c.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindall* import no such meaning as in the Article.

17. Article. 17. *He saith that all that be baptized, become Christ himself. Fol.* 163.

The place annexed. With this Article confer the words of the *Obedience*, which be these. In *Matth.* 25. faith Christ, In as much as ye have done it to one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it to me. And in as much as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it unto me. Here seest thou that we are Christs Brethren, and even Christ himself, and whatsoever we do one to another, that we do to Christ, &c.

18. Article. 18. *He saith that the Children of Faith be under no Law. Fol.* 163.

The place annexed. The Article is not plainly taken. The words of *Tindall* be these. I serve thee not because thou art my Master or King, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ. For the Children of Faith are under no Law, as thou seest in the Epistle to the *Romans*, to the *Galatians*, and the first of *Timothy*, but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively Law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love fake only which they see in Christ, and therefore need they no Law to compel them, &c.

19. Article. 19. *There is no deed so good, but that the Law condemneth it. Fol.* 177.

The place annexed. What sort is in this? The place in the *Obedience* is this. Thou hast the story of *Peter*, how he smote off *Malchus* eare, and how Christ healed it again: There hast thou in the plain Text great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over. Then come I, when I preach of the Law, and the Gospel, and borrow this example to express the nature of the Law, and of the Gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes, and of *Peter* and his Sword make I the Law, and of Christ the Gospel, saying, as *Peters* Sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the Law. The Law damneth, the Law killeth and mangleth the Conscience. There is no ear so righteous, that can abide the hearing of the Law. There is no deed so good, but that the Law damneth it. But Christ, that is to say, the Gospel, the Promises and Testament that God hath made in Christ, healeth the ear and conscience, which the ear hath hurt, &c.

20. Article. 20. *To ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false Faith, and is plain Idolatry. Fol.* 171.

The place annexed. The words of *Tindall* are these. Look wherein thou canst best keep the Commandments; thither get thy fell, and there abide, &c. If we have infirmities that draw us from the Laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry; for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayst use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slack thine hunger without meat. Now to ask of God, more than he hath promised, cometh of a false Faith, and is plain Idolatry, &c.

Wher Heresie is in this?

21. Article. 21. *Our pain taken in keeping the Commandments doth nothing but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Flesh, but to look for any other reward or promotion in Heaven, than God hath promised for Christs sake, is abominable in the sight of God. Fol.* 171.

The place annexed. Consider the place in the *Obedience*, which is this. To look for any other reward, or promotion in Heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christs sake; and which Christ hath deserved for us with

with his pain taking, is abominable in the sight of God: for Christ only hath purchased the reward, and our pain taking to keep the Commandments doth but purge the Sin that remaineth in the Flesh, and certifies us, that we are chosen and sealed with Gods Spirit, unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us, &c.

12. Article. 22. *The Pope hath no other Authority but to preach only. Fol.* 173.

Christ said to *Peter*, Feed my Sheep, *John* 21. And thou being converted, confirm thy Brethren, *Luke* 22. And to his Apostles he said, Go ye into all the World and preach the Gospel, &c. Again, Saint *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 1. This Heresie is only the Pope: but none at all to God. faith, That Christ sent him not to Baptize but to preach: to what other Office or Function he sent the Pope, let them judge which consider the Scriptures.

23 Article. 23. *If thou bind thy self to chastity to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an Infidel. Fol.* 175.

Read and confer the place of *Tindall* which is this. Chastity canst thou not give to God, further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned, &c. For to what purpose thou bendest thy self, must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an Infidel, and hast no part with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look into *Deuteronomy*, and there thou shalt find it more largely intreated, &c.

24. Article. 24. *He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles. Fol.* 176.

The place annexed. The words in *Tindals Obedience* be these. And when they cry miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting Testament which is in Christs Blood, against which we may receive no miracles, no neither the Preaching of *Paul* himself if he come again, by his own teaching to the *Galatians*, neither yet the Preaching of the Angels of Heaven, &c.

Miracles how far to be believed. The end of Gods miracles is good; the end of these miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they fome out their own shame, and corrupt the whole World with the stinch of their filthiness, &c.

25. Article. 25. *He saith that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain Idolatry. Fol.* 77.

The place annexed. Goodintents without Gods Word, God abhorreth. The place is in the *Obedience*: Remember *Saul* was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent: God requireth Obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents, and good zeals which are without Gods Word, for they are nothing else but plain Idolatry, and worshipping of false Gods, &c.

Here follow other Heresies and Errours collected by the Bishops, out of the Book called the Revelation *of Antichrist, with the places of the Book, out of the which they were gathered, annexed to the same.*

Articles out of the Book called the Revelation of Antichrist. 1. TO *bind a Man perpetually to any Vow of Religion, is without doubt an errour. Fol.* 19.

The place of the Book called the *Revelation*, whence this Article is gathered, is this that followeth: which the Fathers did neither make nor keep, he meaneth Vows, but with the liberty of the Spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For if they did, without doubt, they erred according to mans fragility.

2. Article. 2. *To say the Constitutions of Religion are good because holy men did ordain them, as* Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, *and such other, and to follow such examples of Fathers, is to leave the Faith. Fol.* 19.

The place annexed. The place of the Article is this. But they object, The Statutes and Ordinances are good. Holy men did make them, as *Augustine*, *Benedict*, *Bernard*, *Francis*, *Dominick*, and such other. To this I answer, That is even it that Christ and the Apostles did mean, That these words should be like to those things which are taught in the Gospel, for that they call counterfeiting of the Doctrin, and privily bringing in of Sects and Heresies, because they take only of the Fathers examples of works, and leave the Faith, &c.

2. Pet. 2.

3. *All Moral Divines have a wicked Conscience full of scrupulosity. Fol.* 3. 3. Article.

Moral Divines be they whose Doctrine and hope of Salvation consisteth in Moral Vertues, rather than in Christian Faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such can never be certified in Conscience of their Salvation, but always be full of fear and scrupulosity. Saint *Paul* therefore saith, It is therefore of Faith, that it might come by Grace, and the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed, *Rom.* 4. Rom. 4.

4. *Moral Vertues, as Justice, Temperance, Strength, Chastity, described by Natural Reason, maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Christs Faith. Fol.* 64. 4. Article.

The place of this Article, gathered out of the Revelation, is this: so many he (the Pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath subdued and led under his Laws and Impery. And who is he in the World that is not subject under him, except they be Infants, or peradventure some simple persons, which are reserved by the inscrutable Counsel and provision of God? O thou Man of Sin, O thou Son of Perdition, O thou abomination, O thou Corrupter, O thou Authour of evil Consciences, O thou false Master of good Consciences, O thou enemy of Faith and Christian liberty, who is able to rehearse, yea, or to comprehend in his mind the infinite waves of this monstrous * Kings evils? The place annexed.

* By this King he meaneth the Kings of Scotes which lived about the time of Hezekiah in Ezechias Chapter.

If he had ordained these his Laws in those works of vertues that are commended in the ten Precepts, or else in such as the Philosophers and Natural Reason did describe, as are Justice, Strength, Temperance, Chastity, Mildness, Truth, Goodness, and such other, peradventure they should only have made a Synagogue, or else have ordained in the World a certain Civil Justice, for through these also Faith should have been corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raising infinite Tempests of mischief, entising and drawing us to Ceremonies, and his own fained Traditions, and binding us like asses and ignorant fools, yea and like flocks unto them, &c. Ose 12. Heb. 2. 1 Cor. 15. Rom. 8.

5. *Christ took away all Laws, and maketh us free and at liberty, and most of all he suppresseth all Ceremonies. Fol.* 63, 95. 5. Article.

The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation*, is this: Christ taking away all Laws to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppress and disannul the Ceremonies which did consist in places, persons, garments, meats, days, and such other, so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent, &c. The place annexed.

What he meaneth by taking away all Laws, he declareth a little before, saying, he hath not delivered us from the Law, but from the Power and Violence of the Law, which is the very true loosing. But for all that he hath not taken away from the Powers and Officers, their Right, Sword, and Authority to punish the evil, for such pertain not to his Kingdom, until they are made spiritual, and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God

6. *If the Pope would make all the observations of Ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-days, confession, Matrimony, Mass, Matins, and Reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ he utterly corrupteth the Church, suppresseth the Faith, and advanceth Sin. Fol.* 67. 6. Article.

If the Pope will inferr a necessity of those things, which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himself but Antichrist? The Article is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of Christ, and Saint *Paul*.

7. *To believe in Christ maketh sure Inheritors with Christ. Fol.* 1. 7. Article.

8. *If a Man say, then shall we do no good works? Iansower as Christ did: This is the work of God to believe in him whom he hath sent. Fol.* 1. 8. Article.

The place of these two Articles, gathered out of the *Revelation* is this: who is this light that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as Saint *John* saith before; He was the true light that lighteneth all men which come into the World. To believe in this light, maketh The place annexed. John 1.

maketh us the Children of light, and the sure Inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel Adversaries, which set up their bristles, saying, why, shall we then do no good works? To these we answer as Christ did to the people in the sixt of Saint *John*, which asked him what they should do, that they might work the Works of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the Work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. And after it followeth, Verily, verily I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also condescendeth Saint *John*, in his Epistle, saying, These things have I written unto you that believe on the Name of the Son of God, that you may surely know how that you have Eternal Life. What is the Name of the Son of God? Truly his Name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must believe that he is a Saviour. John 6.

But what availeth this? The Devils do thus believe and tremble. They know that he is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesus the Son of God, what have we to do with thee? They know that he hath redeemed mankind by his passion, and they laboured to let it. For when Pilate was set down to give Judgment, his Wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just Man, For I have suffered many things this day in my sleep about him. No doubt she was vexed of the Devil, to the intent that she should perswade her Husband to give no Sentence upon him, so that Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over mankind. They know that he hath suppressed Sin and Death, as it is written, Death is consumed into Victory. Death where is thy Sting? Hell where is thy Victory? The Sting of death is Sin: the strength of Sin is the Law. But thanks be unto God which hath given us Victory through our Lord Jesus Christ; who by Sin damned Sin in the Flesh. For God made him to be Sin for us, that is to say, a Sacrifice for our Sin (and so is Sin taken in many places) which knew do Sin, that we by his means, should be that righteousness which before God is allowed. It is not therefore sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee, &c. Jam. 2. Matth. 27. 1 Cor. 15. Osee 13. Rom. 8.

9. Article. 9. *Numbring of Sins maketh a Man a more Sinner, yea, a blasphemer of the Name of God. Fol.* 3.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is this; Knowledge thy self a Sinner, that thou mayst be justified. Not that the numbering of thy Sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater Sinner, yea, and a Blasphemer of the Holy Name of God, as thou maist see in *Cain*, which said that his Sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveness, and so was a Reprobate, &c.

10. Article. 10. *God biddeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish. Fol.* 3.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is this; If thou ask of me, why he biddeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish; thou shalt have S. *Augustines* answer, which saith in the second Book that he wrote to *Hieronie*, that the Law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to eschew, to the intent that when we see our selves not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whom we shall ask this strength, so that we may say unto our Father, God Father command whatsoever pleaseth thee, but give us thy Grace to fulfil that thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the Law is good and holy, and that we are Sinners and carnal, sold under Sin. But let us not here stick, for now we are at Hell-gates, and doubtless should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, shewing us his Gospel and promise, saying, Fear not little Flock, for it is your Fathers pleasure to give you a Kingdom, &c. Rom 7. Luke 12.

11. Article. 11. *Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which dyed for us. Fol.* 4.

The place annexed. The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is this: Sin hath no power over us, neither can condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which dyed for us that were wicked, and naturally the Children of wrath. But God which is rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through Sin, hath quickned us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and with him hath made us sit in Heavenly places through Jesus Christ, to shew in times to come the exceeding Riches of his Grace in kindness towards us through Christ Jesus: For by Grace are ye saved through Faith, and that not of your selves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself, &c. Ephes. 2.

12. *I will shew thee an evident Argument and Reason that thou maist know without doubt, who is Antichrist. All they that do pursue are Antichrist; The Pope, Bishops, Cardinals, and their Adherents do pursue; therefore the Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, and their Adherents, are Antichrists. I ween our Syllogismus be well made. Fol.* 9. 12. Article.

The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation* is; I will shew thee an evident Reason, that thou mayst know without doubting which is the very Antichrist: and this Argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which *Paul* doth confirm, writing to the *Galatians*. We (dear Brethren) are the Children of Promise, as *Isaac* was (not the Sons of the bondwoman, as *Ismael*:) but as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Mark *Pauls* Reason. By *Isaac* are signified the Elect, and by *Ismael* the reprobate. *Isaac* did not persecute *Ismael*, but contrary, *Ismael* did persecute *Isaac*. Now let us make our Reason. The place annexed. Gen. 21. Gal. 4.

Bar- All they that do persecute are *Ismael*, be Reprobates and Antichrists. Major.

ba- But all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and their Adherents do persecute. Minor.

ra. Therefore all the Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and their Adherents be *Ismael*, Reprobates and Antichrists. Conclusion.

I ween our Syllogismus is well made, and in the first figure.

Read the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this Argument more at large.

13. *I think verily, that so long as the Successors of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian Men, and no longer. Fol.* 10. 13 Article.

The Bishops of *Rome* in the Primitive Church were under persecution the space welnear of three hundred years, under the which persecution, as good as thirty of them and more dyed Martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundred and four Popes which have lived in great wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the Book of *Revelation* think that there be not four to be found good Christian men, I think no less but that he may so think without any Heresie?

14. *It is impossible that the word of the Cross should be without affliction and persecution. Fol.* 10. 14. Article.

Saint *Paul* saith, whosoever will live vertuously in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. And how then can this be true in *Paul*, and in this man Heresie? 2 Tim. 3.

15. *That the Apostles did ever curse any man truly we cannot read in Scripture: for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them. Fol.* 11. 15. Article.

Upon what good ground of the *Revelation* this Heresie is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written in these words following: They are as merciful as the Woolf is on his prey. They were ordained to bless men, but they curse as the Devil were in them. *Paul* saith that he hath power to edifie, and not to destroy. But I wot not of whom these bloody Beasts have their Authority, which do so much rejoyce in cursing and destruction. We read how *Paul* did Excommunicate the *Corinthian* (and that for a great transgression) and desired again the *Corinthians* to receive him with all charity: but that the Apostles did curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture, for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them, &c. The place annexed. 1 Cor. 10. 1 Cor. 13. 2 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 2.

16. *By Works, Superstitions, and Ceremonies, we decay from the Faith, which alone doth truly justifie and make holy. Fol.* 15. 16. Article.

Note

Note here, good Reader, how perversly and corruptly this Article is drawn. For where the place of this Book, which is written, *fol.* 15. expreſly ſpeaketh of truſting to works, meaning that we ſhould put no confidence in works, but only in Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, this Article, to make it appear more Infamous and Heretical, leaveth out the falſe truſt and ſpeaketh ſimply, as though works ſhould decay Faith. Read the place, which is written in theſe words following: *Daniel* calleth not this word *Peſcheam*, any manner of Sin, but thoſe ſpecial and chief Sins, which reſiſt and fight againſt the truth and that Faith: as are the truſting in Works, Superſtitions and Ceremonies, by the which we decay from the Faith, &c.

False wrestling.

17. Article. 17. *The abuſion of the Maſs with all his Solemnities, with vigils, years-minds, foundations, burials, and all the buſineſs that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloak of Godlineſs, and deceiving of the people: As if they were good Works, rather for the dead than for the quick. Fol.* 24.

True Godlineſs conſiſteth in Faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God, whom he hath ſent, and in the obſervation of Gods Commandments. All their Rites and Additions inſtituted by Man, are no part of true Godlineſs. And who ſo putteth truſt and confidence therein, as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such Funerals Saint *Auguſtine* calleth rather refreſhings of the living, than relievings and helps of the dead.

18. Article. 18. *To keep and obſerve one day to faſt, another to abſtain, to forbear ſuch a meat upon the faſting day to deſerve Heaven thereby, is a wicked face and cloak, and againſt* Paul. *Fol.* 29.

The truth of this Article is manifeſt enough, to be void of all Error and Hereſie, unleſs it be Hereſie, to believe and hold with the Scripture. Saint *Paul* faith, if Heaven and our Righteouſneſs come by the Law, then Chriſt dyed in vain. *Galatians* the ſecond.

Galat. 2.

19. Article. 19. *The multiplication of holy days, of Feaſts of Corpus Chriſti of the Viſitation of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed fooliſh, unprofitable and vain. Fol.* 30.

This Article likewiſe needeth no Declaration, containing in it a true and neceſſary complaint of ſuch ſuperfluous Holy-days of the Popes making. Which as they bring with them much occaſion of Wickedneſs, Idleneſs, Drunkenneſs, and Vanity, and ſo having alſo joyned unto them opinion of Religion, and meritorious Devotion and Gods ſervice they gender Superſtition, and nourish the people in the ſame.

20. Article. 20. *Keeping of Virginity and Chaſtity of Religion is a deviliſh thing. Fol.* 30.

Another place falſly depraved by the Papiſts.

The place, cited in the Book of the *Revelation of Antichriſt*, doth ſufficiently open it ſelf, ſpeaking and meaning only of thoſe Monkiſh Vows, which by the Canonical Conſtitution of the Pope are violently forced upon Prieſts and Monks, the coaction whereof Saint *Paul* doth rightly call the Doctrine of Devils. And here note by the way another trick of a Popiſh Cavilier. For where the words of the Book ſpeak plainly of the chaſtity of the Religious, he fraudently turning it to an Univerſality faith, the chaſtity of the Religion, whereby it might ſeem to the ſimple Reader more odious and Heretical: the words of the place be theſe.

1 Tim. 4.

Keeping of Virginity and Chaſtity of the Religious ſeemeth to be a Godly and a Heavenly thing: but it is a deviliſh thing. Of the which it is ſpoken in the fourth of the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, Forbidding to marry, &c. Whereas again our moſt Reverend Father maketh that thing neceſſary that Chriſt would have free, whereof *Daniel* in the 11. Chapter ſpeaketh, *He ſhall not be deſirous of Women.* Here *Daniel* meaneth that he ſhall refuſe and abſtain from marriage, for a cloak of Godlineſs, and not for love of Chaſtity.

Dan. 11.

21. Article. 21. *Worſhipping of Reliques is a proper thing, and cloak of advantage againſt the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of Men. Fol.* 30. 31.

The place enacted.

Theſe be the words in the *Rev.* This (the worſhipping of Reliques he meaneth) is a proper and moſt fruitful cloak of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable Pilgrimages, with the which the fooliſh and unlearned people might leſe their labour, money and time, nothing in the mean ſeaſon regarding their Houſes, Wives and Children, contrary to the commandment of God; when as they might do much better deeds to their Neighbours, which is the precept, &c.

22. Article. 22. *There is but one ſpecial Office that pertaineth to thine Orders, and that is to preach the Word of God. Fol.* 36.

Of this matter ſufficient hath been ſaid before in the two and twentieth Article alledged out of the Book of *Obedience.*

23. Article; 23. *The Temple of God is not Stones and Wood, neither in the time of* Paul *was there any Houſe which was called the Temple of God. Fol.* 36.

The place of this Article is this: which is an Adverſary (the Pope he meaneth) and is exalted above all that is called God or that is Worſhipped: ſo that he ſhall ſit in the Temple of God and ſhew himſelf as God. Doth he not ſit in the Temple of God, which faith and profeſſeth himſelf to be the Maſter in the whole Church? What is the Temple of God? Is it Stones and Wood? doth not *Paul* ſay, The Temple of Gods holy, which Temple are ye? Neither in the time of *Paul* was there any Houſe, which was called the Temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this ſitting, but reigning, teaching and judging? Who, ſith the beginning of the Church, durſt preſume to call himſelf the Maſter of the whole Church, but only the Pope? &c.

The place of this Article.

Speaking of the Temple where Antichriſtmeth, is not ſo grievous as the Article maketh.

24. Article. 24. *He that faſteth no day, that faith no Mattens, and doth none of the Precepts of the Pope, Nimeth not, if he think that he doth not Sin. Fol.* 43.

The place in the *Revel.* is this: Becauſe he feareth the Conſciences under the Title and pretence of Chriſts Name, he maketh of thoſe things which in themſelves are no Sins very grievous offences. For he that believeth that he doth Sin if he eat Fleſh on the Apoſtles Even, or ſay not Mattens and Prime in the morning, or elſe leave undone any of the Popes Precepts, no doubt he Sinneth; not becauſe the deed which he doth is Sin, but becauſe he believeth it is Sin, and that againſt this fooliſh Belief and Conſcience he offendeth. Of which fooliſh Conſcience only the Pope is Head Author; for another doing the ſame deed, thinking that he doth not Sin, truly offendeth not. And this is the cauſe that the Spirit of *Paul* complaineth that many ſhall depart from the Faith. And for this fooliſh Conſcience, mens Traditions be pernicious and noyſome, the ſnares of Souls, hurting the Faith and the liberty of the Goſpel. If it were not for this cauſe they ſhould do no hurt. Therefore the Devil through the Pope abuſeth theſe Conſciences to ſtabliſh the Laws of his Tyranny, to ſuppreſs the Faith and liberty, and to replenish the World with Error, Sin, and Perdition, &c.

The place is plain: there clear and plain without any danger of Hereſie.

Traditions how they do hurt.

25. Article. 25. *Chriſt ordained the Sacrament of the Altar only to nourish the Faith of them that live; but the Pope maketh it a good work, and a Sacrifice to be applyed both to the quick and dead. Fol.* 48.

The place is this: Satan hated the Sacrament, and knew no way how to ſuppreſs and diſanul it: Therefore he found this graft, that the Sacrament, which Chriſt did only ordain to nouriſh and ſtabliſh the Faith of them that live, ſhould be counted a good work and Sacrifice, and bought and ſold; and ſo Faith is ſuppreſſed, and this wholſom miniſtry is applyed, not to the quick, but unto the dead, that is to ſay, neither to the quick, neither yet to the dead. Oh the incredible fury of God, &c.

The place toucheth the abuſe of the Sacrament; and is not againſt the Sacrament.

26. Article. 26. *Theſe ſigns (he ſpeaketh of miracles and viſions, or apparations) are not to the encreaſe of Faith and Goſpel, for they are rather againſt the Faith and Goſpel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying ſigns. Fol.* 49.

The place is as followeth; Who is able to number the monſtrous marvels only of them that are departed? Good Lord, what a ſea of lies hath invaded us, of Apparations, Conjurings, and Anſwers of Spirits? By the which it is brought to paſs, that the Pope is alſo made the King of them that are dead, and reigneth in Purgatory, to the great profit of his Prieſts, which had all their living, riches, and pomp out of Purgatory. How beit they ſhould have leſs if they did ſo well teach the Faith of them that live, as they do rideles them that are good.

The place contained a true complaint of falſe Illuſions, and may well be born.

Neither

Neither was there ſince the beginning of the World, any work found of ſo little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpoſe were gathered almoſt the Poſſeſſions of all Princes and rich men. And through theſe riches ſprang up all pleaſures and idleneſs, and of idleneſs came very *Babylon* and *Sodom*, &c.

Neither are theſe ſigns to the encreaſe of the Faith and Goſpel (for they are rather againſt the Faith and Goſpel) but they are done to ſtabliſh the tyranny of theſe * faces and reedels, and to ſet up and confirm the truſt in works. Among theſe Illuſions are thoſe Miracles to be reputed, which are ſhewed in Viſions, Pilgrimages, and worſhippings of Saints, as there are plenty now adays, which the Pope confirmeth by his Bulls, yea, and ſometime doth canonize Saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying ſigns, &c.

* This Book of the Revelation of Antichriſt meaning upon the 8. Chap. of the which there ſpeaketh of ſhaking of ſtars and reedels, although here to the ſame 27. Article.

The place given to another meaning than the Article pretendeth.

27. Article. 27. *The people of Chriſt do nothing, becauſe it is commanded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable unto them. Fol.* 63.

The words out of the which this Article is gathered, are theſe: They are the people of Chriſt, which willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the Law, but only enticed and led with a gracious liberty and faithful love; not doing any thing becauſe it is commanded, but becauſe it is pleaſant and acceptable unto them, though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwiſe, ſhould be counted the people of the Law and Synagogue, &c.

28. Article. 28. *In the whole new Law is no urgent precept, nor grievous, but only exhortations to obſerve things neceſſary for ſouls health. Fol.* 63.

The place is found, and ſtandeth well with Scripture. 1 Tim. 1.

The place of this Article gathered out of the *Revelation*, is this: A Chriſtian ſhould work nothing by compulſion of the Law, but all through the *Spirit of Liberty*, as *Paul* ſaith in the ſecond of the firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*. The Law is not given to a righteous man: for whatſoever is done by compulſion of the Law, is ſin, for it is not done with a glad and willing ſpirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling againſt the Law, and this truly is ſin. Therefore in the fourth of the ſecond Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, he calleth the Preachers of the New Teſtament the Miniſters of the Spirit, and not of the Letter, becauſe they teach Grace, and not the Law. Wherefore in the whole New Teſtament are there no urgent or grievous Precepts, but only exhortations to obſerve thoſe things which are neceſſary to our health. Neither did Chriſt and his Apoſtles at any time compel any man. And the Holy Ghoſt was for that cauſe called *Paraclet*us, that is to ſay, an Exhorter and Comforter, &c.

2 Cor. 4.

29. Article. 29. *All things neceſſary are declared in the New Teſtament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to their own will. Therefore Chriſt teacheth*, Matth. 18. *That a Rebel ſhould not be killed, but avoided. Fol.* 63. 66.

The place enacted.

The words in the *Revelation* are theſe: In the New Teſtament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave and undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to ſeek, find, and obtain help to do and leave undone: But no man is compelled, but ſuffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in the eighteenth of *Matthew*, he teacheth that a Rebel ſhould not be killed, but avoided, and put out of company like a Gentile, &c.

30. Article. 30. *Chriſt forbad that one place ſhould be taken as holy, and another prophane; but would that all places ſhould be indifferent. Fol.* 68.

The place enacted. The Pope maketh difference of places, but the Goſpel maketh none.

The place is this: Chriſt taketh away the difference of all places, will be worſhipped in every place. Neither is there in his Kingdom one place holy, and another prophane, but all places are indifferent; neither canſt thou more heartily and better believe, truſt, and love God in the Temple at the Altar, in the Church-yard, than in thy Barn, Vineyard, Kitchin, or Bed. And to be ſhort, the Martyrs of Chriſt have honoured him in dark Dungeons and Priſons, &c.

31. Article. 31. *He raileth againſt all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Maſs, as he were mad. Fol.* 68.

The place out of the which this Article is collected, is as followeth. If a Nun touch the *Super-altare*, or *Corporet*, (as they call it) it is a ſin. To touch the Chalice is a great tranſgreſſion. To ſay a Maſs with an unhallowed Chalice, is a grievous offence. To do Sacrifice in Veſtiments which are not conſecrated, is a heinous crime. It is reputed for a ſin, if in miniſtring any Sacrament, the Prieſt doth lack any Ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a child, or ſpeak in the words of a Canon, it is a ſin. He offendeth alſo that doth ſhut or ſtammer in the words of the Canon. He ſinneth that toucheth the holy Relicks of Saints. He that toucheth the Sacrament of the Altar, either with hand or finger, though it be for neceſſity, to pluck it from the roof of his mouth, committeth ſuch villanous iniquity that they will ſcrape and ſhave off the quick fleſh from the part which did touch it. I think at length they will fley the tongues, the roof of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, becauſe they touch the Sacrament. But to hurt thy Neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no ſin, nor yet regarded, &c.

This place notes only the preposterous judgment of them which make more by the prayers of men, than by the commandments of God; and yet herein he ſinneth no leſſer ſin, or raiſing, or maketh terrible.

32. Article. 32. *No labour is now adays more tedious than ſaying of Maſs; Mattins, &c. Which before God are nothing but grievous ſins. Fol.* 70.

33. Article. 33. *The ſins of* Manaſſes, *and other wicked Kings, ſacrificing their own children, are but light and childiſh offences to thoſe. The curſed Sacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours, we are ſeven times worſe Gentiles than we were before we knew Chriſt. Fol.* 70.

The words out of the which theſe two Articles are gathered, are theſe. They are ſo oppreſſed (thoſe meaneth which are under the ſervitude of the Popes Laws and Decrees) that they fulfil them only with the outward work; for their wills are clean contrary, as we by experience in troubleſom buſineſs of Vigils, Maſſes, and Hours, which both muſt be ſaid and ſung. In the which they labour with ſuch wearineſs, that now adays no labour is more tedious. Yet nevertheleſs, the cruel exactors of theſe moſt hard works compel men to work ſuch things without ceaſing, which before God are nothing but grievous ſins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the ſervice of God. Here are invented the intiſements of the Senſes through Organs, Muſick, and diverſity of Songs; but theſe are nothing to the Spirit, which rather is extinct through theſe wanton trifles. Ah Chriſt, with what violence, with what power are they driven headlong to ſin, and periſh through this abomination?

The place enacted. The place is there clear and plain without any danger of Hereſie.

It is horrible to look into theſe cruel Whirl-pools of Conſciences, which periſh with ſo great pains and labour: what light offences to theſe are the ſins wherein *Manaſſes* and other wicked Kings ſinned by doing Sacrifice with their own Children and Progeny? Truly the curſed Sacrifices of the moſt rude Gentiles, no not of the *Lepr*igones, may be compared unto ours. The ſaying of Chriſt may be verified in us; ſeven more wicked Spirits make the end worſe than the beginning. For I ſay, that we are worſe Gentiles ſeven times than we were before we knew Chriſt, &c.

2 Reg. 21. *Lepr*igones were a people glo'ſe by gyrons about the borders of *Italy*, who uſed to eat mens fleſh.

34. Article. 34. *It were better to receive neither of the parts of the Sacrament of the Alter, than the one alone. Fol.* 73.

The words be theſe. Plainly I think that the whole is taken away ſith I ſee manifeſtly the one part gone (for the Bread and the Wine is but one Sacrament) the other is left only for a laughing ſtock. For he that in one part offendeth againſt God, is guilty in all. Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, than the one alone; for ſo we might the more ſurely eſchew the tranſgreſſion of that which Chriſt did inſtitute, &c.

The truth of this place may well be vouched by good reaſon.

35. Article. 35. *The Law of the Pope that commandeth every man to communicate together upon one day, is a moſt cruel Law conſtraining men to their own deſtruction. Fol.* 73.

The place enacted. Men ought not to be driven nor compelled all together on one certain day once in the year to communicate. Here I pray thee, Chriſtian Brother, how many doeſt thou think to communicate only by the compulſion of this Precept, which truly in their heart had lever never communicate? and all theſe ſin (for they do

The place is this. He (the Pope he meaneth) fetteth a moſt cruel and deadly Snare to tangle the Conſciences, ſuffereth not the uſe of this Sacrament to be free, but compelleth all together on one certain day once in the year to communicate. Here I pray thee, Chriſtian Brother, how many doeſt thou think to communicate only by the compulſion of this Precept, which truly in their heart had lever never communicate? and all theſe ſin (for they do

not

This place touching Communion is againſt their will, but to be exhorted and left to their own diſpoſition.

not communicate in Spirit, that is to say, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulsion of this Letter and Law) with that this Bread requireth a hungry, and not a full heart, and much lesse a disdaining and hateful mind. And of all these sins the Pope is Author, constraining all men by his most cruel Law to their own destruction, whereas he ought to leave this Communion free to every man, and only call and exhort them, and not compel and drive them unto it, &c.

36. *The Spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in the Scripture. Fol.* 81.

In things appertaining to Gods Worship and Service, true it is that he is not to be worshipped, but only according to that which he hath revealed and expressed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the Author, as by his words doth plainly appear.

37. *S.* Thomas de Aquine *savoureth nothing of the Spirit of God. Fol.* 83.

The Doctrine of *Thomas Aquine* referreth the greatest, or a very great part of our righteousnes to *opus operatum*, and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteousnes before God, only to our faith in Christ. Now how these favour together, let any indifferent Reader judge.

38. *The Pope did condemn the truth of the Word of God openly at* Constance *in* John Hus, *persevering unto this day in the same stubbornes. Fol.* 86.

Touching the condemnation of *John Hus*, and the manner of his handling, and the cause of his death, read his Story before, and consider moreover his Prophesie of the hundred years after him expired, how truly the sequel did follow in *Martin Luther*, and then judge of his Cause, good Reader, as the truth of Gods Word shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these slanderous Articles.

Here follow other Heresies and Errors, collected by the Bishops out of the Book named The Sum of the Scripture, *with the places of the Book annexed to the same.*

1. *The water of the Fount hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water. Fol.* 1.

2. *The virtue of Baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thing, but only in Faith. Fol.*6.

The place of these two Articles gathered out of the *Sum of the Scripture*, is this. The water of Baptism taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash our selves therein. Neither hath the water of the Fount more virtue in it self, than the water that runneth in the River of *Rhene*. When *Philip* baptized the Eunuch, the Servant of *Candace* the Queen of *Ethiope*, there was then no hallowed Water, nor Candle, nor Salt, nor Cream, neither white Habit; but he baptized him in the first water they came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the virtue of Baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in the outward things that we have at the Fount, but in the Faith only, &c. *Christ hath healed us* (saith S. *Paul*) *by the Bath of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost.*

3. *Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to help their Children that they be put to School, that they may understand the Gospel, and the Epistles of S.* Paul. *Fol.* 15.

The place of this Article gathered out of the said Book, is this: The Godfathers and Godmothers be bound to help the Children that they be put to School, to the intent that they may understand the Gospel, the joyful Message of God with the Epistles of S. *Paul*. God hath commanded to publish, and to shew the Gospel, not only to Priests, but to every Creature: *Go ye* (saith Christ unto his Disciples) *into the universal World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature.* For we be all equally bound to know the Gospel and the Doctrine of the New Testament, &c. And S. *Paul*, writing to the *Corinthians*, confesseth that he sendeth his Epistles to all the Church, that is to say, to all the Assembly of Christian men, and to all them that call on the Name of Jesus, &c.

4. *We think when we believe that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the faith that a Christian man is bound to have; but so doth the Devil believe. Fol.* 17.

5. *To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be one God, is not the Principal that we must believe: our faith doth not lye principally in that, for so believeth the Devil. Fol.* 18.

The place out of the which these two Articles are collected, is this: We think, when we believe that God is God, and can our Creed, that we have the Faith which a Christian is bound to have. The Devil believeth also that there is a God, and Life everlasting, and a Hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembleth alway for his faith, as saith S. *James*, *The Devils believe, and they tremble.* A man might ask, What shall I then believe? Thou shalt believe plainly and undoubtedly, That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is one only God, &c. But this likewise believeth the wicked Spirits, and are nothing the better therefore. There is yet another Faith which Christ so much requireth of us in the Gospel, and whereunto S. *Paul* almost in all his Epistles so strongly exhorteth us, that is, that we believe the Gospel. When our Lord began first to preach, he said, (as rehearseth S. *Mark*) *Repent and believe the Gospel.* Of this faith read before in the first Article gathered out of the *Wicked Mammon*, and in the ninth and tenth of the *Revelation of Antichrist.*

6. *If we believe that God hath promised everlasting Life, it is impossible that we should perish. Fol.* 20.

Lo here, good Reader, another manifest Example of the unhonest dealing and false cogging of these men. For where the place of the Author speaketh expresly of putting our trust in God and his promises, the Article pretily leaveth out our trusting in Gods promise, and saith only, If we believe that God hath promised. Read the place, and confer it with the Article, and then judge whether there be no difference between trusting in the promise that God hath made of everlasting Life, and believing only that God hath made the promise of everlasting life. The place here followeth as it is there written.

When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in God and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish, for he hath promised us Life everlasting. And forasmuch as he is Almighty, he may well perform that that he hath promised; and in that he is merciful and true, he will perform his promise made unto us, if we can believe it stedfastly, and put all our trust in him.

7. *If thou canst surely and stedfastly believe in God, he will hold his promise. For he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he woeth us Heaven, in case that we believe him. Fol.* 21.

Seeing all our hope standeth only upon the promise of God, what Heresie then is in this Doctrine, to say that God woeth us Heaven by his promise, which is no other to mean but that God cannot break promise? And now judge thou (good Reader) whether is more Heresie to say, That God woeth us Heaven by his promise, as we say; or this, that God woeth us Heaven by the condignity and congruity of our works, as the Papists say.

8. *All Christs glory is ours. Fol.* 27.

9. *We need not to labour to be Christs heirs, and sons of God, and to have Heaven; for we have all these things already. Fol.* 24.

The words, out of the which these two Heresies are gathered, be these: We be made his heirs, and all his glory is ours, as S. *Paul* largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deserving, and we need not to labour for all these things, for these we have already, &c.

They which note these Articles for Heresie, by the same Judgment they may make Heresie of S. *Johns* Gospel, and of *Pauls* Epistle, and of all together. S. *John* saith, *The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them that they may be one, as we also are one. As many as received him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God.* S. *Paul* saith, *The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the sons of God. If we be sons, then are we also heirs, the heirs I mean of God, and heirs annexed with Christ.*

10. *We need not to labour by our good works to get everlasting Life, for we have it already; we be all justified, we be all the children of God. Fol.* 28.

11. *All*

11. *All that think that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of Salvation, they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour. Fol.* 28.

12. *If we be Circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in works, Christ shall not help us. Fol.* 18.

13. *We deserve nothing of God. Fol.* 30.

14. *We deserve not everlasting life by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before that we began to do good. Fol.* 40.

15. *Every Christian man must keep Gods Commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life. Fol.* 42.

16. *The Jews kept the Commandments, and the Law of God; yet they could not come to Heaven. Fol.* 43.

17. *Men trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such men as come to the Church daily, keep Holy days and Fasting days, and bear Masses, and these people be soonest damned; for this is one of the greatest Errours in Christendome, to think that thy good works shall help to thy salvation. Fol.* 47.

If these Articles be made Heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to Gods gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us shut up clean the New Testament, and away with Gods Word, and set up a new Divinity of the Popes making; yea, let us leave Christ with his heretical Gospel, and in his stead set up the Bishop of *Rome* with his Talmud, and become the Disciples of his Decretals. And certainly, except Christian Princes begin betime to take some zeal of God unto them, and look more seriously upon the matter, the proceedings of these men seem to tend to little better, than to drive us at length from true Christianity, to another kind and form of Religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well-near to pass already.

18. *To serve God in a tediousness, or for fear of Hell, or for the joyes of Heaven, is but a shadow of good works, and such service doth not please God. Fol.*41.

The place is this: Works done in Faith be only pleasant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the Holy Ghost that dwelleth in us by this Faith. But they that are done by tediousness and evil will, for fear of Hell, or for desire of Heaven, be nothing else but shadows of works, making Hypocrites. The end of our good works is only to please God, knowledging that if we do never so much, we can never do our duty; for they that for fear of Hell, or for the joyes of Heaven do serve God, do a constrained service, which God will not have. Such people do not serve God, because he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid his punishments; and such people are hired men and waged servants, and are not children. But the children of God serve their Father for love, &c.

19. *We must love death, and more desire to dye, than to fear death. Fol.* 36.

Although our Nature be frail and full of imperfection, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to dye and be with Christ, as the place it self doth well declare, which is this:

We must love death, and more desire to dye and to be with God, as did S. *Paul*, than to fear death. For Jesus Christ died for us, to the intent that we should not fear to dye, and he hath slain death, and destroyed the sting of death, as writeth S. *Paul*, saying, *O death where is thy sting? Death is swallowed up in victory.* And to the *Philippians*, *Christ is to me life, and Death is to me advantage.*

20. *God made us his Children and his Heirs, while we were his Enemies, and before we knew him Fol.* 44.

I marvel what the Papists mean in the Registers to condemn this Article as an Heresie, unless their purpose be utterly to impugn and gainstand the Scripture, and the Writings of S. *Paul*, who in the Fifth Chapter to the *Romans*, and other his Epistles, importeth even the same Doctrine in all respects, declaring in formal words that we be made the Children and Heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his Enemies.

21. *It were better never to have done good work, and ask mercy therefore, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promise. Fol.* 48.

22. *We can shew no more honour to God, than faith and trust in him. Fol.* 48.

The place out of the which these two Articles be gathered, is this: It were better for thee a thousand fold that thou hadst been a sinner, and never had done good deed, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, asking mercy with a good heart, lamenting thy sins, than to have done good works, and in them to put thy trust, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of speaking) bindeth God, but firm and stedfast faith and trust in him and his promises, &c. For we can shew unto God no greater honour, than to have faith and trust in him: For whosoever doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mighty, and merciful, &c.

23. *Faith without good works, is not little or feeble faith, but it is no faith. Fol.* 50.

24. *Every man doth as much as he believeth Fol.* 50.

The place out of which these two Articles be gathered, is this: If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then hast not thou the right faith, thou doest but only think that thou hast it. For S. *James* saith, *That faith without works is dead in it self.* He saith not that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead; and that which is dead, is not: therefore when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou hast no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the Spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to stir up love, cannot be idle: Every one doth as much as he believeth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth S. *John*; *He that hath this hope that he is the Son of God, purifieth himself as he is pure*: He saith not, he that purifieth himself hath this hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the faith, as it behoveth that the Tree must first be good which must bring forth good fruit.

25. *We cannot be without motions of evil desires; but we must mortifie them in resisting them. Fol.* 52.

They which note this Article of Heresie, may note themselves rather to be like the Pharisee, *Luke* 18. who, foolishly flattering himself in the false opinion of his own righteousness, was not subdued to the righteousness, which standeth before God by faith, and therefore went home to his House less justified than the Publican. The Scriptures condemn the heart of man to be crooked, even from his youth, *Genes.* 6. and also condemneth all the righteousness of man to be like a filed cloth, and if S. *Paul* could find in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but sheweth a continual resistance between the old man and the new, then must it follow, that these Pharisees, which condemn this Article of Heresie, either carry no flesh, and no old man about them to be resisted; or verily, say what they will, they cannot choose but be cumbred with evil motions for the inward man continually to fight against. The place of the Author sufficiently defendeth it self, as followeth.

S. *Paul* biddeth us *mortifie all our evil desires and carnal lusts, as uncleanness, covetousness, wrath, blasphemy, detraction, pride*, and other like Vices. And unto the *Romans* the sixth, he saith, *Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies*: that is to say, albeit we cannot live without the motion of such evil desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in us, but shall mortifie them in resisting them, &c.

26. *All true Christianity lieth in love of our Neighbours for God, and not in fasting, keeping of Holydays, watching, praying, and singing, and long prayers daily, and all day long hearing Mass, running on Pilgrimage, &c. Fol.* 52.

Confer this Article with the Scripture, and then shall see no Heresie in it.

The place of this Article is this. Thou shalt always occasion to mortifie thine evil desires, to serve thy Neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsel and exhortation, and other semblable means. In such love towards our Neighbour, for the love of God, lieth all the Law and the Prophets, as saith Christ, yea, and all Christianity; and not in fasting, keeping of Holy-days, watching, singing, and long Prayers, daily, and all day long hearing of Masses, setting up of Candles, running on Pilgrimages, and such other things, which as well the Hypocrites, proud People, envious and subject to all wicked affections do, *&c.*

27. Article. 27. *Many Doctors in Divinity, and not only in common people, believe that it is the part of Christian Faith only to believe that Jesus Christ hath lived here in Earth. Fol.* 53, 54.

To believe, that Christ here lived and died is good: but this is not the thing only that maketh a Christian man. James 2.

The place is this. We believe that Jesus Christ hath here lived on Earth, and that he hath preached, and that he died for us, and did many other things. When we believe these things after the Story, we believe that this is our Christian Faith. This not only the simple People believeth, but also Doctors in Divinity, which are taken for wise men. Yea, the Devil hath also this faith, as saith S. *James, The Devils believe, and they tremble.* For as we have said before, the Devil believeth that God is God, and that Jesus Christ hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. Thus must we also believe, that this is not the Faith whereof speaketh the Gospel, and S. *Paul, &c.*

Of this Faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth Articles of this Book, and of the first Article gathered out of the *wicked Mammon*, and the ninth and tenth Articles of the *Revelation of Antichrist.*

28 Article. 28. *He that doth good against his will, he doth evil. Fol.* 56.

The place answering to the Article. The place is this. All good Deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are sin before God, as saith S. *Augustine.* He that doth good against his will, doth evil; albeit that he doth be good. For that which I do against my will, I hate; and when I hate the Commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it, *&c.*

29. Article. 29. *No man doth more than he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make other partakers of their good works. Fol.* 59.

Note. Whosoever gathereth Heresie of this Article must needs shew himself to be an Heretick.

The words be these. The Prophet *Isaiah* saith, *We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justice is as it were a filthy cloth*: and therefore I can never marvel enough, that many of the religious persons would make other partakers of their good works, seeing that Christ saith in the Gospel, *When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done but that which was our duty to do.* For none doth more than he is bound to do, but only Jesus Christ (which only, as saith S. *Peter, never did sin, neither was there deceit found in his mouth*) hath done that he was not bound to do. And as the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, *Hath taken upon him our infirmities, and born our sorrows; he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickednesses, and by his stripes are we made whole,* &c.

2 Pet 2. Isa. 53.

30. Article. 30. *Christ hath gotten Heaven by his Passion; but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his Promises. Fol.* 59.

The Doctrine of this Article is found. Read the place. Jesus Christ possesseth the Kingdom of Heaven by double right. First, Because he is the Son of God, and very Inheritor of his Kingdom. Secondly, Because he hath gotten it by his Passion and Death. Of this second right he hath no need, and therefore he giveth it to all them that believe and trust in him and his promises.

31. Article. 31. *If God had promised us Heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our Salvation. Fol.* 59.

32. Article. 32. *Be our sins never so great, that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must believe to be saved. Fol.* 59.

The Doctrine of these Articles as true as the Gospel. The words out of the which these two Articles be gathered are these: If God hath promised Heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our Salvation. For we should never know how much, nor how long we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never dye joyfully. But God would assure us of Heaven by his promise, to the intent we should be certain and sure, for he is the Truth, and cannot lye: and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And notwithstanding that after the greatness and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet always we must believe it without any doubt, because of his sure promise; and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully dye, and abide the judgment of God, which else were intolerable. Read more hereof before in the eleventh Article taken out of the *wicked Mammon.*

33. *If thou love thy Wife because she is thy Wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in God. Fol.* 83. 33. Article. A difference between carnal love and spiritual love, and yet in Matrimony both are necessary.

The words be these. Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing so streightly, as to *love one another, yea, to love our enemies also*: then how much more should the Man and Wife love together? But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy Wife only because she is thy Wife, and because she serveth and pleaseth thee after the flesh, not for Beauty, Birth, Riches, and such like, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh not S. *Paul*, for such love is among Harlots, yea, among brute Beasts: but thou shalt love her because she is thy Sister in the Christian Faith, and because she is Inheritor together with me in the glory of God, and because ye serve together one God, because ye have received together one Baptism, *&c.* Thou shalt also love her for her Vertues, as shamefastness, chastity, and diligence, sadness, patience, temperance, secrecy, obedience, and other godly Vertues, *&c.*

34. *It is nothing but all incredulity, to run in Pilgrimages, and seek God in one certain place, which is like mighty in all places. Fol.* 62. 34. Article.

The matter of this Article is evident to all indifferent and learned Judgments, to be void of all doubt of Heresie.

35. *Men should see that their Children come to Church to hear the Sermon. Fol.* 89. 35. Article.

The place of this Article is this: On the Festival days thou shalt bring thy Children to the Church to hear the Sermon; and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memory of the Sermon. Thou shalt teach them the Christian Faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to dye than to do any thing that is against the will of God; and principally thou shalt learn them the contents of the Prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the *Pater noster*; that is to say, how they have another Father in Heaven, of whom they must seek for all goodness, and without whom they can have no good thing: and how that they may seek nothing in all their works, and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father: and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire: and how that they must submit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good, *&c.* Thou shalt buy them wholesom Books, as the holy Gospel, the Epistles of the holy Apostles, yea, both the New and the Old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet Fountain and Waters of Life. What mean these men, now you, to make this Doctrine an Heresie?

36. *Thou shalt not vex or grieve, by justice or otherwise, the poor that cometh unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin. Fol.* 97. 36. Article.

The place is this: Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, *&c.* as Christ saith; *Resist not evil, but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also,* &c. S. *Paul* saith, *Render not evil for evil; and if it be possible, and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging your selves, my welbeloved, but give place to wrath*: for it is written, *To me the vengeance, and I will render it, saith the Lord God.* Matth. 5. Rom. 12. Hebr. 10.

37. *Some text of Canon Law suffereth war, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless, when a City is besieged, or a Country invaded, the Lord of the Country is bound to put his life in jeopardy for his Subjects. Fol.* 119. 37. Article.

38. *So a Lord may use horrible war charitably and christianly.* 38. Article.

As

How Christians may war lawfully.

As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any People or Country upon any rash cause, as Ambition, Malice, or Revenge, the Gospel of Christ giveth us no such Sword to fight withal. Notwithstanding, for defance of Country and Subjects, the Magistrate, being invaded or provoked by other, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best; as the City of *Marburgh* did well in defending it self against the Emperor, *&c.*

39. Article. 39. *The Gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the World. Fol.* 79.

Crafty cogging in this Article. He that compiled this Article, craftily to make the matter appear more heinous, leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, by the rule of Charity; for that the Author addeth withal. By which Rule of Charity, and not of Office and Duty, every Christian man is bound one to help another, as Christ himself being Lord of all, yet of Charity was a servant to every man to do him good: Read the place of the sum of the Scripture in the Page as in the Article it is assigned.

40. Article. 40. *The Gospel is written for all Persons, Estates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperour. Fol.* 112.

They which noted this Article for an Heresie, I suppose could little tell either what God, or what the Scripture meaneth.

41. Article. 41. *When Judges have hope that an evil doer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the woman taken in Advoutry. The Temporal Law must obey the Gospel; and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by Justice. Fol.* 113.

The purpose of the Book whence this Article is wrested being well understood, intendeth not to bind Temporal Judges and Magistrates from due execution of good Laws, but putteth both them, and especially Spiritual Judges, in remembrance by the example of Christ, to discern who be penitent Offenders, and who be otherwise; and where they see evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be Ecclesiastical Judges, to spare them; if they be Civil Magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the Law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call *Epieikeia.*

AND thus much hitherto of these Heresies and Articles collected by the Bishops, and inserted in their own Registers out of the Books above specified. The names of the Bishops and Collectors were these, Sir *Thomas Moor* Lord Chancellor, *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Tonstall* Bishop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Richard Sampson* Dean of the Chappel, *Richard Woolman* Master of the Requests, *John Bell*, Dr. *Wilson*, with a great number more, as in the Registers doth appear. *Ex Regist. Cant. & Lond.*

I shall not need, I trust, (gentle Reader) further here to stay with reciting more places, when these already rehearsed may suffice for a taste and a trial for these, sufficient to note and consider how falsly and most slanderously these Catholicks have depraved and misreported the Books and Writings of good men; who might almost gather Heresies as well of S. *Johns* Gospel, and S. *Pauls* Epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being set on mischief? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the billows of Ambition and Iniquity? And as they have done with these, the like parts they have and do practise still against all other, whosoever in defence of Truth dare touch never so little either the Popes Crown, or the Bellies of his Clergy; for these two sores in no case they can abide to be touched. And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Heresie, Heresie, Blasphemy, Error, and Schism. Although the Doctrine be never so found and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the Writer be not such in all points (especially in these two above touched) as will fing after their tune, and dance after their Pipe, he is by and by an Heretick, by virtue of their Inquisition. So did they with the Articles of the learned Earl *Joannes Picus Mirandula.* So did they also with *J. Reculine* or *Capnion.* So did they also with good *John Colet* here in *England.* Also with the spirit of lying and cavilling the Catholick Faculties of *Lovain*, *Spain*, and *Paris*, condemned the Works and Writings of *Erasmus*, and many more. So full they are of Censures, Articles, Suspicions, Offences, Inquisitions. So captious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, so practised in depraving, misconstruing, and wresting true meanings unto wrong purposes; briefly, so pregnant they be in finding Heresies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serve their Devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for an Heretick. Yea, and though no just cause of any Heresie be ministred, yet where they once take disliking, they will not stick sometimes with false Accusations to press him with matter which he never spake nor thought. If *Luther* had not stirred against the Popes Pardons and Authority; he had remained still a white Son of the Mother Catholick Church, and all had been well done whatsoever he did. But because he adventured to touch once the triple Crown, what Floods of Heresies, Blasphemies, and Articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole World? what lies and forged crimes were invented against him?

Truth maliciously slandered and depraved of the Papists.

The Popes Crown and the Monks Bellies, two perilous things to be touched.

The Popes Church upholden with lying and cavilling.

Impudent lies upon *M. Luther.*

Here now cometh *Staphylus* and furious *Surius*, with their Fraternity, and say, That he learned his Divinity of the Devil. Then followeth another certain Chronographer, who in his flying Story reporteth most falsly, That *Luther* died of drunkenness. With like malice the said Chronographer writeth also of Mr. *Tyer*, falsly affirming upon his Information, That he should deny at his death Christ our Messias to be come: When not only Dr. *Redman*, which preached at his Burial, but also all English men, which knew the name of *Bucer*, did know it to be contrary.

M. Bucer most shamefully slandered.

So was it laid against one *Singleton*, Chaplain some time to Queen *Anne Bullen*, that he was the murtherer of *Packington*, and afterward, that he was a stirrer up of Sedition and Commotion; who also suffered as a Traytor for the same: Where in very deed the true cause was for nothing else, but for preaching the Gospel unto the People, whose purpose was ever so far from stirring Sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared and professed to the *Richard Lante* his Scholar, who is yet alive, and can testifie the truth hereof. But this is no new practise amongst the Roman Bishops; whereof enough hath been said before in the Story of Sir *John Oldcastle*, and Sir *Roger Acton*, &c.

Singleton maliciously slandered and condemned of sedition.

Another like practise of such malicious slander we find also in one *Merial* a Bricklayer, whose Name, with his Abjuration, remaineth yet in the Registers of the Bishop of *London*.

Merial falsly belied and misreported of the Papists.

The Story is this, and not unworthy to be remembred. In the Year of our Lord 1534. which was about the first beginning of Queen *Anne Bullen*, at what time Purgatory and such Trumpery began to grow in contempt; *Stokesley* Bishop of *London* made a Sermon in the *Shrouds* upon the *Sunday* before *May-day*. Where he preaching in the commendation of the virtue of Masses, declared to the People that for a little cost, if they procured Masses to be said, Wives might deliver their Husbands, and Husbands their Wives out of the bitter pains of Purgatory. At his Sermon, besides many other, was *Thomas Merial*, a zealous favourer of Gods Word; who, being in the Watch on *May*-Even, made a relation of these words of the Bishop unto the Company about him, amongst whom then was one *John Twyford*, a furious Papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the Stakes in *Smithfield*, whereat the good Saints of God were burned.

Bp. *Stokesley* Sermons in the *Shrouds*.

Twyford the common Tormentor of the Martyrs that burnished in *Smithfield*.

This *Twiford*, which then kept a Tavern, and had an old grudge against the said *Merial* for striking his Boy, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain Persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these; *Blackwell*, *Lawrence Wilson*, *Thomas Clark*, *John Duffield*, *William Kenningham*, *Thomas Hoster*, *Worme* a Cutler, *Allen Rise*, with another that was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly Mr. *Chambers* Clerk, whose name was *Bright*. And when he had craftily overcome them with Wine, and made them to report what words he lifted, and which they knew not themselves, the Clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this Article was gathered against

False accusation.

Meriall, that he should hold and affirm, *That the Passion of Christ doth not help them which came after him, but only them which were in* Limbo *before*. And also that he should say, *That his Wife was as good as our Lady.* Upon this Writing of the Notary, he was immediately brought to Bishop *Stokesley*, and there by the deposition of these ten false Witnesses wrongfully accused, and also for the same should have been condemned, had not Dr. *Barret* the same time bid him speak one word (which he knew not) as the Sentence was in reading, whereby the Condemnation was stayed, and he put to do open Penance, and to bear a Fagot. Notwithstanding the said *Meriall* sware before the Bishop that he never spake nor meant any such words as there was said unto him, but only recited the words of the Bishops Sermon, reporting the same in the Person of the Bishop, and not his own. Which also was testified to be true by the Oaths of three other, to wit, *William Tompson, Gregory Newman*, and *William Wit*, who being in the foresaid Watch the same time, did take upon their Oath before the Bishop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. Which three Witnesses at the second Edition hereof were also living, with the Wife of the foresaid *Meriall*, who would then also be sworn that the same was true: Whereas contrary, the other ten persons be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom moreover, the most of all the said ten came to a miserable end; whereas the other three which testified the truth with *Meriall*, being living at the second Edition hereof, did see the end of all the other. And as for *Twyford*, which was the Executioner of *Erith, Bayfield, Baineham, Teukesbury, Lambert*, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, that none could abide him, and so came to a wretched end. *Ex testim. uxoris, Meriall, W. Tomson, Gregorij Newman, W. Wit, &c.*

Meriall wrongfully accused and put to Penance.

Gods just punishment upon a cruel Persecutor.

Of this malicious and perverse dealing of these men contrary to all truth and honesty, in defaming them for Hereticks which indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to slander their Cause, which is nothing else but the simple truth of Christs Gospel, who listeth to search further (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice) let him read the Story of *Merindoll* and *Angrongne*. Let him consider the furious Bull of Pope *Martin*; the like flanderous Bull also of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, with the Edict of *Charles* the Emperour against *Luther*. Also let him survey the railing Stories of *Surius* the Monk of *Colen*, the Book of *Ofius*, of *Lindan*, the Chronology of *Genebrardus*, the Story of *Cochleus* against the *Hussits* and the *Lutherans*, with the Preface of *Conradus Brunus* the Lawyer prefixed before the same, wherein he most faslly and untruly railing against these Protestants, whom he calleth Hereticks, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and Men, Churchrobbers, cruel, false liers, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promisse-breakers, disturbers of publick peace and tranquillity, corrupters and subverters of Commonweals, and all else that naughti is.

Pope Leo the Tenth. The Edict of *Caesar*. Surius Carth. Hosius Lindan, Genebrardus, Cochleus, Brunus against the Lutherans. Ex epist. Conrad. Brunsqui praefatur in hist. Cochlei.

In much like sort was *Socrates* accused of his Countrey-men for a corrupter of the youth, whom *Plato* notwithstanding defendeth. *Aristides* the just lacked not his unjust Accusers. Was it not objected unto S. *Paul*, That he was a subverter of the Law of *Moses*, and that we might do evil that good might come thereof? How was it laid to the Christian Martyrs in the Primitive Church for worshipping of an Asses Head, and for sacrificing of Infants. And to come more near to these our latter days, you heard likewise how falsly the Christian Congregation of the Frenchmen gathered together in the night at *Paris*, to celebrate the holy Communion, were accused of filthy commixtion of men and women together, and the King the same time, *Henry* the Second, was made to believe that Beds with Pillows and Mats were found there in the floor where they lay together; whereupon the same time divers were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what Innocency is so pure, or Truth so perfect, which can be void of these flanders and criminations, when also our Saviour Christ himself was noted for a Wine drinker, and a common haunter of the Publicans, *&c.*

Examples of false accusations. Acts 21. Rom. 3.

Read before.

Even so likewise it pleaseth our Lord and Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his Church under the like kind of Adversaries now reigning in the Church, who under the name of the Church will needs maintain a portly State and Kingdom in this World; and because they cannot uphold their Cause by plain Scripture and the Word of God, they bear it out with facing, railing, and flandering, making Princes and the simple People believe, that all be Hereticks, Schismaticks, Blasphemers, Rebels, and Subverters of all Authority and Commonweals, whosoever dare reply with any Scripture against their doings.

No truth free from false Detraction.

It is written of *Nero*, that when he himself had burnt the City of *Rome* six days and seven nights, he made open Proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the City on fire, to stir the People against them, whereby he might burn and destroy them as Rebels and Traitors.

Suetonius in Neron.

Not much unlike seemeth the dealing of these religious Catholicks, who when they be the true Hereticks themselves, and have burnt and destroyed the Church of Christ, make out their Exclamations, Bulls, Briefs, Articles, Books, Censures, Letters, and Edicts against the poor *Lutherans*, to make the People believe, that they be the Hereticks, Schismaticks, Disturbers of the whole World. Who if they could prove them as they reprove them to be Hereticks, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them Hereticks, and can prove no Herefie; they accuse them of Error, and can prove no Error; they call them Schismaticks, and what Church since the World stood, hath been the Mother of so many Schisms as the Mother-Church of *Rome*? they charge them with dissention and rebellion; and what dissention can be greater than to dissent from the Scripture and Word of God? Or what rebellion is like, as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of Peace and Publick Authority; which is as true, as that the Christians set the City of *Rome* on fire. What Doctrine did ever attribute so much to Publick Authority of Magistrates, as do the Protestants? or who ever attributed less to Magistrates, or deposed more Dukes, Kings, and Emperours, than the Papists? They that say that the Bishop of *Rome* is no more but the Bishop of *Rome*, and ought to wear no Crown, is not by and by a rebel against his King and Magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their Authority; which indeed the Bishop of *Rome* cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see whether be the greater Hereticks, the Protestants or the Papists? Let us try it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory only of the Son of God, which cannot fail. Now judge, I befeech thee, whosoever knoweth the Doctrine of them both, whether of these two do ascribe more or less to the Majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the Protestants which admit noneother Head of the Church, nor Justifier of our Souls, nor forgiver of our Sins, nor Advocate to his Father, but him alone, or else the Papists which can abide none of these, but condemn the same for Herefie. Which being so (as they themselves will not deny) now judge, good Reader, who hath set the City of *Rome* on fire, *Nero*, or else the Christians.

Papists accuse their Protestants of Heresie, and they be the Hereticks themselves.

A measure between the Protestants and the Papists, to try whether of them two are the greater Hereticks. Comparison between the Doctrine of the Papists and of the Protestants.

But to return again to the purpose of our former matter, which was to shew forth the Proclamation of the Bishops, for the abolishing of English Books above rehearsed, as being corrupt and full of Herefie, which notwithstanding we have declared to contain no Herefie, but found and wholsome Doctrine, according to the perfect Word and Scripture of God.

Here now when the Prelats of the Popes side had procured this Edict and Proclamation aforesaid, for the condemnation of all such English Books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand against the Gospel for ever to rise again, and that they had established their Kingdom for ever, as indeed to all mens thinking it might seem no less. For who would have thought, after so streight, so precise, and so solemn a Proclamation, set forth and armed with the Kings terrible Authority; also after the cruel execution of *Anne Askew*, *Lascels*, and the rest: *Item*, After the busie searching thereover, and names taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up, divers in present peril, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought (I say) otherwise possible, but that the Gospel must needs have an overthrow? seeing what sure work the Papists here had made, in setting up their side, and throwing down the contrary.

Read before.

Much superfluous holy-day abrogated by K. Henry.

Gods mercifull help in time of need.

Gods power worketh commonly against mans presumption.

But it is no new thing with the Lord, to shew his power against mans presumption, who when he counteth himself most sure, then is he furthest off, and when he supposeth to have done all, then is he new to begin again. So was it in the Primitive Church before *Constantius* time, that when *Nero, Domitianus, Maventius, Decius*, and other Emperours impugning the Gospel and profession of Christ, did not only constitute Laws and Proclamations against the Christians, but also did ingrave the same Laws in Tables of Brass, minding to make all things firm for ever and a day; yet we see, how with a little turning of Gods hand, all their puissant devises, and brasen Laws turned all to wind and dust. So little doth it avail for man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings. How soever mans building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick, and mouldring stones; yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time waste, nor man pluck down. What God setteth up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intendeth, standeth; what he blesseth that prevaileth. And yet mans unquiet presumption will not cease still to erect up Towers of *Babel* against the Lord, which the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruine. For what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing as in example of all ages is to be seen; so in this late Proclamation devised by the Bishops, is in like manner exemplified.

Towers of Babel against the Lord.

Mans device against the Lord overthrown.

The which Proclamation, though it was fore and terrible for the time, yet not long after, by reason of the Kings death (whom the Lord shortly thereupon took to his mercy) it made at length but a Castle come down. So that where the Prelates thought to make their Jubile, it turned them to the *Threnes* of *Jeremy*. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of Hosts, whose Name be sanctified for ever.

The praise of K. Henry 8.

This do I not infer for any other purpose, but only for the works of the Lord to be seen; premonishing thee (good Reader) withal, that astouching the King (who in this Proclamation had nothing but the Name only) here is nothing spoken but to his laud and praise. Who, of his own nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in all things vertuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redress of Religion hath not lightly been seen in any other Prince Christened. As in abolishing the stout and almost invincible Authority of the Pope, in suppressing Monasteries, in repressing custom of Idolatry and Pilgrimage, &c. Which enterprises as never King of *England* did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him; so yet to this day we see but few in other Realms dare follow the same.

If Princes have always their Councel about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil Counsel ministred, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of Princes themselves. So long as Queen *Anne, Thomas Cromwel*, Bishop *Cranmer*, Master Doctor *Buts*, with such like were about him, and could prevail with him, what Organ of Christs Glory did more good in the Church than he? as is apparent by such Monuments, Instruments, and Acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the Church, in exploding the Pope with his vile Pardons, in removing divers Superstitious Ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate Orders, of Friers and Sects, in putting Chantery Priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in *Lent*, in destroying pilgrimage-worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holy days, both by Act publick, and also by private Letters sent to *Boner* tending to this effect.

By the King.

The Kings Letter to Boner.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue to our Subjects by the great superfluity of Holy-days, we have by the assents and consents of all you the Bishops and other notable personages of the Clergy of this our Realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither Canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a Commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as we rehearsed, and to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receit hereof, to address your commandments in our Name to all the Curates, Religious Houses, and Colledges within your Diocess, with a copy of the Act made for the Abrogation of the holy days aforesaid a transumpt whereof ye shall receive herewith, commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the Church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, wherby the people might take occasion either to murmure, or to contemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our Authority in Convocation. And forasmuch as the time of harvest now approacheth, our pleasure is ye shall with such diligence and dexterity put this matter in execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our Subjects at this time accordingly without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

Abrogation of holy days.

Given under our Signet, at our Monastery of Chertseley, *the eleventh day of* August.

Thus while good Counsel was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So again when sinister and wicked Counsel under subtil and crafty pretences had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth and verity out of the Princes ears, how much Religion and all good things went prosperously forward before, so much on the contrary side all revolted backward again. Whereupon proceeded this Proclamation above mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English Books.

K. Henry according as his Counsel was about him, so was he led.

Which Proclamation bearing the Name of the Kings Majesty, but being the very deed of the Popish Bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the Church among the Godly fort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, had not the shortness of the Kings days stopped the malignant purposes of the foresaid Prelates, causing the King to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For within four Months after, the Proclamation coming out in *August*, he deceased in the beginning of *January*, in the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, *Anno* 1547. leaving behind him three Children, who succeeded him in his Kingdom, King *Edward*, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; of whom it remaineth now to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the process of this history, according as the order of their succession, and Acts done by them in the Church shall require: after that first I shall have prosecuted certain other matters by the way, according to my promise here to be inserted.

The death of K. Henry Anno 1547.

The History touching the persecution in Scotland, *with the Names and causes of such blessed Martyrs, which in the same Countrey suffered for the Truth, after the time of* Patrick Hamelton.

THus having finished the time and Race of King *Henry* the eighth, it remaineth now, according to my promise made before, here to place and adjoyn so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of *Scotland*, and of the blessed Martyrs of Christ which in that Countrey likewise suffered for the true Religion of Christ, and testimony of their Faith.

To

Read more Sir John Borthwike Knight, cited and condemned of Heresie, being absent and his picture burned in *Scotland*. Anno 1540.

To proceed therefore in the History of these *Scotland* matters, next after the mention of *David Stratton* and Master *Nicolas Gurlay*, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to infer the memory of Sir *John Borthwike*, Knight, commonly called Captain *Borthwike*. Who being accused of Heresie, as the Papists call it, and cited therefore, *Anno* 1540. and not appearing, and escaping out into other Countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of *David Beaton*, Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, and other Prelates of *Scotland*, and all his goods confiscate, and his Picture at last burned in the open market place. Whose story, with his Articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here ensueth in Proces under expressed, as followeth.

The Act or Proces or certain Articles against Sir John Borthwike, *Knight, in* Scotland, *with the answer and confutation of the said* Borthwike; *whose Preface to the Reader here followeth.*

Captain Borthwike.

BY the help of a certain friend of mine there came certain Articles unto my hand, for the which the Scotish Cardinal, and such other like of his Sect and Affinity did condemn me as an Heretick. And forsomuch as this condemnation should not lack his Cloake or defence, they gathered together a great number, of witnesses, where as besides the bare Names of the witnesses they alledged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling those Articles which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspition, as though that I being vanquished or overthrown by their threatnings would deny Christ; and partly that their errors being thereby made manifest, they would even for very shame repent, or else hereafter the less abuse the furor or madness of such witnesses to shed Blood. Therefore I will first confirm by evident testimonies of the Scriptures those things which in times past I have taught, and afterward I will refell their vain sophistication, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God.

SIr *John Borthwike* Knight, commonly called Captain *Borthwike*, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convict by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation than he himself, in the year of our Lord, 1540. the eight and twentieth day of *May*, in the Cloister of S. *Andrews* in the presence of the most reverend Fathers, *Gawine* Archbishop of *Glasquine*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, *William* Bishop of *Aburdin*, *Henry* of *Candicatia*, *John* Bishop of *Brecknock*, and *William* of *Dunbar* Bishop, *Andrew* of *Melrowes*, *George* of *Dunerceling*, *John* of *Paslet*, *John* of *Londrose*, *Robert* of *Rillos* and *William* of *Rulrose* Abbots, *Mancolalyne* of *Quiterne* and *John* of *Petinuaim Priors*, Master *Alexander Kalfour* Vicar of *Kitman*, Rector of Law, official of Saint *Andrews*, *John Winton* Subprior, *John Anand* and *Thomas Eminghame*, Canons of Saint *Andrews*, and Master *John Major* and *Peter Capel* and Batchelours of Divinity and Doctors, *Martin Ballfour* Bachelour of Divinity, and of his fellow Priour of the Friers *Augustines* of the same City, *John Tulidaffe*, Warden of the Friers Minors, and *John Patterson* of the same Covent; and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty and honourable Lords, *George* of *Huntelo*, *James* of *Arrain*, *William Marshall*, *William* of *Montros*, Earles, *Malcolm* Lord of *Flemming*, Chamberlain of *Scotland*, *John Lord* of *Lusley*, *John Lord* of *Erskine*, *George Lord* of *Seton*, *James Hamelton* of *Finwart*, *Walter* Lord of *Saint-John*, Master *James* of *Colinton* Clerk to the Kings Register, with divers other Lords, Barons, and honest persons, being called and desired together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish and openly teach these errors following.

The first Article.

That our holy Father the Pope, as Christ's Vicar hath not, neither can exercise greater Authority over Christians here on Earth, than any other Bishop or Prelate.

Borthwike.

These holy ones do magnifie their Lord by like title as common Thieves and Robbers are accustomed to prefer the Captains and Ringleaders of their Robberies and Mischiefs, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that in the whole World there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth seek after all kind of delicateness and wantonness, and finally abounded with all kind of vice, as Treason, Murther, Rapine, and all kind of such evils. Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the Vicar of Christ here in Earth, it shall be easily convinced, when as it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath nor can exercise more Power or Authority over Christians than any other Bishop or Prelate. For unto that Office of being Vicar they refer that great Authority the which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the Office of Vicar doth also fall and decay. But now to attempt the matter, I will first demand of the maintainers of thir preheminency and Authority, whereupon they will ground the same? I know that they will answer unto me that *Peter* had power and Authority over the other Apostles, and consequently over the Universal Church, the which power by succession is transfated unto the Bishops of *Rome*. But how unshamefastly do they lye herein, any may easily perceive which hath but any small spark of Judgment in him, when as he shall hear the Testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will allege to confirm this our opinion. For *Peter*, in the fifteenth of the *Acts*, in the Councel doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessity we ought to do. And he there did also hear other speak, and did not only give them place to say their minds, but also permit and receive their judgment; and whereas they decreed, he followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to have power over others? Furthermore, whereas in his first Epistle he writeth unto Bishops and Pastors, he doth not command them as a Superiour or head over them, by Power and Authority, but maketh them his fellow companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accustomed to be done between equals of degree; for these are his words: I beseech and desire the Bishops and Pastors which are amongst you, for so muchas I my self am also a Bishop, and a witness of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, that they diligently feed the Flock of Christ, which is committed unto them. Why then do they so challenge unto them the authority of *Peter*, which he never acknowledged in himself? Truly I do not doubt, but if that *Peter* were here present, he would with like severity rebuke their folly and madness, as *Moses* in times past did unto *Josua*, which burned with too earnest a zeal towards him. I doubt not but that many in this fained Authority of *Peter* do seek out more vain helps to maintain and uphold the Tyranny of Popes, rather than to make him ruler and governor over all other. For whereas in the eight Chapter of the *Acts* he is commanded by his fellows to go with *John* into *Samaria*, he did not refuse so to do. Insomuch then as the Apostles do send him, they declare thereby, that they do not count him as their Head and Superiour, and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the Office or Ministry committed unto him, he confesseth thereby that he hath a society and fellowship with them, but no rule or impery over them, as he writeth in his Epistle. But if none of these examples were evident or manifest, the only Epistle to the *Galatians* were sufficient to put us out of all doubt: where Saint *Paul*, almost throughout two whole Chapters, doth nothing else but declare and affirm himself to be equal unto *Peter*, in the honour or dignity of the Apostleship. For first of all he rehearseth how he went up to *Jerusalem* unto *Peter*, not to the intent to profess any homage and subjection unto him, but only to witness with a common consent and agreement unto all men the Doctrine which they taught; and that *Peter* did require no such thing at his hand, but gave unto him the right side or upper hand of the fellowship, that they might joyntly together labor in the Vineyard of the Lord; Moreover, that he had no less favour and Grace among the Gentiles, than *Peter* had amongst the Jews; and finally, when as *Peter* did not faithfully execute his Office and Ministry, he was by him rebuked, and *Peter* became obedient to his correction. All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality between *Paul* and *Peter*, and also that *Peter* had no more power over the residue of the Apostles, than he had over *Paul*. The which thing S. *Paul* even of purpose doth interest of, lest that any man should prefer *Peter* or *John* before him in the Office of Apostleship, which were but his Companions, and not Lords over one another: whereupon these places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge *Peter* to be Superior or Head over other Apostles, neither the Pope over other Bishops. But I acknowledge and confess Christ to be the only Head of the Church, the Foundation and high Priest thereof, the which with one Oblation hath made perfect for evermore all those which are sanctified. And I boldly do affirm and say with Saint *Gregory*, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called the Head or Universal Priest or Bishop, in that his pride he is the forerider or predecessor of Antichrist; forsomuch as through his pride he doth exalt himself above all others. Furthermore, whereas they alledge out of the old Law, the high Priesthood and the Supream Judgment, which God did institute and ordain at *Jerusalem*; I answer thereunto, that Christ was that high Bishop, unto whom the right and title of Priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will take upon him to succeed in the place or degree of his Honour; forsomuch as this Priesthood doth not consist only in learning, but in the propitiation and mercy of God, which Christ hath fulfilled by his Death, and in the Intercession, by the which he doth now intreat for us unto his Father.

Paul equal with Peter.

Christ the only head of the Church.

Universal Bishop spoken against by Gregory.

The high Priesthood is the old Law, doth not prove Peter or the Popes Supremacy.

The place of Matth. Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock &c. Matth. 16. expounded Cyprian.

Whereas also they do alledge out of the 16. Chapter of *Matthew*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock, &c.* If they do think that this was particularly spoken unto *Peter*; Saint *Cyprian*, and Saint *Augustine* shall sufficiently answer them, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the Unity of the Church, for so saith S. *Cyprian*, In the person of one man God gave unto them all the Keyes, that he might thereby signifie the Unity of them all. For even as *Peter* was, even the very same were all the residue, being indued with like fellowship of honor and dignity. But it was convenient that it should take his original of one, that the Church of God might be manifested to be one only. Saint *Augustines* words are these, If the mystery of the Church were not in *Peter*, the Lord would not have said unto him, *I will give unto thee the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*. If this were spoken unto *Peter*, the Church hath them not. If the Church have them, then *Peter* when he received the Keyes, did figurate the whole Church. Again, when as they were all demanded and asked, only *Peter* answered, *Thou art Christ*. Then was it said unto him, *I will give unto thee the Keyes*, as though that he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; for like as he alone spake that for them all, so he, as it were, bearing the person of that Unity, received the same with them all. Therefore for them all, because he is united unto them all; Another one Argument they do gather upon the words which Christ spake unto *Peter*, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*. The which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the Apostles. The which Argument thall easily be dissolved, if we did understand and know why Christ did give *Peter* that Name, which otherwise was called *Simon*. In the first Chapter of Saint *John*, Christ speaketh thus unto him, *Thou shalt be called Cephas*. The which by interpretation signifieth *Peter*, in that point having respect unto the constant confession of Christ, which he had made, like as God changed the Name of *Abraham*, who at first was called *Abram*, because he should be a Father of many Nations: then even as *Abraham* took his Name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likewise *Peter* took his Name of the constant confession of Christ, which indeed is the true Rock whereupon the Church is builded, and not *Peter* himself; no otherwise than *Abraham*, which was not the

Augustine.

Peter hath society with the Apostles, but no rule over the Apostles.

multitude it self, whereof he took his Name. Besides this, the Church should be stayed, or builded upon over weak a foundation, if it should have *Peter* for the ground or Foundation thereof, who being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did so instantly deny Christ. Now therefore I think there is no man but he doth understand how these Romish builders do wrest the Scriptures hither and thither, and like unto the rule or square, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and use they themselves think good. Furthermore in that they do alledge out of the twentieth Chapter of *John*, *Feed my Sheep*, it is an overchildish Argument; for to Feed is not to bear rule and Dominion over the whole Church. Besides all this, as *Peter* had received Commandment of the Lord, so doth he exhort all other Bishops to feed their Flock in his first Epistle and fifth Chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these words of Christ, that either there was no Authority given unto *Peter* more than unto others, or else that *Peter* did equally communicate that Right and Authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reserve it unto himself after his death, to be transported unto the Bishops of *Rome*. As for such Reasons as they do alledge which are not gathered and taken out of holy Scriptures, I pass them over, lest I might seem to contend with shadows.

Another objection Papistical solved.

The second Article.

That Indulgences and Pardons, granted by our Supream Head the Pope, are of no force, strength, or effect, but tend only to the abuse of the people and the deceiving of their Souls.

Borthwike.

It shall be evidently declared, that Indulgences and Pardons are of none effect, after that I have first of all taught what they do call Indulgences or Pardons. They say, they are the Treasure of the Church, that is to say, the merits of Christ, of the Saints, Apostles and Martyrs, which they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more at Gods hand, at the time of their death, than was necessary or needful for the m; and that of the abundance of their merits there did so much superabound, which was not only sufficient for themselves, but also might redound to the help of others: And because so great a goodness should not be superfluous or in vain, they affirm and teach that their Blood was mixed and joyned with the Blood of Christ; and of them both the Treasure of the Church was compound and made for the remission and satisfaction of Sins. How cunning and notable Cooks these are, which can make a confection of so many sundry herbs. Furthermore, they do fain the custody and keeping of this Treasure to be committed wholly to the Bishop of *Rome*, in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great Treasures, that either by himself he may give or grant, or otherwise give power unto other to give the same. And hereupon rise the plenary Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope for certain years, by Cardinals for an hundred days, by Bishops for forty days. This is the judgment and opinion which they hold of the Indulgences. But I pray you, who taught those Saints to work or deserve for other, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of Salvation? For if the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himself can deserve or work their Salvation, how did the Saints then work or merit for others? It is manifest that Christ faith in the seventeenth of *Luke*, *When ye have done all that which is commanded you to do, yet*, faith he, *ye are unprofitable servants*. Besides this, all that which may be deserved or merited in the righteousness of man, in the threefcore and fourth Chapter of *Esay*, is compared unto the Garment menstruous and defiled, to be cast out.

Indulgences to be of no effect.

The treasure of the Church as Papists holders take it.

Lord Treasurer of the Church, Papists hold to be the Pope.

No man of himself can work his own Salvation.

There are almost infinite places in the Scripture, wherein mans power is so extenuate, and the corruption and frowardness of our nature so made manifest, that even in the best and most perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the ten Virgins,

The Parable of the ten Virgins expounded.

Virgins, written in the five and twentieth Chapter of *Matthew*, ought to put us out of all controversie and doubt: There Christ describeth two kinds of men, the one kind of holy men which observe and keep the inward righteousnes of the heart, as the oil of faith; the other sort is of such which having no mind of their oil, are answered by them which are wise, *No, lest that there be not sufficient for you and for us, but go you rather to them which do sell, and buy for your selves:* In the which place it is manifestly declared how vainly the second sort of men do flie to the patronage of the Elect, by whose merits they think to be saved.

Now let us weigh and consider upon what places of Scripture they build or establish their feigned invention of Pardons; they alledge the saying of S. *Paul* to the *Colossians*, *I supply or fulfill the afflictions of Christ, which were wanting in my flesh, for his Body which is the Church.* But *Paul* in this place doth not refer that defect or supplement to any work of Redemption, Expiation, or Satisfaction, but to those Afflictions, by the which the Members of Christ, that is to say, all faithful should be afflicted, so long as they live in the flesh; wherefore he saith, that this doth yet remain of the Passions of Christ, that those Afflictions which once he suffered in his own Body, he now daily suffereth in his Members. For Christ hath vouchsafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute and call our Afflictions to be his. And whereas S. *Paul* doth add this word for the Church, he doth not understand thereby for their Redemption, Reconciliation, Satisfaction, or Expiation of the Church, but for the edifying and the profiting of the same, as in the second Epistle to *Timothy*, he saith, *That for the Elects sake he suffered all these things that they might obtain salvation.* But to the intent no man should think that Salvation to depend upon those things which he himself had suffered, he added further, *The which is in Christ Jesus.* As touching the reason that the Blood of the Martyrs is not shed in vain without fruit or profit, and therefore ought to be conferred to the common utility and profit of the Church; I answer that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant to glorifie God by their death, to subscribe and bear witness unto the truth by their blood, and by the contempt of this present life to witness, that he doth seek after a better life by his constancy and stedfastness, to confirm and establish the faith of the Church, and subdue and vanquish the Enemy.

Another Objection dissolved.

The blood of Martyrs, wherein it profiteth.

The third Article.

That the Pope is an open user of Simony, daily selling the gifts of the Spiritualties, and that it is lawful for all Bishops to be coupled and joyned in Matrimony.

Borthwike.

This Article hath his several parts, for those things which we have spoken or answered unto the Article before-written, do sufficiently declare, that the Pope is not only a user of Simony, but also a notable Deceiver, which selleth such kind of Merchandize as can in no place help or prevail; forsomuch as his Pardons are nothing less then such as he feigneth them to be. Doth he not then shew himself a manifest Deceiver, when as he maketh Fairs and Markets of them? But to the intent I will not seem in this behalf vainly to labour or travel, I will pass unto the second part, whereas I do say, that it is not only done against the Word of God, but also against Equity and Justice, to forbid Priests to marry, forsomuch as it is not lawful for any man by any means to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For S. *Paul*, in the Thirteenth Chapter unto the *Hebrews*, declareth that Matrimony is lawful for all men, saying, That *Marriage and the undefiled Bed*, or Chamber, *is honorable amongst all men.* And in the first to the *Corinthians* and seventh Chapter, he saith, *For avoiding of whoredom, let every man have a wife of his own.* But I know what these obstinate and stiff-necked will answer unto me, That the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of Priests. But what will they answer unto me, as touching that which is written in the first to *Timothy*, and third Chapter, *A Bishop ought to be without rebuke, the Husband of one Wife:* and by and by after he saith, *Deacons ought to be the Husbands of one Wife, the which should rule and govern their Children and Family uprightly?* Unto these *Paul* affirmeth Matrimony to be meet and necessary, let them say what they can to the contrary. What could be more vehemently spoken against their wicked tyranny, than that which by the Holy Ghost he declareth in the fourth Chapter of the same Epistle, *That in the latter days there should come wicked men which should forbid Matrimony*, and calleth them not only *deceivers*, but also *wicked Spirits*, attending unto the Doctrine of wicked spirits; but these men think that they have very well escaped, when as they wrest this Sentence to those old ancient Hereticks the *Tatianes*; *They* (say these men) *did condemn Matrimony, we do not condemn it, but only forbid Church-men to marry, unto whom we think Matrimony is not convenient.* As though that albeit this Prophecy were first of all compleat and fulfilled in the *Tatianes*, that it did not also redound unto them; or as though this their fubtil sophistication were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibit Matrimony, because they do not forbid it unto all men generally. Like as if a Tyrant would contend and affirm his Law to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof only one part of the City is oppressed. But now let us hear the Reasons of the contrary part: *It behoveth*, say they, *a Priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable mark or token.* But read S. *Paul*, whereas he describeth the perfect Image of a good Bishop, did he not reckon and account Marriage amongst the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how these men interpret *Paul*. Verily that a Bishop ought not to be chosen, which hath married his second Wife. But also it appeareth openly by the Text, that this Interpretation is false, forsomuch as he doth by and by declare and shew what manner of women the Wives of Bishops and Deacons ought for to be. Wherefore S. *Paul* numbreth Matrimony amongst the principal vertues pertaining unto a Bishop. And these men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongst the Orders of the Church, and not being content with that general reproach or slander, they call it in the Canons, *the uncleanliness, polluting, and defiling of the flesh.* Now let every man consider with himself out of what Shop this stuff is taken. God instituted Matrimony, Christ sanctified it with his presence, by turning water into wine, and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would have it the Image or Figure of his love and friendship with the Church: What can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and praise of Wedlock? But these unshamefast faces do call it *a filthy and unclean thing*, alledging the Levitical Priests, which, as often as they came unto the Office of Ministration, were bound to lye apart from their Wives, whereby they being clean and undefiled, might handle the holy things: and our Sacraments, forsomuch as they are much more noble and excellent than theirs, and daily used, it would be a very uncomly thing that they should be handled by married men. As though that the Office of the Ministry of the Gospel were all one with the Levitical Priesthood. For they, as Figures, did represent Christ, which being Mediator between God and Man, by his singular and absolute purity and cleanness should reconcile the Father unto us, forsomuch as on no part sinners could exhibit or shew forth any type or form of his Sanctity or Holiness: yet to the intent they might shadow him out with certain similitudes or lineaments they were commanded that whensoever they should come unto the Sanctuary or holy Place, they should purifie themselves above all mens order or fashion: for then did they most near and properly figurate Christ which appeared in the Tabernacle, as Peace-maker to reconcile the people unto God. This Image or Personage, forsomuch as our Ecclesiastical Pastors at this day do not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the Apostle, without all exception, upon a sure and good ground doth pronounce and say, *That marriage is honourable amongst all men, and that Whoremongers and Adulterers do abide the judgment of God.* Besides all this, the Apostles themselves by their examples do prove that Matrimony is worthy of any Office or Function, be it never so

Priests marriage lawful.

A Popish Objection against Priests marriage, testified. Levitical Priests in the time of their ministration abstains from their Wives. Ergo, Christian Priests must have no Wives. I do deny the Argument.

so excellent, for S. *Paul* himself it witneth, that they did not only keep their Wives, but also carried them about with them.

The fourth Article.

4. Article. *That all those Heresies commonly called the Heresies of* England, *or at the least, the greater or most part of them are to be now presently understood and known by the Englishmen to be of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all Faithful Christians as most true and conformable unto the Law of God, and that he had perswaded many persons to embrace the said Heresies.*

Borthwike.

Saint *John* in his eleventh Chapter, declareth how *Caiaphas* high Bishop of *Jerusalem* did prophesie that Jesus should dye for the people, which thing he spake being utterly ignorant. The like Image of blindness we have now presently in our luxurious Cardinal of Saint *Andrews*, and his Adherents, which accused Religion of Heresie, which in the year of our Lord, 1540. was had in estimation in *England*, at the which time they proclaimed me an Archheretick, although they esteem the same Religion for most Christian; for what Religion at the time was used in *England*, the like the whole Realm of *Scotland* did embrace: in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the Yoke of Antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both Nations, the prophaning of the Supper and Baptism was like unto them both, wicked Superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable Hypocrisie.

The state of Religion in England. an. 1540.

Truly it is most false that they do affirm and say, that I had subscribed unto such kind of Heresies, as though they had been conformable unto the Law of God, when as nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God of his goodness and mercy had opened my dazling eyes, and had thrown me out of the filthy slow of Idolatry and Superstition, in the which amongst others I have so long time wallowed and trembled. Neither is it any less absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same, except peradventure they do understand that I have oftentimes wished that the Yoke of Antichrist would be shaken and cast off from the Necks of the Scots, as it is from the English men; which thing with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest mind I do now also wish and desire.

The fifth Article.

5. Article. *That the Scotish Nation and their Clergy be altogether blinded, whom he did also say and affirm that they had not the true Catholick Faith. And this he did openly teach and preached also, that his Faith was muchbetter and more excellent, than the Faith of all the Clergy in the Realm of* Scotland.

Borthwike.

No man will deny that people to be blinded which neither heareth Christ nor his Apostles. Such is the people of *Scotland*, I speak of those unto whom the verity and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested itself. There is no cause therefore why they should accuse me of Heresie. Furthermore, how far off the Nation and the people of *Scotland* be from the hearing of Christ, albeit the premisses do sufficiently declare, in that they do challenge unto the Romish Antichrist the Authority which Christ and his Apostles do declare Christ himself to be endued withal, and that contrary to the word of God they forbid Priests to marry; I will add something more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Christ calleth himself the door whereby all men ought to enter in, the tenth Chapter of *John*. Contrariwise, the *Scots* do say and affirm, that we must enter in by the Virgin *Mary* and Saint *Peter*. Christ in the fourth of *John* saith, The time shall come when as the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and Truth

Antiochus or comparison between the Religion of South men, and the Religion of Christ.

the Scots build themselves high Temples and Chappels for Idols, in the which, even as Israel in times past, they commit fornication. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and tenth Chapter, saith, That Christ by one only Oblation hath made perfect all those for evermore, which are sanctified: which saying confirmeth also the words of Christ hanging upon the Cross, saying, It is finished; signifying that by his death there was a final end set to all Sacrifices, which are offered up for Sins. But the Scotish Churchmen, as they are Blasphemers indeed, so do they brag and boast that they daily offer up Christ for the Sins both of the quick, and of the dead. God commandeth us that we shall not worship any Image; the Scots do not only fall down flat before Images, but also offer up Incense unto them. Saint *Paul* teacheth us that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; the Scots, being wise men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace Traditions feigned and invented out by mans head before the Law of God, they stablish righteousness in their own works, sanctification in holy Water and other external things, redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great Antichrist. Who then will quarrel with me, that I do lye that the people of *Scotland* are blind? and that my Faith, which doth only behold the Word of God, is much more better and excellent than theirs?

The sixth Article.

6. Article. *Agreeable to the ancient Errours of* John Wickliff *and* John Hus *Arch-Hereticks condemned in the Council of* Constance, *he hath affirmed and preached, That the Clergy ought not to possess or have any Temporal possessions, neither to have any Jurisdiction or Authority in Temporalities, even over their own Subjects, but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in* England.

Borthwike.

The Lord in the eighteenth Chapter of the Book of *Numbers* said thus unto *Aaron*, Thou shalt possess nothing in their Land, neither shall thou have any portion amongst them, I am thy Portion and Inheritance amongst the Children of Israel: for unto the Sons of *Levi* I have given all the Tithes of Israel, that they should possess them for their Ministry which they do execute in the Tabernacle of the Congregation. Albeit I do not doubt, but that the Order of the Levites and of the Clergy is far different and variable. For the Administration of their sacred and holy things, after their death, passed unto their Posterity as it were by right of Inheritance; which happeneth not unto the Posterity of our Clergy in these days. Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or rotten for them, I do not gainsay but that they shall possess it. But still I do affirm, That all Temporal Jurisdiction should be taken from them. For when as twice there rose a contention amongst the Disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest, Christ answered; The Kings of Nations have Dominion over them, and such which have power over them are called beneficial: you shall not do so; for he which is greatest amongst you shall be made equal unto the youngest or least, and he which is the Prince or Ruler amongst you shall be made equal unto him that doth minister. Minding thereby, and willing utterly to debar the Ministers of his Word from all reverene and civil Dominion and Empire. For by these points he doth not only declare that the Office of a Pastor is distinct and divided from the Office of a Prince and Ruler, but that they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or joyn together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordain an harder Law then he himself before did take upon him. For somuch as in the twelfth of *Luke* certain of the company said unto him, Master command my Brother that he divide his Inheritance with me. He answered; Man, who made me a Judge or Divider amongst you? We see therefore that Christ even simply did reject and refuse the Office of a Judge, the which thing he would not have done if it had been agreeable unto his Office or Duty. The like thing also he did in the 8th

The Levitical Law is no necessary rule now binding. But he meaneth here of exemptions and possessions of Abbeys, and Religious Houses addict to them, but the Princes may diminish or convert other whensoever upon conscientious deroations. Civil Dominion differing from Ecclesiastical.

Christ refuseth the Office of a civil Judge.

Chapter

Chapter of *Iohn*, when as he refused to give Judgment upon the Woman taken in Adultery, which was brought before him. Whereas they do alledge that *Moses* did supply both Offices at once, I answer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time until things were brought unto a better state. Besides that, there was a certain form and rule prescribed him of the Lord, then took he upon him the Civil governance, and the Priesthood he was commanded to resign unto his Brother; and that not without good cause, for it is against nature, that one man should suffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseen and provided for in all ages. Neither was there any Bishop, so long as any true face or shew of the Church did continue, who once thought to usurp the right and title of the Sword. Whereupon in the time of Saint *Ambrose* this proverb took his Original, That Emperors did rather wish or desire the Office of Priesthood, than Priests any Empire. For it was all mens Opinions at that time, that sumptuous Palaces did pertain unto Emperors, and Churches unto Priests. Saint *Bernard* also writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our Opinion; as is this his saying, *Peter* could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his Successors that which he had, that is, to say, carefulness over the Congregation; for when as the Lord and Master saith, That he is not constitute or ordained Judge between two, the Servant or Disciple ought not to take it scornfully if that he may not judge all men. And left that he might seem in that place to speak of the Spiritual Judgment, he straightway annexeth, Therefore, saith he, your Power and Authority shall be in offence and transgression, not in possessions. For this purpose, and not for the other, have you received the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Why then do you invade other mens bounds or borders? The rest I pass over for brevities sake.

An Objection made by the example of *Moses* supplying both the offices answered unto.

Palaces to Princes, Churches pertain to Priests. *Peter* could not give that he had not, *Peter* had no Lordly Dominion: *Ergo Peter* could not give Lordly Dominion to his successors.

The seventh Article.

The 7. Article. *Falsely, and against the honour, estate, and reverence of the sacred Majesty of the King of Scots, he hath said, holden, and affirmed, that our most noble King of Scots, Defender of the Christian Faith, would appropriate unto himself all the possessions, lands, and rents of the Church, given and granted by his Predecessours, and also by himself, and convert them unto his own private use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath many times written unto him, so hath he with his whole endeavour persuaded our said noble Lord and King thereunto.*

Borthwike.

It is no marvel though these mad Dogs do so bark against me, whom they think to have counselled the Kings Majesty (I would to God I had also thorowly perswaded him) that he should take away from these unjust sacrilegious possessours, the riches wherewith all they are fatted and engreased like Swine. For this is the nature of Dogs, if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatch at him and tare him with their teeth. It is out of all controversie unto such as have ony wit at all, that such were very childish, that is to say, ignorant of all learning and judgment, which did so fat and feed with their possessions these Belly-beasts. For who would not judge it more then childish, to bestow the Kings Victuals or meat upon the bellies of the Prophets of *Baal* and *Jesabel*? But all they which at this present do endue such filthy sinks (I will not call them Dens of Thieves) with such revenues, they do follow the steps of *Jesabel*; for what other thing do they, when as daily they are bleating and bowing before their Images, burning of Incense, and fall flat down before their Altars, but that which is times past the Prophets of *Baal* did when as they transported the worship of God unto an Idol? Wherefore If *Daniel* and *Elias* were spotted with Heresie when they would have destroyed the Priests of *Baal*, I grant that I also must be an Heretick.

A comparison between our Belly-Priests and the Priests of Baal.

But forsomuch as then he did nothing but which was commanded him of the Lord, that was able to kill the Prophet which had allured the people to follow strange Gods, he could not truly and justly be accused of Heresie; so neither can my Adversaries spot me therewithal, except peradventure they will condemn in me that (whereas *Elias* dealt more rigorously with the Prophets of *Baal*, for he cast them into the Brook *Kidron*) I required or desired no more, but that the riches which was wickedly bestowed upon them, and their possessions might be taken from them.

The eighth Article.

He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed that the Church of Scotland *might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruine as the Church of* England *was already come unto.*

The 8. Article.

Borthwike.

If the Church of Israel decayed, when as in the time of *Zorobabel*, *Nehemias*, and other holy men, it was released and set at liberty out of *Babylon*; I grant also, that it was a ruine unto the English men, to have departed and gone away out of *Babylon*, the Mother of all Whoredom; upon whose rotten and filthy paps and breasts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunk with the Wine of her Whoredom and unshamefastness. They had rather cause to give me thanks, who with so sincere and good a heart wished unto them so happy a fall. But these unthankful persons thought it not enough with slander and reproach to tear me asunder, but now also, as blind rage and madness hath taken away all sincerity and uprightness of mind and judgment, they lye in wait, and lay snares for my life.

Spiritual Babylon.

The ninth Article.

He hath openly holden, said, and affirmed, preached, and taught, that the Laws of the Church, that is to say, the sacred Canons, approved and allowed by the holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, are of no force, strength, or effect; alledging therefore and affirming, that they are made and invented contrary to the Law of God.

The 9. Article.

Borthwike.

God forbid that I should say, that those things which are approved by the holy Catholick Church should be of no effect or value. For well I know, that the holy Apostolick Church hath never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which she hath not learned of the Lord: the Apostles are witnesses thereof, *Peter* and *Paul*, whereof the one of them dareth not freely utter or speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by himself for the obedience of the Gentiles.

Apostolick Church.

The other exhorteth, That if any man speak, he should speak the praises of God: but I condemn those Laws which the Bishops of *Rome* had made according to their own will and mind, and say that they are spiritual, pertaining unto the Salvation of the Soul, and necessary unto everlasting life, forsomuch as the writings of the Apostles do evidently declare, that there was no Authority known amongst them to make or ordain any Ordinances or Laws.

The Romish Church.

Furthermore, the Scriptures do manifestly shew the same, how oftentimes, even by the Lords own mouth this foresaid Authority is taken from the Ministers of the Church, so that no excuse for them remaineth, but that they be plain Rebels against the Word of God, how many soever do presume or take upon them to appoint or set any new Laws upon the people of God. Which thing is more manifest and evident than the light it self, in many places of the Scripture. For in the three and twentieth Chapter of *Jeshuah*, it is written; You shall observe and do all that is written in the Law of *Moses*, neither shall you swarve from that, either to the right hand or to the left hand. But that which is written in the twelfth Chapter of *Duteronomy* ought to move them somewhat the more.

Prelates have no such Authority by the Word to bind mens Consciences with new Laws.

What-

Whatsoevr I command, saith the Lord, that shall ye observe and do; thereunto you shall add nothing, neither shall you take any thing from it, The like he had said before in the fourth Chapter of the same Book. And again, *Moses* in the thirteenth Chapter of the same Book doth witness, that he did put forth life and blessing unto *Israel*, when as he gave them that Law which he had received of the Lord. How can they then excuse themselves of Perjury, which ordain new Laws to live by; But let us proceed further, and see what Authority the Priests of *Levi*'s flock had to make Laws. I do not deny, but that God, in the seventeenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, ordained under a great penalty, that the Authority of the Priests should not be contemned, but had in Reverence. But in the second of *Malachy* he also declareth under what condition they are to be heard, where as he saith, He hath made a Covenant with *Levi*, that the Law of truth should be in his mouth; and by and by after he addeth, The lips of the Priest shall keep and maintain wisdom, and the Law they shall require at his mouth, which is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts. Therefore it is fit and necessary, if a Priest will be heard, that he doth shew himself the Messenger of God, that is to say, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For whereas *Malachy* speaketh of hearing of them, he putteth this specially, that they do answer according to the Law of the Lord. Therefore like as the *Levitical* Priests did break their Covenant made with God, if they did teach any other Law than that which they had received of him, so likewise these men must either acknowledge themselves to be Covenant-Breakers, or else they may not bind the Consciences of men with any new Law.

How far the office of Priests extendeth.

Ezek. 33.

Furthermore, what Power the Prophets had universally, it is very lively described in *Ezekiel*, in his 33. Chapter.

Thou Son of Man, saith the Lord, I have made thee a guide unto the House of *Israel*, thou shalt hear the Word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me. He then which his commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearse or speak any thing of himself? For what other thing is it to speak from the Lord, but so to speak that he may boldly affirm and say, that it is not his word, but the Word of the Lord which he speaketh?

Further, God by his Prophet *Jeremy* calleth it chaff, whatsoever doth not proceed from himself. Wherefore none of the Prophets have opened their mouths at any time to speak, but being premonished before the Word of God. Whereupon it hapneth, that these words are so often pronounced by them, The Word of the Lord; the charge or burthen of the Lord; the Vision of the Lord; Thus saith the Lord; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Now that we may also confirm that which is before spoken, by the examples of the Apostles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the Law which Christ prescribed unto them, when as he indued them with the dignity and honour of the Apostleship, is somewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In the last Chapter of *Matthew*, he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not such things as they themselves did rashly invent and devise, but those things which he had commanded them.

Furthermore, *Paul* in the second to the *Corinthians*, denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the Faith of the *Corinthians*, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their Apostle. If you require and desire a further reason of the moderation of Saint *Paul*, read the tenth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, whereas he teacheth, That Faith cometh by hearing, it cometh not by the Dreams of the Bishop of *Rome*, or by any other Bishop, but onely by the Word of God; neither ought any man to think it strange, that neither Christ restrained his Apostles by the Law, that they should not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord. He set the same Law upon himself, because it should not be lawful for any man to refuse it.

My Doctrine saith Christ is not mine, but his which sent me, my Fathers; he which hath been the onely and eternal Counsellour of the Father, which also is ordained by the Father, the Lord and Master over all, for so much as yet he doth the Office and part of a Minister, he doth by his example prescribe unto all Ministers, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching; wherefore the Power of the Church is not such, that it may at her own will and discretion teach new Doctrines, either, as they term it, frame new Articles of Faith, either establish new Laws, but is subject unto the Word of the Lord, and as it were included in the same. But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their Constitutions. The Apostles, say they, and the Elders of the Primitive Church, established a Decree, besides the commandment of Christ, whereby they did command all people to abstain from all things offered unto Idols, Suffocation, and Blood. If that were lawful for them so to do, why is it not lawful for their Successour, as often as necessity shall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

The Church subject to the Word of God. Reasons wherewith they defend their Constitutions. Answer to the reasons above.

But I deny that the Apostles in that behalf did make any new Decree or Ordinance, forsomuch as *Peter* in the same Councel pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the Disciples: Even he himself doth subvert and overthrow his own Sentence if they consent to lay any yoke upon them. But a yoke is laid upon them if the Apostles by their own Authority do decree to prohibit the Gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto Idols or strangled; but you will say, they do write they should abstain from those things. I grant that they do so write: But what doth Saint *James* declare? That the Gentiles which are converted unto God are not to be troubled and vexed in such extern Decrees and outward Elements as these be. And the Apostle sufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing less then to restrain the liberty of the Gentiles but onely to admonish and warn them how they should moderate and rule themselves among their Brethren, lest they should abuse their liberty to the offence of others.

Acts 15.

They alledge furthermore, that which is written in the three and twentieth of *Matthew*, the Scribes and Pharisees have sitten in the Chair of *Moses*, therefore all things whatsoever they command you to observe and keep, the same observe and do, but do you not as they do. I answer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh against the manners of the Pharisees, simply instructing his Hearers which before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or see nothing in their life which they should follow yet for all that they should not refuse to do the things which they did teach by the Word, I say by the Word, and not of their own head.

Matth. 23. Answer reason.

The tenth Article.

Divers and many ways he hath said, holden, and also affirmed, and openly taught that there is no Religion to be observed or kept, but simply to be abolished and destroyed, as it is now in England; *and despising all Religion, affirming that it is but abusing of the People, he hath taught that their habits and vestures are deformed and very monstrous, having in them no manner of utility or holiness, inducing and alluring as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all Religion in the Kingdom of* Scotland *should be subverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the Catholick Church, and the diminishing and detriment of the Christian Religion.*

The 10. Article.

Borthwike.

The Prophet *Isaiah* in his fifth Chapter crieth out, saying, *Wo be unto you which call evil good, and good evil, darkness light, and light darkness, sower sweet, and sweet sower.* And it followeth in the same place, in the said Prophet, *Wo*, saith he, *to you that be wise and sapient in your own eyes and prudent in your own estimation.* No man can deny but that the Cardinal of *Scotland* and his Adherents be under this most heavy and grievous curse, when as they do so generally confound the Christian Religion and their wicked Monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of Holiness. I trust I will make it appear more manifest than the day, that they do it by a sacrilegious audacity or boldness, unto such

as fetting apart all preposterous affection will embrace the truth, when as ſhe doth manifeſtly ſhew her ſelf.

But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to underſtand, that I do not touch that kind of Monkery, which Saint *Auguſtine* and other do ſo often make mention of; as in which the Monks being gathered together utterly contemning and deſpiſing the Vanities of this world, did lead a moſt chaſt and godly life, living in prayers, reading, and diſputations, not puffed up with pride, nor contentious with frowardneſs, neither full of envy, no man poſſeſſed any things of his own, no man was chargeable or burdenous unto others, they wrought with their Hands to get that which might ſuſtain the Body, the Spirit anp minde not let and hindred from God. Whatſoever did ſuperabound more than was neceſſary for their ſuſtentation, as by the reſtraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their Hands, it was with ſuch diligence diſtributed unto the poor and needy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them which did give the ſame.

For they by no means went about to have abundance lying by them, but ſought all means poſſible that nothing ſhould remain by them more than ſufficient: beſides this, no man was forced to any extremity, which he could not bear or ſuffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refuſed, neither was he condemned of the reſt, which confeſſed himſelf unable to imitate or follow; they had always in their mind how commendable a thing love and charity was; they remembred that all things are clean to them which are clean. Therefore they did not refuſe or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole induſtry and labour was applied to ſubdue luſt and concupiſcence, and to retain love amongſt Brethren. Many of them did drink no Wine, yet notwithſtanding they thought not themſelves defiled therewithal. For unto ſuch as were ſick and diſeaſed, who could not recover the health of their Body without the ſame, they did moſt gently permit it. And whereas many fooliſhly refuſed the ſame, they brotherly admoniſhed them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker than the holier, through their vain ſuperſtition.

Hitherto I have repeated that which St. *Auguſtine* writeth of the Monks of his time, whereby I would as it were paint out in a Table, what manner of Monkery there was in the old time, that all men might underſtand how great difference there is between that and the Monkery in theſe our later days. For he would have all extreme Compulſion to be taken away in ſuch things as by the Word of God are left to us at liberty. But now adays there is nothing more ſeverely and cruelly exacted. For they ſay it is a remedileſs offence if any do but neglect ver ſo little ſwerve from their preſcript order in colour or kind of garment, or in any kind of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremony.

Preceptes of men more cruelly exacted than the precepts of God.

Saint *Auguſtine* doth ſtraightly affirm that it is not lawful for Monks to live idle upon other mens labour; he plainly denyeth that in his time there was any ſuch example of any well ordered Monaſtery: but our Monks do conſtitute the principal part of holineſs in idleneſs, which conſtitute the principal part of holineſs in idleneſs, which conſtitute the principal part of holineſs in idleneſs, which

And where your Lordship saith, It is too much to preach every *Sunday*; indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your Lordship did the like. Nay, nay, Deane *Thomas* (saith my Lord) let that be, for we are not ordained to Preach. Then said *Thomas*, where your Lordship bidderh me preach, when I find any good Epistle, or a good Gospel, truly my Lord, I have read the *New Testament* and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil Epistle, or an evil Gospel; but if your Lordship will shew me the good Epistle, and the good Gospel, and the evil Epistle and the evil Gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil. Then spake my Lord stoutly and said, I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was, (and of these words rose a Proverb which is Common in *Scotland*, Ye are like the Bishop of *Dunkelden*, that knew neither new nor old Law:) therefore Dean *Thomas*, I will know nothing but my Portuise and my Pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these Fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it when you may not mend it. *Thomas* said, I trust my cause be just in the Presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon, and so my Lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a Summons was directed from the Cardinal of Saint *Andrews*, and the said Bishop of *Dundkelden* upon the said Dean *Thomas Forret*, upon two Black Friers, called Frier *John Kelow*, and another called *Benarage*, and upon one Priest of *Striveling* called *Duncane Symp-son*, and one Gentleman called *Robert Foster* in *Striveling*, with other three or four, with them of the Town of *Striveling*; who at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, because (as was alledged) they were Heresiarchs, as chief Hereticks and Teachers of Heresies, and especially because many of them were at the Bridal and Marriage of a Priest, who was Vicar of *Tawbody* beside *Striveling*, and did eat Flesh in Lent at the said Bridal, and so they were all together burnt upon the Castle Hill at *Edenborough*, where they that were first bound to the Stake godly and marvellously did comfort them which came behind.

It is too much in the Popes Church to preach every Sunday. The Bishop of *Dunkelden* was not ordained to Preach.

A proverb in Scotland.

The. Forret Frier. John Kelow Frier. Benarage. Duncane Symp-son, Priest. Rob. Foster Gentleman, with three or four other of Striveling, martyrs.

Here followeth the manner of persecution used by the Cardinal of Scotland *against certain Persons in* Perth.

Anno 1543.	*Persecutors.*	*Martyrs.*
		Robert Lambe.
		William Anderson.
		James Hunter.
		James Ravelefon.
		James Founlefon.
		Hellen Stirke his Wife.
	David Beton Bishop, and Cardinal of St. *Andrews.*	*Their Causes.*

FIrst, there was a certain Act of Parliament made in the Government of the Lord *Hamelton*, Earl of *Arran*, and Governour of *Scotland*, giving priviledge to all Men of the Realm of *Scotland*, to read the Scriptures in their Mother Tongue and Language, secluding nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by publique Proclamation, lacked not his own fruit, so that in sundry parts of *Scotland* thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhor the Papistical Abominations. Amongst the which were certain persons in *S. Johnston*, as after is declared.

Proclamation in *Scotland*, permitting the private reading of the Scriptures.

Blasphemous Doctrine of a Papist.

At this time there was a Sermon made by Frier *Spense*, in Saint *Johnston*, *alias* called *Perth*, affirming Prayer made to Saints to be so necessary, that without it their could be no hope of Salvation to Man. Which Blasphemous Doctrine a Burgess of the said Town, called *Robert Lambe*, could not abide, but accused him in open audience of Erroneous Doctrine, and adjured him in Gods name to utter the truth: The which the Frier, being stricken with fear, promised to do: but the trouble, Tumult, and stirr of the people increased so, that the Frier could have no audience, and yet the said *Robert* with great danger of his life scaped the Hands of the Multitude, namely of the Women, who contrary to nature addressed them to extreme cruelty against him.

Robert Lambe Martyr.

Rob. Lambe in great danger.

At this time in the year of our Lord, 1543. the Enemies of the truth procured *John Chariuous*, who favoured the truth, and was Provost of the said City and Town of *Perth*, to be deposed from his Office by the said Governors Authority, and a Papist called Master *Alexander Marbeck* to be chosen in his Room, that they might bring the more easily their wicked and ungodly enterprise to an end.

A Papist set in office.

After the deposing of the former Provost, and Election of the other, in the Month of *January* the year aforesaid, on Saint *Pauls* day, came to Saint *Johnston*, the Governor, the Cardinal, the *Earl* of *Argile*, Justice Sir *John Cambel* of *Lunde*, Knight, and Justice *Defort*, the Lord *Borthwike*, the Bishops of *Dunblane*, and *Orkeney*, with certain other of the Nobility. And although there were many accused for the Crime of Heresie (as they term it) yet these persons onely were appre-hended upon the said St. *Pauls* day, *Robert Lambe*, *William Anderson*, *James Hunter*, *James Ravelefon*, *James Founlefon*, and *Helien Stirke* his Wife, and were cast that night in the *Spay Tower* of the said City, the morrow after to abide judgment.

Rob. Lowis, W. Anderson, James Hunter, James Ravelefon, James Founlefon. Helien Stirke his wife cast in Prison.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to judgment in the Town, was laid in general to all their charge the violating of the Act of Parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture against the tenor of the said Act. *Robert Lambe* was accused in special for interrupting of the Frier in the Pulpit; which he not onely confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, which understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and thefore sundry which there were present in judgement, who hid the knowledge of the Truth, should bear the burden in Gods presence for consenting to the same.

Lambe, Anderson, Ravelefton, for hanging up the Image of S. Francis in a cord.

The said *Robert* also with *William Anderson*, and *James Ravelefon* were accused for hanging up the Image of Saint *Francis* in a cord, nailing of Rams Horns to his head, and a Cowes rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on All hallow Even.

Jam. Hunter, for using suspect company.

James Hunter being a simple man and without learning, and a Flercher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in Doctrine, yet because he often used that suspect company of the rest, he was accused.

Hellen Stirke for calling upon Jesus and not our Lady, in Childbed.

The Woman *Hellen Stirke* was accused, for that in her Child-bed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin *Mary*, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but onely upon God for Jesus Christs sake, and because she said in like manner, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin *Mary*, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgins, in making her the Mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other Women, but Gods onely free mercy exalted her to that estate. Which words were counted most execrable in the face of all the Clergy, and of the whole multitude.

Ravelefton for setting up in his house a triple crown of S. Peter.

James Ravelefon aforesaid, building a House, set upon the round of his fourth stair the three Crowned *Diadem* of *Peter* carved of Tree, which the Cardinal took as done in mockage of his Cardinals Hat, and this procured no favour to the said *James* at their Hands.

These forenamed persons upon the morrow after Saint *Pauls* day were condemned and judged to death, and that by an Assise, for violating (as was alledged) the Act of Parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon Scriptures, for eating Flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy Frier in the Pulpit, for dilhonouring of Images, and blasphemy of the Virgin *Mary*, as they alleadged.

After Sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly intreated. Which sting the Woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the Sergeants with her Husband for Christ his sake.

There was great intercession made by the Town in the mean season for the life of these persons aforenamed, to the Governour, who of himself was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered. But the Governour was so subject to the appetite of the cruel Priests, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to affist his Enemies and to depose him, except he affilted their cruelty.

There were certain Priests in the City, who did eat and drink before in these honest mens Houses, to whom the Priests were much bounden. These Priests were earnestly desired to intreat for their Hosts at the Cardinals hands: but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death, than preservation. So cruel are these Beasts from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of Armed men (for they feared Rebellion in the Town except they had their Men of War) to the place of Execution, which was common to all Thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the People.

The Martyrdom of these good Men.

Robert Lambe at the Gallows-foot made his Exhortation to the People, desiring them to fear God, and leave the Leaven of Papistical abominations, and manifestly there prophesied of the ruine and plague which came upon the Cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should Sup together in the Kingdom of Heaven that Night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The Woman desired earnestly to die with her Husband, but she was not suffered; yet following him to the place of Execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christs sake, and parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, *Husband, rejoyce, for we have lived together many joyful dayes; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good Night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the Kingdom of Heaven.* The Woman after that was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a Child sucking on her Breast, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the Enemies. So after she had commended her Children to the Neighbours of the Town for Gods sake, and the sucking Barn was given to the Nurse, she sealed up the Truth by her death. *Ex Regist. & instrumentis a Scotia missis.*

The Condemnation of Mr. George Wiseheart *Gentleman, who suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of Christ Jesus at St.* Andrews *in* Scotland, An. 1546. Mar. 1. *with the Articles objected against him, and his Answers to the same.*

Anno 1545. The Examination of Mr. George Wiseheart.

WIth most tender affection and unfeigned heart confider (gentle Reader) the uncharitable manner of the Accusation of Mr. *George Wiseheart*, made by the bloody Enemies of Christs Faith. Note also the Articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his meek Answers so far as he had leave and leisure to speak. Finally, ponder with no dissembling Spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelness of the malignant Church, in persecuting of this blessed Man of God; and of the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly Answers made to them suddenly without all fear, not having respect to their glorious menacings and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his visage, as in his Accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appear.

But before I enter into his Articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and certified in Writing by a certain Scholar of his, sometime named *Emery Tylney*, whose words of Testimonial, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

About the Year of our Lord 1543. *there was in the University of* Cambrid. *one Mr.* George Wiseheart, *commonly called Mr.* George *of* Benets Colledge, *who was: Man of Tall stature, Bold-headed, and on the same a round French-Cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his Physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comly of personage, well spoken after his Country of* Scotland, *courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled, having on him for his habit or cloathing, never but a Maule or Frieze Gown to the Shoes, a black Millian Fustian Doublet, and plain black Hosen, course wear Cerveys for his Shirts, and white falling Bands and Cuffs at his hands. All the which Apparel he gave to the Poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French-Cap; which he kept the whole year of my being with him.*

He was a Man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his Charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort Nature. He lay hard upon a pass of Straw, and course new Canvass Sheets, which when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his Bed-side a Tub of Water, in the which, (his People being in Bed, the Candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light Night discerned him; he loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his People thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poor Boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! For in his Religon he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland *with divers of the Nobility, that came for a Treaty to King* Henry *the Eighth. His Learning was no less sufficient, than his desire; always prest and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the House privately, and in the School publickly, professing and reading divers Authors.*

If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

All this I testifie with my whole heart, and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

Tho.

Emery Tylney.

Dogmata ejusdem *Georgii.*

Fides sola sine operibus justificat.
Opera ostendunt & ostentant fidem.
Romana *Ecclesia putative caput mundi.*
Lex Canonica caput Papæ.
Missæ ministerium, mysterium iniquitatis.

To the said Mr. *George* being in Captivity in the Castle of St. *Andrews*, the Dean of the same Town was sent by the commandment of the Cardinal, and his wicked Counsel, and there summoned the said Master *George*, that he should upon the Morning following appear before the Judges, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical Doctrine.

Mr. George Wiseheart summoned out of Prison to appear.

To whom Mr. *George* answered, What needeth, said he, my Lord Cardinal to summon me to answer for my Doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straightly bound with Irons? May not my Lord compel me to answer of his extort power? Or believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my Doctrine? To manifest your selves

Mr. George Wiseheart answer to the Dean that summoned him.

what man ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old Ceremonies, and Constitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the Lord Cardinal caused his Servants to addresse themselves in their most warlike array, with *Jacks*, *Knapskal*, *Splent*, *Speare*, and *Ax*, more seeming for the Warr, than for the preaching of the true Word of God.

Mr. Wishart brought again before the Bishops.

And when these armed Champions marching in warlike order had conveyed the Bishops into the Abbey Church, incontinently they sent for Master *George*, who was conveyed into the said Church by the Captain of the Castle, accompanied with an hundred men addressed in manner aforesaid; Like a Lamb led they him to Sacrifice. As he entred into the Abbey Church Door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities asking of his Alms, to whom he flung his purse.

Mr. Wishart casteth his purse to a poor man.

And when he came before the Lord Cardinal, by and by the Subprior of the Abbey, called Dean *John Winryme*, stood up in the Pulpit, and made Sermon to all the Congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of xiij. Chapter of *Matthew*, whose Sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The Sermon of Iohn Winrymc.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the *Evangelist*.

The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the Word of God the good seed, and Heresie the evil seed, he declared what Heresie was, and how it should be known; which he defined on this manner, Heresie is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the Word of God.

Heresie defined.

The cause of Heresie.

The third part of the Sermon was, the cause of Heresie within that Realm, and all other Realms. The cause of Heresie (quoth he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens Souls: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to win again the false Doctors of Heresies, with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; and not onely to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith *Paul*. *A Bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the Minister of God, not* Tit. 1. 7. *stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but harbouring, one that loveth goodness, sober minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true Word of Doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to improve that which they say against him.*

The manner to know an Heretick.

The fourth part of his Sermon was how Heresies should be known. Heresies (quoth he) be known after this manner: as the Goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect, by the Touchstone; so likewise may we know Heresie by the undoubted Touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled Word of God. At the last he added, That Hereticks should be put down in this present life. To which Proposition the Gospel appeared to repugn, which he intreated of; *Let them go unto the Harvest*; the Harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the Civil Magistrate and Law. And when he ended his Sermon, incontinently they caused Master *George* to ascend into the Pulpit, there to hear his Accusation and Articles. And right against them stood by one of the fed flock, a Monster, *John Lauder*, laden full of cursings written in Paper. Of which he took out a Roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of deviliish spight and malice, saying to the innocent Mr. *George* so many cruel and abominable words and he hit him so spightfully with the Popes thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded left the earth then would have swallowed him up quick.

The Gospel was ot letting the tares to grow unto Harvest.

John Lauder accuser.

The way to fear the Ignorant.

Notwithstanding he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

The fruits of their charity.

When that this fed Sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a Boar, he spit at Master *Georges* face, saying, what answereſt thou to these sayings, thou runnagate Traitor, Thief, which we have duely proved by sufficient witnes against thee? Master *George* hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner.

Master George *his Answer.*

Mr. Wisharts answer.

MAny horrible sayings unto me a Christian man, many words abominable to hear ye have spoken here this day, which not onely to teach, but also to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your Discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings and the manner of my Doctrine. This my Petition (my Lord) I desire to be heard for three causes.

Three causes why Master Wisharts desired to be heard.

The first is, Because through preaching of the Word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure Word of God, without any dissimulation.

The second reason is, Because that your health springeth of the Word of God; for he worketh all things, by his Word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing if ye should stop your Ears from me, teaching truly the Word of God.

The 2. cause.

The third reason is, because your Doctrine uttereth many Blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the Devil, with no less peril than of my life. It is just therefore and reasonable that your Discretions should know what my words and Doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this Realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your Souls. Wherefore both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your Discretions to hear me, and in the mean time I shall recite my Doctrine without any colour.

Mr. Wisharts Doctrine.

First and chiefly, since the time I came into this Realm I taught nothing but the ten Commandments of God, the twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the Mother Tongue. Moreover, in *Dundee* I taught the Epistle of Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*. And I shall shew your Discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread; so that your Discretions give your Ears benevolent and attent.

Suddenly then with an high voice cried the Accuser, the fed Sow, Thou Heretick, Runnagate, Traitor, and Thief, it was not lawful for three to preach. Thou hast taken the Power at thine own hand, without any Authority of the Church. We forethink that thou hast been a Preacher so long. Then all the whole Congregation of the Prelates, with their Complices, said these words; If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scripture so exercised, that he will perswade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.

The cry of the Scribes and Pharisees

Master *George* seeing their malicious and wicked intent appealed from the Lord Cardinal to the Lord Governor, as to an indifferent and equal Judg. To whom the Accuser, *John Lauder* aforesaid, with hoggish voice answered; As not my Lord Cardinal the second Person with in this Realm, Chancellor of *Scotland*, Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, Bishop of *Meropois*, Commendator of *Aberbrothok*, *Legatus natus*, *Legatus à Latere*? And so reciting as many Titles of his unworthy honours as would have loden a Ship, much sooner an Asse; Is not he (quoth *John Lauder*) an equal Judge apparently unto thee? Whom other defreist thou to be thy Judge?

Wisharts appealeth to the Governor.

The style and titles of the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

To whom this humble man answering, said, I refuse not my Lord Cardinal, but I desire the Word of God to be my Judge, and the Temporal Estate, with some of your Lordships mine Auditors, because I am here my Lord Governors Prisoner. Whereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, Such man, such Judge; speaking seditious and reproachful words against the Governor and other the Nobles, meaning them also to be Hereticks. And incontinent without all delay they would have given Sentence upon Master *George*, and that without further Process, had not certain men there counselled the Cardinal to read again the Articles, and to hear his Answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful Condemnation.

The words of the people against the Governor.

And

And shortly to declare, these were the Articles following, with his Answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak. For when he intended to mitigate their leasings, and shew the manner of his Doctrin, by and by they stopped his mouth with another Article.

1 Article.

1 *THou false Heretick, Runnagate, Traitour and Thief, deceiver of the people, thou despysest the Holy Church, and in it like case contemnest my Lord Governors Authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in* Dundee, *and was charged by my Lord Governors Authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldest not obey, but persevered st in the same; and therefore the Bishop of* Brechen *cursed thee, and delivered thee into the Devils Hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. That notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately.*

Answer.

My Lords, I have read in the *Acts* of the, Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the Gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, *We shall rather obey God than Man.* I have also read in the Prophet *Malachy*, *I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings*, believing firmly, that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings.

Acts 5.

Malach. 2.

2 Article.

2 *Thou false Heretick didst say, That the Priest standing at the Altar saying Mass, was like a Fox wagging his tail in* July.

Answer.

My Lords, I said not so, These were my sayings; The moving of the Body outward, without the inward moving of the Heart, is naught else but the playing of an Ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a Secret Searcher of Mens Hearts; therefore who will truely Adore and Honour God, he must in Spirit and Verity honour him. Then the Accuser stopped his mouth with another Article.

3 Article.

3 *Thou false Heretick preachedst against the Sacraments, saying, that there were not seven Sacraments.*

Answer. Of the seven Sacraments.

My Lords, if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the Sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ are shewed to us by the *Evangel*, I profess openly. Except it be the Word of God I dare affirm nothing.

4 Article.

4 *Thou false Heretick hast openly taught, that Auricular Confession is not a blessed Sacrament. And thou sayest that we should onely confess us to God, and to no Priest.*

Answer. Confession, what it is and to whom it ought to be made.

My Lords, I say, that Auricular Confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the *Evangel*, therefore it cannot be a Sacrament. Of the Confession to be made to God, there are many Testimonies in Scripture, as when *David* saith, *I thought I would knowledge mine iniquity against my self unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin*, Psalm, 32. Here Confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of Confession. And further Saint *James* saith, *Knowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.* When that he had said these words, the Bishops and their Complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion?

James 5.

5 Article.

5 *Thou Heretick didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his Baptism, and what it was, contrary to general Councels and the Estate of the Holy Church.*

Answer.

My Lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make Merchandise with a French Man, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the French Man or stranger: So likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the Infant unto God in Baptism. For this cause I believe ye have Confirmation, Then said Master *Bleiter* Chaplain, that he had the Devil within him, and the Spirit of Error. Then answered him a Child, saying, The Devil cannot speak such words as yonder Man doth speak.

Baptisme, how necessary it is to be known of all men.

Confirmation wherefore it serveth.

Ex ore infantium.

6 Article.

6 *Thou Heretick, Traitor, Thief, thou saidst that the Sacrament of the Altar was but a piece of Bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing else, and all that is there done, is but a Superstitious Rite against the Commandment of God.*

Answer. The reasons reproved for sters and mif reporters.

Oh Lord God! so manifest Lies and Blasphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, my Lords, I never taught any thing against the Scripture, the which I shall, by Gods Grace, make manifest this day, I being ready therefore to suffer death.

The lawful use of the Sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable to unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your Lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of *Rhene*. I did inquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen all the Prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover the Prophecies taken away, and the Scepter of *Juda*, and by many other Testimonies of the Scripture I vanquished him that *Messias* was come, the which they called Jesus of *Nazareth*. This Jew answered again unto me, when *Messias* cometh, he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the Law, which was given to our Forefathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but amongst us Jews (though we be poor) there are no beggars found.

The lawful use of the Sacrament of the Altar.

The story of a Jew.

The principal causes which stop the Jews from Christianitie.

Secondarily, it is forbidden by the Law to fain any kind of Imagery of things in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Sea under the Earth, but one God onely is to be honoured: but your Sanctuaries and Churches are full of Idols.

The Sacrament of the Altar.

Thirdly, a piece of Bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say, that it is your God. I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true. Then, the Bishops shook their Heads, and spitted on the Earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not hear.

7 Article.

7 *Thou false Heretick didst say, that Extreme Unction was not a Sacrament.*

Answer.

My Lords, forsooth I never taught any thing of Extreme Unction in my Doctrine, whether it were a Sacrament or no.

8 Article.

8 *Thou false Heretick saidst, that Holy Water is not so good as vaugh and such like. Thou condemnedst Conjurings, and saidst Holy Churches cursings avail not.*

Answer.

My Lords, as for Holy Water what strength it is of I taught never in my Doctrin, Conjurings and Exorcisms, if they were conformable to the Word of God I would commend them; but insomuch as they are not conformable to the Commandment and Word of God, I reprove them.

9 Article.

9 *Thou false Heretick and Runnagate hast said, that every lay-man is a Priest, and such like, Thou saidst, that the Pope hath no more Power, than any other Man.*

Answer;

My Lords, I taught nothing but the Word of God, I remember that I have read in some places in St. *John* and St. *Pet.r*, of the which the one saith *He hath made us Kings and Priests*. The other saith, *He hath made us a Kingly Priesthood*. Wherefore I have affirmed that any man being cunning in the Word of God, and the true Faith of Jesus Christ, hath this Power given him from God, and not by the Power or Violence of Men, but by the Vertue of the Word of God, the which Word is called the Power of God as witnesseth St. *Paul* evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned Man, not exercised in the Word of God, nor yet constant in his Faith, whatsoever Estate or Order he be of, I say, he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the Instrument, by the which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the Word of God.

Apoc. 1 and 5. 1 Pet. 2.

Rom. 1. The Instrument to bind and loose.

After

After that he had ſaid theſe words, all the Biſhops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, Laugh ye (ſaith he) my Lords? Though that theſe ſayings appear ſconſu l and worthy of deriſion to your Lordſhips, nevertheleſs they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, becauſe they ſtand not onely upon my ſelf, but alſo the honour and glory of God. In the mean time many godly men beholding the woodneſs and great cruelty of the Biſhops, and the invincible patience of Maſter *George*, did greatly mourn and lamment.

10 Article. 10 *Thou falſe Heretick ſaidſt, that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoikes, which ſay, that it is not in mans will to do any thing, but that all concupiſcence and deſire cometh by God, whatſoever kind it be of.*

Anſwer. My Lords, I ſaid not ſo, truly; I ſay, that as many
John 8. as believe in Chriſt firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the ſaying of St. *John*, *If the Son make you free, then ſhall ye verily be free.* Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Chriſt Jeſus, they are Bondſervants of Sin. *He that ſinneth is bound to ſin.*

11 Article. 11 *Thou falſe Heretick ſaidſt, it is as lawful to eat Fleſh upon the* Friday, *as on* Sunday.

Anſwer. Pleaſeth in your Lordſhips, I have read in the Epiſtles
Tim.1. of Saint *Paul*, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, ſanctifieth by the Word the Creature of God. But the Creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a Creature may not ſanctifie any impure and unfaithful man. But to the faithful man all things are ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer. After theſe ſayings of Maſter *George* then ſaid all the Biſhops with their Complices, what needeth us any witneſs againſt him? hath he not openly here ſpoken Blaſphemy?

Eating of meats. The creature doth not ſanctifie without the Word.

12 Article. 12 *Thou falſe Heretick doſt ſay, that we ſhould not pray to Saints, but to God onely, Say whether thou haſt ſaid this, or no; ſay ſhortly.*

Anſwer. For the weakneſs and infirmity of the Hearers he ſaid without doubt plainly, that Saints ſhould not be honoured. My Lord (ſaid he) there are two things worthy of Note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in Scripture, that we ſhould worſhip and honour one God, according to the ſaying of the Firſt Commandment, Thou ſhalt onely worſhip and honour thy Lord God, with all thy Heart. But as for praying to and honouring of Saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear, or no, Invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my Doctrin, that they ſhould leave the unſure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Maſter Chriſt. He is our onely Mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for us to God his Father. He is the Door by the which we muſt enter in. He that entreth not in by this Door but climbeth another way, is a Thief and a Murtherer. He is the Verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he ſhall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the faſhion of my Doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the Word of God I taught openly, and in no Corners. And now ye ſhall witneſs the ſame, if your Lordſhips will hear me. Except it ſtand by the Word of God, I dare not be ſo bold to affirm any thing. Theſe ſayings he rehearſed divers times.

To honour one God is certain. *Mat.* 4.

The ſure way is to be followed.

13 Article. 13 *Thou falſe Heretick haſt Preached plainly, ſaying that there is no Purgatory, and that it is a fained thing, any man after this life to be puniſhed in Purgatory.*

Anſwer. My Lords, as I have oftentimes ſaid heretofore, without expreſs Witneſs and Teſtimony of the Scripture, I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet ſuch a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was aſhamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture. Then ſaid he to Maſter *John Lauder* his Accuſer, If you have any Teſtimony of the Scripture, by the which you may prove any ſuch place, ſhew it now before this Auditory. But this doſt had not a word to ſay for himſelf, but was as dumb as a Beetle in that matter.

Purgatory not once named in Scripture.

14 Article. 14 *Thou falſe Heretick haſt taught plainly againſt the Vows of Monks, Friers, Nuns, and Prieſts; ſaying, That whoſoever was bound to ſuch like Vows, they Vowed themſelves to the Eſtate of Damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for Prieſts to Marry Wives, and not to live ſole.*

Anſwer. Of tooth, my Lords, I have read in the *Evangel*, that there are three kinds of chaſt men; ſome are gelded from their Mothers Womb; ſome are gelded by men; and ſome have gelded themſelves for the Kingdom of Heavens ſake. Verily, I ſay theſe men are bleſſed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of Chaſtity, nor yet for the *Evangel* have overcome the Concupiſcence of the Fleſh, and have Vowed Chaſtity, ye have experience, although I ſhould hold my peace, to what Inconvenience they have Vowed themſelves.

Mat. 19. Three kinds of chaſte men.

The danger of unchaſtity.

When he had ſaid theſe words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten Concubines, than one Married Wife.

15 Article. 15 *Thou falſe Heretick and Runnagate ſayſt, thou wilt not obey our General nor Provincial Councels.*

Anſwer. My Lords, what your General Councels are I know not, I was never exerciſed in them, but to the pure Word of God I gave my labours. Read here your General Councels, or elſe give me a Book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the Word of God, I will not diſagree. Then the ra- The rum evening Wolves turned into Woodneſs and ſaid. Wherefore let we him ſpeak any further? Read forth the reſt of the Articles, and ſtay not upon them. Among theſe cruel Tygers there was one falſe Hypocrite, a ſeducer of the People, called *John Graiſind Scot*, ſtanding behind *John Lauders* Back, haſtning him to read the reſt of the Articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly Anſwers. For we may not abide them, quoth he, no more ter. than the Devil may abide the ſign of the Croſs, when it is named.

pace to ſhed blood.

Jo. Graiſind Scotſman baſly butcher to his ſlaughter.

16 Article. 16 *Thou falſe Heretick ſayſt, that it is in vain to build to the honour of God Coſtly Churches, ſeeing that God remaineth not in the Churches made with Mens Hands, nor yet can God be in ſo little ſpace as betwixt the Prieſts Hands.*

Anſwer. My Lords, *Solomon* ſaith, If that the Heaven of Heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much leſs this Houſe that I have builded? And *Job* conſenteth to the ſame Sentence, Seeing that he is higher than the Heavens, therefore what canſt thou build unto him? He is deeper than Hell, then how ſhalt thou know him? He is longer than the Earth, and broader than the Sea. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, becauſe that he is infinite. Theſe ſayings notwithſtanding, I never ſaid that Churches ſhould be deſtroyed, but of the contrary I affirm ever, that Churches ſhould be ſuſtained and upholden, that the people ſhould be Congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, whereſoever is true Preaching of the Word of God, and the lawful uſe of the Sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himſelf: ſo that both theſe ſayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any place, and whereſoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he preſent in the midſt of them.

3 Reg. 8. Job 11.

Whereunto Churches ſhould ſerve.

Then ſaid he to his Accuſer, If you think any otherwiſe than I ſay, ſhew forth your Reaſons before this Auditory. Then he without all reaſon being dumb, and not anſwering one word, proceeded forth in his Articles.

17 Article. 17 *Thou falſe Heretick contemneſt faſting and ſayſt thou ſhouldſt not faſt.*

Anſwer. My Lords, I find that faſting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a flanderer of the Goſpel, if I contemned faſting. And not ſo onely, but I have learned by experience, that faſting is good for the health of the Body; but God knoweth who faſteth the true faſt.

True faſting by the allowed.

18 Article. 18 *Thou falſe Heretick haſt Preached openly ſaying, that the Soul of Man ſhall ſleep till the latter day of Judgment, and ſhall not obtain life immortal until that day.*

God

Anſwer. The faithful Soul ſhall never ſleep.

God full of mercy and goodneſs forgive them that ſay ſuch things of me: I wot and know ſurely by the Word of God, that he which hath begun to have the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and believeth firmly in him, I know ſurely that the Soul of that man ſhall never ſleep, but ever ſhall live an immortal life. The which life from day to day is renued in grace and augmented; nor yet ſhall ever periſh or have an end, but ever immortal ſhall live with Chriſt. To the which life all that believe in him ſhall come, and reſt in eternal glory, *Amen.*

When the Biſhops with their Complices had accuſed this innocent men in manner and form aforeſaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an Heretick, not having reſpect to his godly Anſwers and true Reaſons which he alledged, nor yet to their own Conſciences, thinking verily that they ſhould do to God good Sacrifice, conformable to the ſaying of Saint *John*, *They ſhall excommunicate you: yea, and the time ſhall come, that he which killeth you, ſhall think that he hath done to God good ſervice.*

John 16.

The Prayer of Maſter *George Wiſehart.*

The Prayer of Maſter *George Wiſehart*, for the Congregation of God.

O *Immortal God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the wickedneſs and great cruelty of the ungodly to exerciſe their fury upon thy Servants which do further thy word in this world, ſeeing they deſire to be contrary, that is, to choke and deſtroy the true Doctrine and verity, by the which thou haſt ſhewed thy ſelf unto the world, which was all drowned in blindneſs and miſknowledge of thy Name. O Lord, we know ſurely that thy true Servants muſt needs ſuffer, for thy Names ſake, Perſecution, Affliction and Troubles in this preſent life, which is but a ſhadow, as thou haſt ſhewed to us, by thy Prophets and Apoſtles. But yet we deſire thee heartily, that thou conſerve, defend and help thy Congregation, which thou haſt choſen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true Servants in this preſent life.*

Then by and by they cauſed the common People to void away, whoſe deſire was always to hear that innocent man to ſpeak. Then the Sons of darkneſs pronounced their Sentence definitive, not having reſpect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and ſaid, the *Cardinal* cauſed his Warders to paſs againſt with the meek Lamb into the Caſtle, until ſuch time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Caſtle, then there came two grey fiends, Friers Scot and his mate, ſaying, Sir, ye muſt make your confeſſion unto us. Heanſwere and ſaid, I will make no confeſſion unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confeſſion unto him. Then they ſent for the Subprior of the Abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he ſaid in this confeſſion, I cannot ſhew.

When the fire was made ready, and the Gallows at the Weſt part of the Caſtle near to the Priory, the Lord Cardinal dreading that Maſter *George* ſhould have been taken away by his Friends, commanded to bend all the Ordnance of the Caſtle right againſt that part, and commanded all his Gunners to be ready and ſtand beſide their Guns, until ſuch time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Maſter *Georges* hands behind his back, and led him forth with their Souldiers from the Caſtle, to the place of their wicked Execution. As he came forth of the Caſtle Gate, there met him certain Beggars asking him Alms for Gods ſake. To whom he anſwered, I want my hands wherewith I ſhould give you Alms, but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace that feedeth all men, vouchſafe to give you neceſſaries both unto your Bodies and Souls. Then afterward met him two falſe fiends, I ſhould ſay Friers, ſaying, Maſter *George*, pray to our Lady, that ſhe may be Mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he anſwered meekly, Ceaſe, tempt me not, my Brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a Rope about his neck, and a Chain of Iron about his middle.

M. Wiſehart prayeth for the relief of the poor.

M. Wiſehart anſwereth the Friers tempting him.

The martyrdome of maſter George Wiſehart. *The burning of the bleſſed Martyr Adam Wallace.*

When that he came to the fire, he ſate down upon his knees and roſe again, and thrice he ſaid theſe words, O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me. Father of Heaven I commend my Spirit into thy holy hands. When he had made this Prayer, he turned him to the People and ſaid theſe words.

The words and exhortation of Mr. Wiſehart as his death to the People.

I beſeech you Chriſtian Brethren and Siſters, that ye be not offended in the Word of God for the Affliction and Torments, which ye ſee already prepared for me; But I exhort you that you love the Word of God, and ſuffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the words ſake, which is your undoubted Salvation, and everlaſting comfort.

Moreover, I pray you ſhew my Brethren and Siſters, which have heard me oft before, that they ceaſe not, nor leave off the Word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given to me, for any Perſecutions or Troubles in this world, which laſt not; and ſhew unto them that my Doctrine was no old Wives Fables after the Conſtitutions made by men. And if I had taught mens Doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men. But for the words ſake and true Evangel, which was given to

The constant patience of this good man.

to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christs sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any Persecution come unto you for the Words sake, and not to fear them that slay the Body, and afterward have no power to slay the Soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the Soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my Faith is such, that my Soul shall Sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be fix hours; for whom I suffer this. Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, I beseech thee Father of Heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me, I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.

M. George Wyshart's prayers for his enemies and forgiveth them.

M. George Wyshart prophesieth of the death of the Cardinal, which followed after.

And last of all he said to the People on this manner; I beseech you Brethren and Sisters to exhort your Prelates to the learning of the Word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked Errour, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew. Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel Torments, which were then prepared for him.

And at last of all the Hangman, that was his Tormentor, fate down upon his knees, and said; Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he answered, come hither to me. When that he was come to him, he kissed his Cheek, and said, Lo here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine Office; and by and by he was put upon the Gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to Powder. When that the People beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from pitious mourning and complaining of this innocent Lambs slaughter.

A Note of the iust punishment of God upon the cruel Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews, *named* Beaton.

The iust Judgment of God upon D. Beaton, a bloody murtherer of Gods Saints.

IT was not long after the Martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master *George Wisehart* aforesaid, who was put to death by *David Beaton*, the bloody Archbishop and Cardinal of *Scotland*, as is above specified, *Anno*, 1546. the first day of *March*, but the said *David Beaton* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, by the just revenge of Gods mighty Judgment, was slain within his own Castle of St. *Andrews* by the hands of one *Leech* and other Gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his Castle upon him, and in his bed murthered him the said year, the last day of *May*, crying out, *Alas, alas, slay me not, I am a Priest*. And so like a Butcher he lived, and like a Butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a Carrion buried in a Dunghil, *Anno*, 1546. *Mali ult. Exhiffor. Impressa.*

The death of David Beaton, Archbp. of S. Andrews.

Jo. Hamelton Archbishop of S. Andrews. J. Hamelton a Persecutor.

After this *David Beaton* succeeded *John Hamelton* Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, *Anno* 1549. who to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferiour to his Predecessour, in augmenting the number of the holy Martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was *Adam Wallace*. The order and manner of whose Story here followeth.

The Story and Martyrdom of Adam Wallace *in* Scotland.

Adam Wallace Martyr.

THere was set upon a Scaffold made hard to the Chancelary Wall of the Black-Friers Church in *Edenburgh*, on Seats made thertupon, the L. Governour. Above him at his back sate Master *Gawin Hamelton* Dean of *Glasgue*, representing the Metropolitane Pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sate the Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*. At his back and side somewhat flood the Official *Louthaine*. Next to the Bishop of St. *Anarews*, the Bishop of *Dunblane*, the Bishop of *Murray*, the Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, the Abbot of *Glenlace*, with other Churchmen of lower estimation, as the Official of St. *Andrews*, and other Doctors of that nest and City. And at the other end of the Seat sate Master *Uchiltrie*. On his left hand sate the Earl of *Argyle* Justice, with his Deputy Sir *John Campbel* of *Lundy* at his feet. Next him the Earl of *Huntley*. Then the Earl of *Angusse*, the Bishop of *Orkeney*, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, the Bishop of *Orkeney*, the Lord *Forbes*, Dean *John Wemyme* Subprior of Saint *Andrews*, and behinde the seats stood the whole Senate, the Clark of the Register, &c.

The consultation of Adam Wallace, & poor man. Conventicle Scottish & Phrisian adversus Dominum, & adversus Christum e-jus.

At the further end of the Chancelarie wall in the Pulpit was placed Master *John Lauder* Parson of *Marbattle* Accuser, clad in a Surplice, and red Hood, and a great Congregation of the whole People in the Body of the Church, standing on the ground. After that Sir *John Ker*, Prebendary of Saint *Giles* Church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a Sentence of divorce, whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful Wife in the name of the Dean of *Roscalrige* and certain other Judges appointed by the holy Father the Pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant nor moved by the foresaid Judges, and was agreed to be banished the Realms of *Scotland* and *England* for his life time, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to leave his Benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

Barrabas let go, poor Christ taken and crucified.

After that was brought in *Adam Wallace*, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by *John of Cunnoke* Servant to the Bishop of Saint *Andrews*, and set in the midst of the Scaffold, who was commanded to look to the Accuser; who asked him what was his name; he answered, *Adam Wallace*. The Accuser said he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called *Feane*. Then asked he where he was born? Within two mile of *Fayle*, said he, in *Kyle*. Then said the Accuser, I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these Noble Lords to so great encumbrance this day by your vain speaking. And I must speak, said he, as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body. Would God (said the Accuser) ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for so horrible crimes of Heresie, as never were imagined nor heard of in this Country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be heard, for hurting of weak Consciences. Now I will ye thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of.

Adam Wallace brought in before the Scribes and Pharisees. J. Lauder his Accuser. Adam Wallace otherwise named J. Fean.

Adam Wallace, alias Fean: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the Blasphemies and abominable Heresies under written. In the first thou hast said and taught that the Sacrament and Wine on the Altar, after the words of Consecration, are not the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. He turned to the Lord Governour, and Lords aforesaid, saying; I never said, nor taught any thing but that I found in this Book and Writ (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English) which is the Word of God, and if you will be content that the Lord God and his Word be judge to me, and this his holy Writ here it is, and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me; for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this Writ.

The Sacrament of the Altar. Popish Idolatrie. The Doctrin of Adam Wallace touching the Sacrament of the Lords Body.

What didst thou say, said the Accuser? I said, quoth he, that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the Paschal Lamb in his latter Supper with his Apostles, and fulfilled the Ceremonies of the old Law, he instituted a new Sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took Bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, and said, *Take ye, eat* Matth. 26. *ye, this is my Body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the Cup, blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the Cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance.*

Then

The Archbishop of St. Andrews speaketh. The Earl of Huntley speaketh.

Then said the Bishop of Saint *Andrews* and the Official of *Louthain*, with the Dean of *Glasgue*, and many other Prelats, We know this well enough. The Earl of *Huntley* said, Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yes thereto. He answered, if ye will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the Word, which is the Trial and Touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the World.

Why (quoth the Earl of *Huntley*) hast thou not a Judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his Word? Answer to that is spoken to thee. And then they made the Accuser speak the samething over again. Thou sayst, quoth the Accuser, and hast taught, that the Bread and the Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration, are not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Heanswered, I never said more than the Writ saith, nor yet more than I have said before. For I know well by St. *Paul* when he saith, *Whosoever eateth this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation*. And therefore when I taught (which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me) I said, That if the Sacrament of the Altar were truly ministred, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his Divine Power, by the which he is over all.

The Bishop of *Orkney* asked him, Believest thou not, said he, that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration, is the very Body of God, Flesh, Blood, and Bone?

Adam Wallace answereth by his Creed.

He anfwered, I wote not what that word Confecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the holy Ghost, and born of the *Virgin Mary*, and hath a natural Body, with hands, feet, and other Members, and in the same Body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he suffered death under *Pontius Pilate*, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same Body again the third day; and the same Body ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to Judge both the quick and the dead. And that this Body is a natural Body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he sheweth well himself; for the which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear: when the Woman brake that Ointment on him, answering to some of his Disciples which grudged thereat, he said, *The Poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always*. Meaning of his natural Body. And likewise at his ascension said he to the same Disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them Corporally; *It is needful for you that I pass away, for if I pass not away, the Comforter the holy Ghost shall not come to you*; (meaning that his natural Body behooved to be taken away from them) *But be stout and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the Worlds end*.

Christs natural Body cannot be in two places at once. Matth. 26. John 16. Matth 28.

The eating of the very flesh of Christ profiteth nothing. John 6.

And that the eating of his very Flesh profiteth not, may well be known by his words which he spake in the sixth of *John*; where after that he had said, *Except ye eat my flesh and drink my Blood, ye shall not have life in you*; they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their grofs and fleshly taking of his words, and said, *What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth nothing*, to be eaten as they took it, and even so take ye it.

The Bishop of Orkney speaketh

It is an horrible Herefie, said the Bishop of *Orkney*. When he began to speak again, and bade the Lord Governour judge if he had right by the Writ, the Accuser cried, *Ad secundam. Nunc ad secundam*, answered the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*.

The 2. Article of Adam Wallace.

Then was he bidden to hear the Accuser, who propounded the second Article, and said, Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach that the Mass is very Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.

He answered and said, I have read the Bible and Word of God in three Tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word Mass in it all: but I found, said he, that the thing that was highest and most in estimation among men, and not in the Word of God, was Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say the Mass is holden greatly in estimation, and high among men, and is not founded in the Word, therefore I said it was Idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by Gods Word, I will grant mine Errour, and that I have failed; Otherwise not. And in that case I will submit me to all lawful correction and punishment. *Ad tertium*, said the Archbishop.

Answer. The Mass not found in Scripture. Argument.

2. Article.

Then said the Accuser, Thou hast said and openly taught, That the God which we worship, is but Bread, sown of Corn, growing of the earth, baked of mens hands, and nothing else.

He answered, I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the Heaven and Earth, and all that is therin of nought; but I know not which God you worship: and if you will shew me whom you worship, I will shew you what he is, as I can by my Judgment.

Answer. The Popes God.

Believeth thou not (said the Accuser) that the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of the Consecration betwixt the Priests hands, is the very Body and Blood of the Son of God, and God himself? What the Body of God is, said he, and what kind of Body he hath, I have shewed you, so far as I have found in the Scripture.

Then said the Accuser, Thou hast preached, said, and openly taught divers and sundry other great Errours and abominable Heresies against all the seven Sacraments, which far shortneth of time I pretermit and overpass. Whether doest thou grant thy foresaid Articles that thou art accused of, or no, and thou shalt hear them shortly. And then repeated the Accuser the three Articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

He anfwered that which before he had said of his Answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he underflood, so God judge him, and his own Conscience accuse him, and thereby would he abide until the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death: and he said to the Governour the Lord Governour and other Lords, if you condemn and me for holding by Gods Word, my innocent Blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the Judgment Seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath, to whom I refer the vengence, as it is written, *Vengence is mine and I will reward*. Heb. 10.

The words of Adam Wallace to the Lord Governour and the Lords.

Then gave they forth Sentence, and condemned him by the Laws, and so left him to the Secular Power, in the hands of Sir *John Campbel* Justice Deputy, who delivered him to the Provost of *Edenborough* to be burnt on the *Castle-Hill*, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost house in the Town, with Irons about his Legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir *Hugh Terry* to keep the Key of the said house, an ignorant Minister and Imp of Satan and of the Bishops; who by direction sent to the poor man two Gray Friers to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two black Friers, an English Frier, and another subtile Sophister, called *Arbriemny*, with the which English Frier he would have reasoned and declared his Faith by the Scriptures. Who answered, he had no Commission to enter into disputation with him, and so departed and left him.

Sentence of Condemnation given against A. Wallace.

Sir Hugh Terry an Imp of Satan.

Friers sent to instruct A. Wallace

Then was sent to him a worldly wife man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the Truth, the Dean of *Roscalrige*, who gave him Christian consolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the Sacrament after the Consecration. But he would not consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy Scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God to the tears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without Book, to his consolation: For they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him where ever he went. After that Sir *Hugh* knew that he had certain Books to read and comfort his Spirit, he came in a rage

The Dean of Roscalrige sent to A. Wallace.

The Books of the good man taken from him.

rage and took the same from him, leaving him desolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his devilish venom, to have perverted him a poor Innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour; but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

So all the next Morning abode this poor man in Irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day. Which day the Lord Governour, and all the Principal both spiritual and temporal Lords, departed *from Edenborough* to their other business.

The Dean cometh again to sel. Wallace.

After they were departed, came the Dean of *Rosdarige* to him again, and reasoned with him after his wit. Who answered as before, he would say nothing concerning his Faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an Angel came from Heaven to perswade him to the same; saying that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said Dean in other behalf as becometh a Christian.

Sir Hugh *Terry* counsell-sgain to *Sel. Wallace.*

Then after came in the said *Terry* again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar Devils to come forth of him ere Even. To whom he answered, You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace. Then he asked of one of the Officers that stood by. Is your Fire making ready? Who told him it was. He answered, as it pleaseth God; I am ready soon or late as it shall please him; and then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the Faithful, being sure to meet together with them in Heaven. From that time, to his forth coming to the Fire, spake no man with him.

The Provoſt of *Edenbrough* forbiddeth him to speak to any man.

At his forth coming, the Provoſt with great menacing words forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him, as belike he had commandment of his Superiours. Coming from the Town to the *Caſtle-Hill*, the common People said, God have mercy upon him. And on you too (said he.) Being beside the Fire, he liked up his eyes to Heaven twice or thrice, and said to the People, Let it not offend you that I ſuffer death this day for the Truths ſake; for the Diſciple is not greater than his Maſter. Then was the Provoſt angry that he ſpake. Then looked he to Heaven again, and ſaid, They will not let me ſpeak. The Cord being about his Neck, the Fire was lighted, and ſo departed he to God conſtantly, and with good countenance to our ſights. *Ex teſtimoniis & literis è* Scotia *petitis*, Anno 1550.

The Schiſm that aroſe in Scotland *for the* Pater Noſter.

The words of *Adam Wallace* to the People.

A Schiſm in *Scotland* by a Scribe of Sir. *Marſhall*, a *Black-Frier*, preaching that the *Pater noſter* ſhould not be ſaid to Saints.

AFter that *Richard Marſhall*, Doctor of Divinity, and Prior of the *Black-Friers* at the *New-Caſtle* in *England*, had declared in his Preaching at St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, that the Lords Prayer (commonly called the *Paſter Noſter*) ſhould be done only to God, and not to Saints, neither to any other Creature; the Doctors of the Univerſity of St. *Andrews*, together with the *Gray-Friers*, who had long ago taught the People to pray the *Pater Noſter* to Saints, had great indignation that their old Doctrine ſhould be repugned, and ſtirred up a *Gray-Frier*, called Frier *Tottis*, to preach again to the People, that they ſhould and might pray the *Pater Noſter* to Saints. Who finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpoſe upon, yet came to the Pulpit the firſt of *November*, being the Feaſt of *All-hallows*, *Anno* 1551. and took the Text of the Goſpel for that day read in their Maſs, written in the fifth of *Matthew* containing theſe words, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for to them pertaineth the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Matth. 5.

The Doctrine of the Papiſts holdeth, that the *Pater noſter* may be ſaid to Saints, and why.

This feeble foundation being laid, the Frier began to reaſon moſt impertinently, that the Lords Prayer might be offered to Saints, becauſe every Petition thereof appertaineth to them. For if we meet an Old man in the Street, ſaid he, we will ſay to him, Good-day Father, and therefore much more may we call the Saints our Fathers; and becauſe we grant alſo that they be in Heaven, we may ſay to every one of them, *Our Father which art in Heaven.* Our Father, God, hath made their Names holy, and therefore ought we as followers of God, to hold their Names holy, and ſo we may ſay to any of the Saints, *Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name.* And for the ſame cauſe, ſaid the Frier, as they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, ſo that Kingdom is theirs by poſſeſſion, and ſo praying for the Kingdom of Heaven, we may ſay to them, and every one of them, *Thy Kingdom come.* And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that Kingdom. And therefore ſeeing their will is Gods will we may ſay with every one of them, *Thy will be done.*

Blaſphemous Doctrine againſt the glory and name of God.

A Friarly gloſing upon the *Pater noſter.*

But when the Frier came to the fourth Petition, touching our daily Bread, he began to be aſtoniſhed and aſhamed, ſo that he did ſweat abundantly, partly becauſe his ſophiſtry began to fail him, not finding ſuch a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly becauſe he ſpake againſt his own knowledge and Conſcience; and ſo he was compelled to confeſs that it was not in the Saints power to give us our daily Bread, but that they ſhould pray to God for us, ſaid he, that we may obtain our daily Bread by their intercceſſion: and ſo gloſed he the reſt to the end. Not ſtanding yet content with this deteſtable Doctrine, he affirmed moſt blaſphemouſly, that St. *Pauls* Napkin, and St. *Peters* Shadow did Miracles, and that the virtue of *Eliſeus* Cloak divided the Waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other Errors of the Papiſts, horrible to be heard.

The Friers Sophiſtry here failed him.

A doubtful reaſon why the *Pater noſter* ſhould be ſaid in Latin.

The Counſel of *Edenborough* could not agree to whom they ſhould ſay their *Pater noſter.*

The Papiſts maintain their cauſe with lies and railing, when reaſon is lacketh.

Upon this, followed incontinent a dangerous Schiſm in the Church of *Scotland*: for not only the Clergy, but the whole People were divided among themſelves, one defending the Truth, and another the Papiſtry; in ſuch ſort that there roſe a Proverb, To whom ſay you your *Pater Noſter?* And although the Papiſts had the upper hand as then, whoſe words were almoſt holden for Law (ſo great was the blindneſs of that Age,) yet God ſo inſpired the hearts of the common People, that ſo many as could get the underſtanding of the baſe words of the Lords Prayer in Engliſh (which was then ſaid in Latin) utterly deteſted that Opinion, holding that it ſhould in no wiſe be ſaid to Saints: ſo that the Craſts-men and their Servants in their Booths, when the Frier came, exploded him with ſhame enough, crying, Frier *Pater noſter*, Frier *Pater Noſter*. Who at the laſt being convict in his own Conſcience, and aſhamed of his former Sermon, was compelled to leave the Town of St. *Andrews*.

A Scotiſh Proverb.

Frier *Tottis* noſter driven out of St. *Andrews.*

In the mean time of this brute there were two Paſquils ſet on the *Abbey-Church*, the one in Latin bearing theſe words:

Doctores noſtri de Collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero.
Quod ſanctis ſunt ſimiles altiſſimo:
Et ſe tuentur gravatorio
De mandato Officialis,
Ad inſtantiam fiſcalis,
Gaw & Harvey *non varii*
In præmiſſis connotarii.

Mr. D. Gaw and Mr. Thel. Harvey two Procurators.

The other in Engliſh, bearing theſe words:

Doctors of Theology, of fourſcore of years,
And old jolly Lupoys the bald Gray-Friers;
They would be called Rabbi *and* Magiſter noſter,
And wot not to whom they ſay their Pater Noſter.

Diſputation in *Scotland* to whom they ſhould ſay their *Pater noſter.*

Pater noſter to be ſaid to God only mediately, and to Saints immediately.

Shortly, the Chriſtians were ſo hotly offended, and the Papiſts on the other ſide ſo proud and wilful, that neceſſary it was, to eſchew greater inconveniences, that the Clergy at laſt ſhould be aſſembled to diſpute and conclude the whole matter, that the Lay-people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the Univerſity agreed, whoſoever had been preſent might have heard much ſubtile Sophiſtry. For ſome of the Popiſh Doctors affirmed that it ſhould be ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to Saints *materialiter*. Others, *ultimatè, & non ultimatè*. Others ſaid it ſhould be ſaid to God *Principaliter*, and to Saints *minus Principaliter*. Others that it ſhould be ſaid to God *primariè*, and to Saints *ſecundariè*. Others that it ſhould be ſaid to God *capiendo ſtrictè*, and to Saints *capiendo largè*. Which vain diſtinctions being heard and conſidered by the People, they that were ſimple remained in greater doubtfulneſs than they were in before: ſo that a well aged man, and a Servant to the Subprior of Saint *Andrews*, called the Subprior *Thome*, being demanded to whom he ſaid his *Pater noſter?* he anſwered, to God only. Then they asked again what ſhould be ſaid to the Saints? he anſwered, give them *Aves* and *Creeds* enow in the Devils name, for that may ſuffice them well enough, albeit they do ſpoyl God of his right. Others, making their Vaunts of the Doctors, ſaid, that becauſe Chriſt (who made the *Pater Noſter*) never came into the *Iſe of Britain*; and ſo underſtood not the Engliſh Tongue, therefore it was that the Doctors concluded it ſhould be ſaid in Latin.

Ultimatè to God, not ultimatè to Saints. *Principaliter* to God, minus *principaliter* to Saints. *Primariò* to God, *ſecundariò* to Saints. *Extendo* to God, *largè* to Saints. The anſwer of an old man to whom they ſhould ſay their Pater noſter.

This perturbation and open ſlander yet depending, it was thought good to call a Provincial Councel to decide the matter. Which being aſſembled at *Edenborough*, the Papiſts being deſtitute of reaſon defended their parts with lies, alledging that the Univerſity of *Paris* had concluded that the Lords Prayer ſhould be ſaid to Saints. But becauſe that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reaſon, they uſed their will in place of reaſon, and ſome time deſpiteful, and injurious talk. As Frier *Scot*, being aſked of one to whom he ſhould ſay the *Pater noſter*, he anſwered, ſaying, ſay it to the Devil Knave. So the Councel perceiving they could profit nothing by reaſoning, they were compelled to paſs, voting.

But then incontinent they that were called Churchmen were found divided and repugned among themſelves. For ſome Biſhops, with the Doctors and Friers conſented that the *Pater noſter* ſhould be ſaid to Saints; but the Biſhops of St. *Andrews*, *Caitnes* and *Atheins* with other more learned men, refuſed utterly to ſubſcribe to the ſame. Finally with conſent of both the parties, Commiſſion was given by the holy Church to Dean *John Wimrame*, then Subprior of St. *Andrews* to declare to the People how and after what manner they ſhould pray the Lords Prayer. Who, accepting of the Commiſſion declared that it ſhould be ſaid to God, with ſome other reſtrictions, which are not neceſſary to be put in memory. And ſo, by little and little, the brute and tumult ceaſed, *Ex teſtim. è Scotia allato.*

The Friers and Prelates could not agree themſelves about laying the Pater noſter.

*This Woman is now become a godly Miniſter in the Church of God, and a married man.

Diſputation in Scotland to Councel.

Councel aſſembled at Edenborough.

The Martyrdom of the bleſſed Servant of God, Walter Mille.

W. Mille Martyr.

AMong the reſt of the Martyrs of *Scotland*, the marvellous conſtancy of *Walter Mille* is not to be paſſed over with ſilence. Out of whoſe Aſhes ſprang thouſands of his Opinion and Religion in *Scotland*, who altogether choſe rather to die than to be any longer over trodden by the Tyranny of the foreſaid cruel, ignorant, and beaſtly Biſhops, Abbots, Monks, and Friers; and ſo began the Congregation of *Scotland* to debate the true Religion of Chriſt againſt the Frenchmen and Papiſts, who fought always to depreſs and keep down the ſame; for it began ſoon after the Martyrdom of *Walter Mille*, of the which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1558. in the time of *Mary Dutcheſſe of Lungaway*, Queen *Regent* of *Scotland* and the ſaid *John Hamelton* being Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and Primate of *Scotland*, this *Walter Mille* (who in his youth had been a Papiſt) after that he had been in *Almain*, and had heard the Doctrine of the Goſpel returned again into *Scotland*, and, ſetting aſide all Papiſtry and compelled Chaſtity, married a Wife, which thing made him unto the Biſhops of *Scotland* to be ſuſpected of Hereſie; and after long watching of him he was taken by two Popiſh Prieſts, one called Sir *George Traqwhen*, and the other Sir *Hugh Turry* Servants to the ſaid Biſhop for the time, within the Town of *Dyſart* in *Fyffe*, and brought to Saint *Andrews* and impriſoned in the Caſtle thereof. He being in Priſon; the Papiſts earneſtly travelled and laboured to have ſeduced him; and threatned him with death and corporal Torments, to the intent they might cauſe him to recant and forſake the Truth. But ſeeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained ſtill firm and conſtant, they laboured to perſwade him by fair promiſes, and offered unto him a Monks portion for all the days of his life, in the Abbey of *Dumfermeling*, ſo that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were Hereſie; but he, continuing in the Truth even unto the end, deſpiſed their threatnings and fair promiſes.

W. Mille taken by two Popiſh Prieſts, G Sir. *Hugh* and Sir *Hug Turry.*

Then aſſembled together the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* *Murrey*, *Brechin*, *Caitnes*, and *Atheins*, the Abbots of *Dunfermeling*, *Lundors*, *Balindrinot*, and *Twapers* with Doctors of Theology of Saint *Andrews*, as *John Greſon* Black Frier, and Dean *John Wynrame*, Subprior of St. *Andrews*, *William Tranſton*, Provoſt of the *Old Colledge*, with divers others, as ſundry Friers Black and Gray. Theſe being aſſembled, and having conſulted together, he was taken out of Priſon, and brought to the Metropolitan Church, where he was put in a Pulpit before the Biſhops to be accuſed, the twentieth day of *April*. Being brought into the Church, and climbing up into the Pulpit, they feeing him ſo weak and feeble of Perſon, partly by age and travel, and partly by evil intreatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him for weakneſs of voice. But when he began to ſpeak, he made the Church to ring and ſound again, with ſo great courage and ſtoutneſs, that the Chriſtians which were preſent were no leſs rejoyced, than the Adverſaries were confounded and aſhamed. He being in the Pulpit, and on his knees at Prayer, Sir *Andrew Oliphant*, one of the Biſhops Prieſts, commanded him to ariſe and to anſwer to his Articles, ſaying on this manner, Sir *Walter Mille*, ariſe and anſwer to the Articles for you hold my Lord here overlong. To whom *Walter*, after he had finiſhed his Prayer, anſwered, ſaying, We ought to obey God more than men, I ſerve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord: and where ye call me Sir *Walter*, call me *Walter* and not Sir *Walter*, I have been overlong one of the Popes Knights. Now ſay what thou haſt to ſay.

W. Mille not ſuffered to kneel.

Mille climb to the Pulpit.

God giveth ſtrength contrary to nature ſupplying.

Andrew Oliphant the Archbiſhops Chaplain.

Theſe were the Articles whereof he was accuſed, with his Anſwers unto the ſame.

Oliphant. What think you of Prieſts Marriage? *Mille.* I hold it a bleſſed Band: for Chriſt himſelf maintained it, and approved the ſame, and alſo made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other mens Wives and Daughters, and will not keep the Band that God hath made. Ye vow Chaſtity, and break the ſame. Saint *Paul* had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbad marriage to any man, of what State or degree ſoever he were.

Oliphant.
Mille.

Oliphant. Thou ſaieſt there be not ſeven Sacraments.

Mille. Give me the Lords Supper and Baptiſm, and take you the reſt, and part them among you. For if there be ſeven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, Marriage, and give your ſelves to ſlanderous and ungodly Whoredom?

Oliphant.
Mille.

Oliph. Thou art againſt the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and ſaieſt, that the Maſs is wrong, and is Idolatry.

Oliphant.

Mille. A Lord or a King ſendeth and calleth many to a Dinner, and when the Dinner is in readineſs he cauſeth to ring a Bell, and the men come to the Hall, and ſit down to be partakers of the Dinner, but the Lord turning his back unto them eateth all himſelf, and mocketh them; ſo do ye.

Mille.
A ſimilitude aptly applied.

Oliph. Thou denieſt the Sarrament of the Altar to be the very Body of Chriſt really in Flesh and Blood.

Oliphant.

Mille. The Scripture of God is not to be taken Carnally but Spiritually, and ſtandeth in Faith only; and as for the Maſs it is wrong, for Chriſt was once offered on the Croſs for mans treſpaſs, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all Sacrifice.

Mille. The Scripture muſt not be Carnally underſtood.
Sacrifice of the Maſſe.

Oliphant. *Oliph.* Thou denieſt the Office of a Biſhop.

Mille. Biſhops, no Biſhops. *Mille.* I affirm that they, whom ye call Biſhops, do no Biſhops works, nor uſe the Office of Biſhops; (as *Paul* biddeth, writing to *Timothy*) but live after their own ſenſual pleaſure, and take no care of the Flock, nor yet regard they the Word of God, but deſire to be honoured and called, my Lords.

Oliph. Thou ſpeakeſt againſt Pilgrimage, and calledſt it a Pilgrimage to whoredom.

Oliphant; Mille. *Mille.* I affirm and ſay, that it is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your Pilgrimages, except it be in common Brothels.

Oliph. Thou preacheſt ſecretly and privately in Houſes, and openly in the Fields.

Mille. Yea man, and on the Sea alſo, ſayling in a Ship.

Oliph. Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous Opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce Sentence againſt thee.

Mille. I am accuſed of my life; I know I muſt die once, and therefore as Chriſt ſaid to *Judas*, *Quod facis fac citius.* Ye ſhall know that I will not recant the Truth, for I am Corn, I am no Chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burſt with the flail; But I will abide both.

W. Mille conſtant in the Truth. Sentence pronounced againſt *W. Mille.*

Theſe things rehearſed they of purpoſe, with other light trifles, to augment their final Accuſation, and then Sir *Andrew Oliphant* pronounced Sentence againſt him, that he ſhould be deliver'd to the Temporal Judge, and puniſhed as an Heretick, which was to be burnt. Notwithſtanding, his boldneſs and conſtancy moved ſo the hearts of many, that the Biſhops Steward of his Regality, Provoſt of the Town, called *Patrick Learmond*, refuſed to be his Temporal Judge, to whom it appertained, if the cauſe had been juſt. Alſo the Biſhops Chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wiſe take upon him ſo ungodly an Office. Yea, the whole Town was ſo offended with his unjuſt Condemnation, that the Biſhops Servants could not get for their money ſo much as one Cord to tye him to the Stake, or a Tar-Barrel to burn him, but were conſtrained to cut the Cords of their Maſters own Pavilion to ſerve their turn.

Patrick Learmond the Archbiſhops Steward and Provoſt refuſeth to be his temporal Judge. Alſo the Archbiſhops chamberlain refuſeth to be his Judge. The Town offended with the Condemnation of *W. Mille.* No Cord in all the Town could be bought to tye him to the Stake. *Alexander Simmel* Servant to the Biſhops Servant, made temporal Judge for *Walter Mille.* The miraculous working of God in *W. Mille.*

Nevertheleſs one Servant of the Biſhops more ignorant and cruel than the reſt, called *Alexander Simmel*, enterpriſing the Office of a Temporal Judge in that part, conveyed him to the Fire, where, againſt all natural reaſon of man, his boldneſs and hardineſs did more and more increaſe, ſo that the Spirit of God working miraculouſly in him, made it manifeſt to the People, that his Cauſe and Articles were moſt juſt, and he innocently put down.

The Burning of Walter Mille.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with Armed men to the Fire, *Oliphant* bade him paſs to the Stake: and he ſaid, Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me paſs up gladly; for by the Law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon my ſelf. Then *Oliphant* put him up with his hand, and he aſcended gladly, ſaying, *Introibo ad Altare Dei*, and deſired that he might have ſpace to ſpeak to the People; the which *Oliphant* and other of the Burners denied, ſaying, That he had ſpoken overmuch, for the Biſhops were altogether offended that the matter was ſo long continued. Then ſome of the young men committed both the Burners and the Biſhops their Maſters to the Devil, ſaying, that they believed they ſhould lament that day, and deſired the ſaid *Walter* to ſpeak what he pleaſed.

W. Mille denied by the Biſhops to ſpeak. *W. Mille* permitted by the young men to ſpeak.

And ſo after he made his humble Supplication to God on his knees, he aroſe, and ſtanding upon the Coals ſaid on this wiſe. *Dear Friends, the cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any Crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miſerable Sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, ſet forth in the New and old Teſtament unto us; for which as the faithful Martyrs have offered themſelves gladly before, being aſſured after the death of their Bodies of eternal Felicity; ſo this day I praiſe God, that he hath called me of his mercy among the reſt of his Servants to ſeal up his Truth with my life: which as I have received it of him, ſo willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore as you will eſcape the eternal Death, be no more ſeduced with the Lies of Prieſts, Monks, Friers, Priors, Abbots, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Sect of Antichriſt, but depend only upon Jeſus Chriſt and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation.* All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the Multitude; for they perceiving his patience, ſtoutneſs and boldneſs, conſtancy and hardineſs, were not only moved and ſtirred up, but their hearts alſo were ſo inflamed, that he was the laſt Martyr that died in *Scotland* for the Religion. After his Prayer, he was hoiſed up upon the Stake, and being in the Fire, he ſaid, *Lord have mercy on me; Pray People while there is time:* and ſo he conſtantly departed.

The conſtant behaviour of *W. Mille.* *Walter Mille* the laſt Martyr in *England.*

Epita-

Epitaphium.

Non noſtra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hoſtes in mea fata truces:
Sola fides Chriſti ſacris ſignata libellis,
Quæ vitæ cauſa eſt, eſt mihi cauſa necis.

After this, by the juſt Judgment of God, in the ſame place where *Walter Mille* was burnt, the Images of the great Church of the Abbey, which paſſed both in number and coſtlineſs, were burnt in time of Reformation. *Ex fideli teſtimonio* Scotia *miſſo.*

And thus much concerning ſuch matters as happened, and ſuch Martyrs as ſuffered in the Realm of *Scotland* for the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and teſtimony of his Truth.

Perſecution in Kent.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warham Archiepiſc. Cant.

IN revolving the Regiſters of *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, I find moreover beſides theſe above comprehended, in the time and Reign of King *Henry*, the Names of divers other, whereof ſome ſuffered Martyrdom for the like teſtimony of Gods Word, and ſome recanted, which albeit here they do come a little out of order, and ſhould have been placed before in the beginning of King *Henries* Reign, yet rather than they ſhould utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though ſomewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I truſt, without fruit unto the Reader, being no leſs worthy to be Regiſtred and preſerved from oblivion, than other of their Fellows before them.

A Table of certain true Servants of God and Martyrs omitted, which were burned in the Diocels of Canterbury, *under* William Warham *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury; *with the Names of their Perſecutors and Accuſers,* Anno 1511.

Martyrs In Kent before the time of Mr. Luther.	*Perſecutors, and Judges.*	*Accuſers and Witneſſes.*
	W. Warham Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*	*William Rich* of *Beninden.*
		Agnes Ive of *Canterbury.*
		Robert Hills of *Tenterden.*
		Stephen Caſtelin of *Tenterden.*
		John Grebil of *Tenterden*, Husband to *Agnes Grebil* the Martyr.
		Chriſtopher Grebil, the Natural Son of *Agnes Grebil* the Martyr.
		John Grebil the younger, the natural Son of *Agnes Grebil* the Martyr.
	Dr. *Cuthert Tonſtal*,	*William Olbert* of *Godmerſham.*
		Lawrence Chetenden.
	Doctor of both Laws, and Chancellor of the Archbiſhop.	*Tho. Harwood* of *Rowenden.*
		Joan Harwood his Wife.
		Phil. Harwood.
		William Baker of *Cranbrooke.*
		Edw. Walker.
		Robert Reinold of *Beninden.*
		The Martyrs.
	D. *Sylveſter*, Lawyer,	*William Carder*, of *Tenterden*, Weaver.
		Agnes Grebil of *Tenterden*, Wife of *John Grebil the Elder*, and Mother to *John* and *Chriſtopher Grebil*, who with her own Husband accuſed her to death, being threeſcore years of Age.
	Dr. *Welles.*	
	Dr. *Clement.*	
	Brown.	
	Dr. *Job. Collet*, Dean of *Pauls.*	*Robert Harriſon*, of *Halden*, of the Age of ſixty years.
		John Browne of *Aſſeford.*
	Dr. *Wodington.*	*Edward Walker*, of *Maidſtone*, Cutler.

The Articles whereupon theſe five bleſſed Martyrs were Accuſed and Condemned by the foreſaid Judges and Witneſſes, were theſe as follow.

Ex Regiſt. W. Warh.

FIrſt, For holding that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very true Body of Chriſt, but only material Bread in ſubſtance.

2. That Auricular Confeſſion was not to be made to a Prieſt.

3. That no power is given of God to Prieſts, of miniſtring Sacraments, ſaying Maſs, or other Divine Service, more than to Lay-men.

Their meaning was this, That Prieſts can claim no more vertue or high eſtate by their Order, than can a Lay-man.

4. That the ſolemnization of Matrimony is not neceſſary to ſalvation of Souls, neither was inſtituted of God (*for a Sacrament they meant.*)

5. That the Sacrament of Extream Unction is not available nor neceſſary to Souls health.

6. That the Images of the Croſs, of the Crucifix, of the bleſſed Virgin, and other Saints, are not to be worſhipped; and that they which worſhip them do commit Idolatry.

7. That Pilgrimages to holy Places, and holy Relicks be not neceſſary, nor meritorious to Souls health.

8. That Invocation is not to be made to Saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their Prayers.

9. That holy Bread and holy Water have no more virtue after their Conſecration than before.

10. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the ſame damnable Opinions before; as they did at that preſent.

11. That where they now have confeſſed their Errours, they would not have ſo done but only for fear of manifeſt proofs brought againſt them, or elſe but for fear to be convicted by them, they would never have confeſſed the ſame of their own accord.

12. That they have communed and talked of the ſaid damnable Errours heretofore with divers other Perſons, and have had Books concerning the ſame.

The order and form of Proceſs uſed againſt theſe five Martyrs aforeſaid: and firſt of William Carder, Anno 1511.

The proteſt or Judgment againſt W. Carder, Martyr.

William Carder being convented before *William Warham* Archbiſhop, and his Chancellor *Cuthbert Tonſtall*, Doctor *Sylveſter*, Doctor *Welles*, *Clement*, *Brown*, with other more, the Notaries being *William Patking*, and *David Cowper*, the Articles and Interrogatories above ſpecified were laid unto him. Which Articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did; nor doth hold any ſuch Opinion, otherwiſe than becometh that every Chriſtian man ſhould do, ready to conform himſelf in all points to their Doctrine; and therefore to clear himſelf the better againſt thoſe Interrogatories objected againſt him, he ſtood in denial of the ſame. The like alſo did every of the other four Martyrs after him.

The ſtraight dealing of W. Warham Archbp. of Canterbury. Witneſſes againſt W. Carder.

All which notwithſtanding, the uncharitable Archbiſhop ſeeking all advantages againſt him that he might, and more then right Law would give, brought in againſt him ſuch witneſſes, as before were abjured, whom he knew, for fear of relapſe, durſt do none other but diſcloſe whatſoever they knew, to wit, *Chriſtopher Grebil*, *William Rich*, *Agnes Ive*, *John Grebil*, *Robert Hilles*, and *Steven Caſtelin.* Whoſe Depoſitions being taken, and the ſaid *Carder* being asked what he could ſay for himſelf, he had nothing, he ſaid, to produce againſt their Atteſtations, but ſubmitted him unto their mercy: ſaying moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the Sacraments of the Church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholicks, he now was ſorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the Archbiſhop, this his ſubmiſſion notwithſtanding, and notwithſtanding that the Regiſter maketh no mention of any Relapſe, contrary to good Law, at leaſt contrary to all Chriſtian Charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind Sentence, and ſo condemned him: who neither ſtood ſtubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any

thing contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called forth *Agnes Grebil*, and examined of the said twelve Articles above recited, which she in like manner denied, as the other had done before, putting her Adversaries to their proof. Then the Archbishop called for *John Grebil* her Husband, and *Christopher* and *John Grebil* her two Sons (who before had been abjured,) caused them upon their Oath to depose against their own natural Mother, and so they did.

First *John Grebil* the elder, her Husband, examined by vertue of his Oath, to say how *Agnes* his Wife hath abid doth believe of the Sacrament of the Altar, of going in Pilgrimage, Offerings and worshipping of Saints, Images, &c. and how long she hath holden thus, deposed; that first about the end of King *Edwards* days the fourth, in his house, by the teaching of *John Ive*, she was brought to that belief, and so forth from thence daily, until the time of detection, she hath continued.

The Catholick Clergy of the Papists set the Husband against the Wife.

And besides that, said he, when my Children *Christopher* and *John*, being about seven years of age, were then taught of me in my house the said Errour of the Sacrament of the Altar, and by the said *Agnes* my Wife divers times, she was always of one mind in the said misbelief against the Sacrament of the Altar, that it was not Christs Body, Flesh and Blood, but only Bread. Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was stedfast in the said Errour, he said that she always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said the said Opinion was good, and was well contented that her Children aforesaid were of the same Opinions against the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. *Ex verbis Registri.*

The Catholick exciteth the Children to accuse their own Mother.

The Bishop, with his Catholick Doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the Husband against the Wife, proceeding further in their Catholick zeal, caused her two Children, *Christopher* and *John* to be produced, one of the age of two and twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own natural Mother. Who likewise, being pressed with their Oath, witnessed, and said, that the foresaid *Agnes* their Mother held, believed, taught, and defended, that the Sacrament of the Altar was but Bread, and not the very Body of Christs Flesh and Blood; That Baptism was no better in the Fount, than out of the Fount; That Confirmation was of no effect; that the solemnization of Matrimony was no Sacrament; That Confession to God alone was sufficient; Also that going in Pilgrimage and worshipping of Saints and Images was of none effect, &c. *Item*, That their Father and the said *Agnes* their Mother, held, taught and commuved of the said Errours within their house divers times, by the space of those three years past, as well on Holy-days, as Working days, affirming and teaching that the said Opinions were good and lawful, and to be holden and maintained, and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or bewray either of these beliefs in any wife. Finally, that they never heard their said Father and Mother holding or teaching any other Opinions, than be the said Errours against the Sacrament of the Altar, and Pilgrimages, Offerings, worshipping of Saints and Images, as far as they could remember, &c. *Ex verbis Regist.*

Christopher Grebil and *I. Grebil* witness against *Agnes Grebil* their Mother.

Here hast thou (Christian reader) before thine eyes an horrible Spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impiety, first of an unnatural Husband, witnessing against his own Wife; and of as unnatural Children, accusing and witnessing against their own natural Mother. Which although they had so done, the cause being of it self just and true, (as it was not) yet they had done more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such, as which by Gods Word standeth firm, sound, and perfect, what Impiety were it for men to accuse a poor Innocent in case of Heresie, which is no Heresie? Now besides all this, the Husband to come in against his own Wife, and the Children to bring in the Knife wherewith to cut the Throat of their own natural Mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this, but Impiety upon Impiety, prodigious and horrible for all Christian ears to hear? And yet the greatest Impiety of all resteth in these pretensed Catholicks and Clergy men, which were the authors and causers of all this mischief.

Example of an unnatural Husband and of unnatural Children.

Greatest impiety of all in the Clergy men the Authors hereof.

The cause why this good Woman so stood (as she did) in the denial of these foresaid Articles objected, was this, for that she never thought that her Husband and her own Children, who only were privy of her Religion, would testifie against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose this against her, denying still (as she did, before) that she did ever hold such manner of Errours, and being now destitute of all Friends, and comfort, brast out in these words openly (as the Register reporteth) that she repented the time that ever she bare those Children of her Body. And thus the Archbishop with his Doctors having now the thing that they fought for, albeit she was ready to deny all Errours, and to conform her self to their Religion, yet notwithstanding, they refusing her readiness and conformity proceeded to their Sentence, and so condemned her to death.

Great impiety of the Husband to-ward the wife.

Greater impiety in the Children against the Mother.

Ex Regist. W. Warham. W. Carder. Ag. Grebil condemned by the sentence of the Archbishop.

After whose Condemnation, next was brought to Examination *Robert Harrison*, who in like manner because he stood in his denial, contrary witnesses against him were produced, to wit, *Christopher Grebil*, *William Rich*, *William Olberd*, *Agnes Ive*, who a little before had been abjured, and therefore were so much the more apt and appliable to serve the Bishops humor for danger of relapse. After the deposition and conviction of which witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet notwithstanding it would nor be received, but Sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforesaid to the fire.

Rob. Harrison examined. W. Carder. Agnes Grebil, R. Harrison Martyrs.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and Certificate given up of them together to the King from *Warham* the Archbishop, upon the same. *Anno* 1511. *Maii* 2. *Ex Regist. Cantuariensi. Arch.*

The Bishops Certificate to the King

Over and besides these three godly Martyrs above recited, I find in the foresaid Registers of *W. Warham* two other like godly Martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve Articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them, to wit, *Thomas Harwood*, *Phil. Harwood*, *Steven Castelyn*, *William Baker*, *Robert Reynold*, *John Bampton*, *Robert Bright*, *William Rich*, &c. Whereupon they were adjudged likewise for Hereticks to be burned, the year aforesaid, 1511. The names of which two Martyrs were *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*. *Ex Regist. W. Warh. fol.* 179.

I. Brown Ed. Walker, Martyrs Witnesses against these two Martyrs.

Now as you have heard the names of these blessed Martyrs, with their Articles recited, let us also hear the Tenor of the Bishops Sentence, by the which they were condemned one after another. Their Sentence containeth one uniform manner of words in form as followeth.

The Tenor of the Sentence.

The condemnation of these five aforesaid Martyrs.

IN Nomine Dei, Amen, *Willielmus permissione divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, in quodam negotio hæreticæ pravitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenderden nostr. diarium & subjectum, coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem, nobis super hæresi & pravitate hujusmodi detectum & delatum, ac per nostram Diœcesim Cantuariæ antedictæ notorie & publice in ea parte apud bonos & graves diffamatum, ex officio mero vitè & canonicè procedentes, auditis & intellectis, visis & cognitis, rimatisque ac matura deliberatione discussis & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis, servatisque in omnibus, & per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis ac quomodolibet requisitis, pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato, & solum Deum pra oculis habentes: Quia per acta actitata, deducta, probata & exhibita coram nobis in eodem negotio invenimus te per probationes legitimas coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factas, nonnullos & varios errores, hæreses, & damnatas Opiniones, juri divino, & Ecclesiastico obviantes, contrarios, & repugnantes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determinatam & observatam, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, & dogmatizasse, & præsertim contra Sacramenta Altaris, seu Eucharistiæ, Pœnitentiæ, Ordinis, & alia Sacramenta & sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Dogmata: Et quamvis nos Christi vestigiis inhærendo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur & vivat, sæpenumero conati fuimus te corrigere, ac viis & modis licitis, & Canonicis, quibus potuimus aut scivimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per universalem Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, determinatam & observatam, ac ad unitatem ejusdem sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ reducere, tamen invenimus te adeo duræ cervicis, quod tuos errores & hæreses hujusmodi noluisti sponte & incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem Catholicam & unitatem sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ antedictas debitè reverti & redire, sed tanquam iniquitatis & tenebrarum filius in tanum induraſi cor tuum, ut non velis intelligere viscum tui Patris tibi paterno compatientis affectu, nec velis pias & paternis monitionibus allici, nec salubribus redduci blanditiis: nos verò nolentes quod in qui iniquus es ſias nequior, & gregem dominicum in fœurium tuæ hæreticæ pravitatis labe (de quo plurimum timemus) inficias, idcirco de consilio Juris peritorum nobis in hac parte assistentium cum quibus communicavimus, te Willielmum Carder prædictam de meritis atque culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, de & super hujusmodi detestabilis hæreticæ pravitatis reatu convictum, & ad Ecclesiæ unitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hæreticisque credentem, ac eorum fautorem & receptatorem prætextu præmissorum fuisse & esse, cum dolore & amaritudine cordis judicamus & declaramus finaliter & diffinitivè in his scriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam hæreticum judicio sive curiæ seculari, teque Willielmum Carder prædictum (in præfertur) hæreticum nihilominus in majoris Excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse & incurrisse, nec non Excommunicatum fuisse & esse pronuntiamus, decernimus & declaramus etiam in his scriptis.*

Moreover, besides these five blessed Saints of God, whom they so cruelly by their Sentence did condemn to death, we find also in the same Registers of *William Warham*, a great number of other whom they for the same Doctrine and like Articles caused to be apprehended and put to open Recantation; the Names of which Persons in the Catalogue here following be expressed.

Here followeth a Table containing the Names of them which were abjured the same time under William Warham, *Archbishop, in the Diocess of* Canterbury, Anno 1511.

A Table or Catalogue of them which were caused to abjure under W. Warham. None what Doctrine here reigned in England before the time of Luther.

John Grebil the Elder, of *Benynden.*
Christopher Grebill, his Son.
John Grebill, Son of *John* the Elder of *Benynden.*
W. Olbert the Elder, of *Godmersham.*
Agnes Ive of *Canterbury.*
Agnes Chytenden of *Canterbury.*
Thomas Manning of *Benynden.*
Joan Colyn of *Tenderden.*
Robert Hills of *Tenterden.*
Alice Hills his Wife.
Thomas Harwood, *Joan Harwood* his Wife, } of *Rowenden.*
Philip Harwood,
Stephen Castelyn of *Tenterden.*
W. Baker of *Cranbroke.*
Margaret Baker his Wife.
William Olbert the younger, of *Godmersham.*
Agnes Reygnold of *Cranbroke.*
Thomas Field of *Boxley.*
Joan Olbert Wife to *W. Olbert* the elder, of *Godmersham.*
Elizabeth White of *Canterbury.*
Thomas Church of *Great Charte.*
Vincent Lynch of *Halden.*
John Rich of *Wittisham.*
Joan Lynch of *Tenterden.*
Thomas Browne of *Cranbroke.*
John Franke of *Tenterden.*
Joyce Bampton, Wife of *John Bampton*, of *Berstede.*
Richard Bampton of *Boxley.*
Robert Bright of *Mayssttone.*
William Lorkyn of *East Forley.*
John Bannes of *Boxley* 1512.
John Buckherst of *Staplehurst.*
Joan Dod Wife of *John Dod.*
John Benet of *Staplehurst.*
Rebecka Benet his Wife.
Joan Lowes, Wife of *Thomas Lowes* of *Cranbroke.*
Julian Hills, Wife of *Robert Hills* of *Tenterden.*
Robert Franke of *Tenterden.*

The Articles laid to these Abjurers appear in the Registers to be the same which before were objected to the other five Martyrs aforesaid, which was for believing and defending.

Their Articles.

1. FIrst, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not the very Body of Christ, but material Bread.

2. That Confession of Sins ought not to be made to a Priest.

3. That there is no more power given of God to a Priest, than to a Lay-man.

4. That the solemnization of Matrimony is not necessary for the weal of mans Soul.

5. That the Sacrament of extream Unction, called Aneyling, is not profitable nor necessary for mans Soul.

6. That Pilgrimages to holy and devout places, be not necessary nor meritorious for mans Soul.

7. That Images of Saints, or of the Crucifix, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.

8. That a man should pray to no Saint, but only to God.

9. That holy Water and holy Bread is not better after the Benediction made by the Priest, *Ex verbis Regist.* W. Warham, *fol.* 176. *An.* 1511. Ex Regist. W. Warham.

By these Articles and Abjurations of the fore-named persons, thou hast to understand, Christian Reader, what Doctrine of Religion was here stirring in this our Realm of *England*, before the time that the name of *Martin Luther* was ever heard of here amongst us. The Doctrine of the Church in England before Mr. Luther began.

Three divers sorts of Judgments amongst the Papists, against Hereticks as they call them.

Three sorts of proceedings of the Papists against the Hereticks.

AS touching the penance and penalty enjoyned to these aforesaid, as also to all other such like, first here is to be noted, that the Catholick Fathers, in their Processes of Heretical pravity, have three divers and distinct kinds of Judgments and proceedings.

The Process of the Papists in condemning Hereticks.

For some they judge to be burned, to the intent that other being brought into terrour by them, they might therefore more quietly hold up their Kingdom, and Reign as they list. And thus condemned they these five aforesaid, and notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselves to the bosom of the Mother Church, yet could they not be received, as by the words of the Register, and by the tenour of their Sentence above-specified, may well appear.

And this sort of Persons, thus by them condemned, consisteth either in such as have been before abjured, and fallen again into relapse; or else such as stand constantly in their Doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terrour and example to all other, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of this last sort were these five Martyrs last-named. So was also *John Lambert*, who submitting himself to the King could not be accepted. So was likewise *Richard Mekins* the silly Lad, and the three Women of *Gerneſey*, whose submission would not serve to save their lives, with many other in like case. Against this sort of Persons, the Process which the Papists use is this. First, after they began once to be suspected by some Promoter, they are denounced and cited; then by virtue of Inquisition they are taken and clapt fast in Irons in Prison; from thence they are brought forth at

last to examination, if they be not before killed by Famine, cold, or ſtraightneſs of the Priſon, then be Articles drawn, or rather wreſted out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their Oath, to anſwer truly to every point and circumſtance articulated againſt them. Which Articles if they ſeem to deny, or falve by true expounding, then are Witneſſes called in and admitted, what witneſſes ſoever they are be they never ſo much infamous, Uſurers, Ribalds, Women, yea, and common Harlots. Or if no other Witneſſes can be found, then is the Husband brought in and forced to ſwear againſt the Wife or the Wife againſt the Husband, or the Children againſt the natural Mother, as in this example of *Agnes Grebil*. Or if no ſuch witneſs at all can be found, then are they ſtrained upon the Rack, or by other bitter Torments forced to confeſs their knowledge, and to preach others. Neither muſt any be ſuffered to come to them, what need ſoever they have. Neither muſt any publick or quiet audience be given them to ſpeak for themſelves, till at laſt Sentence be read againſt them, to give them up to the Secular Arm, or to degrade them, if they be Prieſts, and ſo to burn them. *Ex hiſt. Cochlei, contra Huſſitas.*

Ex hiſt. Cochl. contra Huſſitas lib.

And yet the malignity of theſe Adverſaries doth not here ceaſe. For after that the fire hath conſumed their Bodies, then they fall upon their Books, and condemn them in like manner to be burned, and no man muſt be ſo hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of Hereſie. But before they have aboliſhed theſe Books, firſt they gather Articles out of them, ſuch as they liſt themſelves, and ſo perverſly wreſt and wring them after their own purpoſe, falſely, and contrary to the right meaning of the Author, as may ſeem, after their putting down, to be moſt Heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the Books then aboliſhed, that no man may confer them with their Articles, to ſpie their falſehood; then they divulge and ſet abroad thoſe Articles, in ſuch ſort as Princes and People may ſee what Hereticks they were. And this is the rigor of their proceſs and proceeding againſt theſe Perſons whom thus they purpoſe to condemn and burn.

The uſe and manner how the Papiſts deviſe our Articles of Books after the authors be condemned.

To the ſecond order belongeth that ſort of Hereticks whom theſe Papiſts do not condemn to death, but aſſign them unto Monaſteries, there to continue, and to faſt all their life, *In pane doloris & aqua anguſtiæ*, that is, with Bread of ſorrow, and Water of affliction; and that they ſhould not remove one mile out of the precinct of the ſaid Monaſtery ſo long as they lived, without they were otherwiſe by the Archbiſhop himſelf or his Succeſſours diſpenſed withal. Albeit many times the ſaid perſons were ſo diſpenſed withal, that their Penance of Bread and Water was turned for them to woolward *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays* every week, or ſome other like puniſhment, &c.

The puniſhment of them whom the Papiſts condemn to perpetual Priſon after their ſubmiſſion.

The third kind of Hereticks were thoſe whom theſe Prelates did judge not to perpetual Priſon, but only enjoyned them Penance, either to ſtand before the Preacher, or elſe to bear a Fagot about the Market, or in Proceſſion; or elſe to wear the Picture of a Fagot bordered on their left ſleeves, without any Cloak or Gown upon the ſame; or elſe to kneel at the ſaying of certain Maſſes, or to ſay ſo many *Pater noſters*, *Aves*, and *Creeds*, to ſuch or ſuch a Saint: or to go in Pilgrimage to ſuch or ſuch a place; or elſe to bear a Fagot to the burning of ſome Heretick; or elſe to faſt certain *Fridays* Bread and Water; or if it were a Woman, to wear no ſmock on *Friday*, but to go woolward, &c. As appeareth, *Regiſt. fol.* 159.

The puniſhment of them which be enjoyned Penance after their recantation

And thus much by the way out of the Regiſter of *William Warham* aforeſaid, like as alſo out of other Biſhops Regiſters many more ſuch like matters and examples might be collected, if either leiſure would ſerve me to ſearch, or if the largeneſs of this Volum would ſuffer all to be inſerted that might be found. Howbeit, amongſt many other things omitted, the ſtory and Martyrdom of *Launcelot* and his fellows is not to be forgotten. The Story of whom with their names is this.

The Martyrdom of Launcelot *one of the Kings Guard,* John *a Painter, and* Giles German.

Launcelot, Jo. a Painter, G. German, Martyrs.

ABout the year of our Lord 1539. one *John* a Painter, and *Giles German* were accuſed of Hereſie, and whileſt they were in examination at *London* before the Biſhop and other Judges, by chance there came in one of the Kings Servants named *Launcelot*, a very tall man, and of no leſs godly mind and diſpoſition, than ſtrong and tall of Body.

This man ſtanding by, ſeemed by his countenance and geſture to favour both the cauſe and the poor men his Friends. Whereupon he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day at five of the Clock in the morning was carried with them into Saint *Giles* in the field, and there burned, there being but a ſmall concourſe or Company of People at their death.

The Story of one Stile, *Martyr.*

One Stile, Martyr, burned in Smithfield with the Apocalyps. Excellimon. D. Reb. Outerd.

INthe Company and Fellowſhip of theſe bleſſed Saints and Martyrs of Chriſt, which innocently ſuffered within the time of King *Henries* Reign, for the Teſtimony of Gods Word and Truth, an other good man alſo cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppreſſed, and burned in *Smithfield* about the latter end of *Cuthbert Tonſtalls* time, Biſhop of *London*. Whoſe name was called *Stile*, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient Knight, named Sir *Robert Ountred*, who was the ſame time preſent himſelf at his burning and Martyrdom, and cie witneſs of the ſame. With him there was burned alſo a Book of the *Apocalyps*, which belike he was wont to read upon. This Book when he ſaw faſtened unto the Stake, to be burned with him; liſting up his voyce, O bleſſed *Apocalyps*, ſaid he, how happy am I, that ſhall be burned with thee? And ſo this good man and the bleſſed *Apocalyps* were both together in the fire conſumed.

ANd thus (through the gracious ſupportation of Chriſt our Lord) we have run over theſe ſeven and thirty laborious years of King *Henries* Reign. Under whoſe time and governance, ſuch Acts and Records, Troubles, Perſecutions, Recantations, Practiſes, Alterations, and Reformations as then happened in the Church, we have here diſcourſed, with ſuch Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations, as by him were ſet forth in cauſes and matters to the ſaid Church appertaining: Albeit not comprehending all things ſo fully as might be, yet pretermitting ſo few things as we could, of ſuch matters as came to our hands; ſave only that certain Inſtruments, with a few other occurrents ſomwhat pertaining to the courſe of this Kings Hiſtory, have paſt our hands, as the falſe lying Bull of Pope *Leo* the tenth, againſt M. *Luther*, with the form alſo of the ſaid M. *Luthers* appeal from the Pope unto a general Councel. All which, with other matters more beſides omitted, we have deferred by themſelves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the ſequel of this preſent Story, as in his due place ſhall appear.

Pope Leo his Bull againſt Luther. M. Luthers appeal from the Pope to a general Councel.

In the mean ſeaſon, amongſt other omiſſions here overpaſt, forſomuch as a certain inſtrument of the Popes Sentence definitive againſt King *Henries* firſt divorce with Lady *Katharine Dowager* hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor unmeet to be commixted to Hiſtory, I thought here preſently to place the ſame, to the intent that the Reader ſeeing the arrogant and impudent preſumption of the Pope in the ſaid Sentence, going about by force and Authority ſo to conſtrain and compel Kings and Princes againſt their wills, and againſt right and Scripture to apply to his imperious purpoſe, may the better underſtand thereby what was the true cauſe and ground why the King firſt began to take ſtomach againſt the Pope, and ſo ſend him clean packing out of this Realm. But before I ſhall produce this aforeſaid Sentence definitive of the Pope, to make the matter more plain to the Reader, it ſhall not be amiſs, firſt to deciper and ripup the

The Sentence definitive of P. Clement 7. againſt the divorce of K. Henry

original

original of ſuch occaſions, as ſhall induce the Reader to the better underſtanding of this falling out between the King and the Pope.

For ſo I find by the Letters of Dr. *Stephen Gardiner*, written to Cardinal *Wolſey* from *Rome*, (at what time he and *Fox* were ſent Embaſſadours by the King to Pope *Clement* the Seventh, about the expedition of the Kings Divorce, *An.* 1532.) that the ſaid Pope *Clement*, with the counſel of the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* and other Cardinals, at firſt was well willing and very inclinable to the accompliſhment and ſatisfaction of the Kings deſire in that behalf, and that for divers reſpects.

The Cauſes moving the Pope at the firſt to favour the cauſe of the Kings Divorce.

As firſt, for the great benefits received, and the ſingular devotion of the King toward the See Apoſtolick, in taking War for the Churches cauſe, in forceaſing War at the Popes deſire, and eſpecially in procuring the Popes deliverance, whereby the Pope then thought himſelf with his whole See much obliged to the King in all reſpects, to paſs by his Authority whatſoever reaſonably might be granted in gratifying the Kings ſo ample merits and deſerts.

Secondly, for the evident Reaſons and ſubſtantial Arguments in the * Kings Book contained, which ſeemed well to ſatisfie the Popes liking, and to remove away all ſcrupules.

This Book, called the Kings Book, was a certain Treatiſe concerning the Reaſons and Arguments of divers Learned men for the lawful diſſolution of the Kings Marriage, with Anſwer alſo to the contrary Objections of Aſtē and others. And this Book here the King ſent to the Pope. The fifth Cauſe.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the Pope had in the excellent Wiſdom, profound Learning, and mature Judgment of the King, which the Pope (as he ſaid in formal words) would ſooner lean unto, than unto any other Learned mans mind or ſentence, ſo that the Kings Reaſons, he ſaid, muſt needs be of great efficacy and ſtrength of themſelves to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cauſe moving the Pope to favour the Kings Requeſt, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his Conſcience, which otherwiſe in that unlawful Marriage with his Brothers Wife could not be ſetled.

The fifth cauſe was for the conſideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwiſe might happen to the Realm by the pretenſed Titles of the King of *Scots*, and other, without any Heir Male to eſtabliſh the Kings Succeſſion: for the avoiding of which perils, and alſo for the other cauſes above rehearſed, the Pope ſhewed himſelf at that time propenſe and forward to promote and ſet forward the Kings deſired purpoſe in that behalf.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to ſuggeſt and repeat to the Reader, albeit the ſame is alſo ſufficiently expreſſed before: to the end that the ſtudious Reader pondering theſe firſt proceedings of the Pope, und comparing them with this Sentence diffinitive which under followeth, may the better underſtand what inconſtant levity, what falſe dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in it ſelf is in this holy See of *Rome*, as by this caſe of the Pope may well appear; who in ſhort time, after all this, was ſo clean altered from that he was, that whereas before he pretended to eſteem ſo gratefully the Kings Travel and Benefits exhibited to the See Apoſtolick, in his defence againſt the Emperour and the *Spaniards*, now he joyneth utterly with the *Ceſarians* againſt the King. And where before he ſo greatly magnified the Kings profound Learning, and mature Judgment, eſteeming his mind and ſentence above all others Learned men, to be as a Judge ſufficient in the direction of this caſe; now turning head to the tayl, he utterly refuſeth to bring the matter *in judicium Orbis*, but will needs detain it at home.

The double dealing of the Pope with King Henry. The Pope falſe, double and contrary to himſelf.

Again, where before he pretended a tender proviſion for the State of this Realm, now he fetteth all other Realms againſt it: and finally, where he before ſeemed to reſpect the quiet and tranquillity of the Kings Conſcience, now he goeth about to command and compel the King, againſt his Will and Conſcience, to do clean contrary to that which he himſelf before in his Judgment had allowed, thinking to have the King at his beck, and to do and undo what he liſted and commanded; as by the tenour and true Copy of this his Sentence diffinitive ye may underſtand. Which as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might ſee what juſt cauſe the King had, being ſo preſumptuouſly provoked by the Pope, to ſhake of his proud Authority, and utterly to exile him out of his Realm. Mark, I pray thee, the manner of the Popes proud Sentence how preſumptuouſly it proceedeth.

The Pope, how preſumptuouſly he compelleth and commandeth Kings and Princes;

Anglici

Anglici Matrimonii Sententia diffinitiva:

The tenour of the Popes Sentence diffinitive againſt King Henry 8.

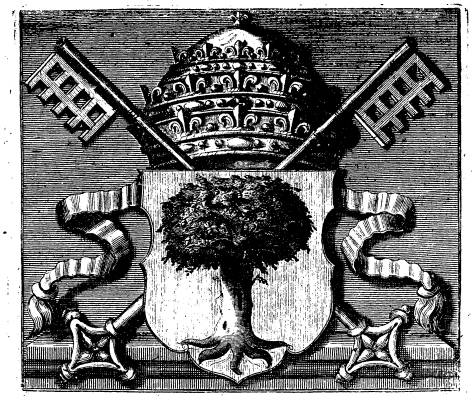
Lata per Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum D.*Clementem* Papam VII. in facro Conſiſtorio de Reverendiſſimorum, S.R.E. Cardinalium Conſilio, ſuper validitate Matrimonii inter Seneriſſimos *Henricum* VIII. & *Catherinam Angliæ* Reges contracti.

PRO

Eadem Sereniſſima CATHARINA Angliæ *Regina.*

CONTRA

Sereniſſimum HENRICUM VIII. Angliæ *Regem.*



Clemens Papa VII.

Ex Archetypo Rom. Pontificis ea ſe tempore miſſo.

CHriſti Nomine invocato in Throno Juſtitiæ pro Tribunali ſedentes, & ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, per hanc noſtram diffinitivam ſententiam quam de Venerabilium Fratrum noſtrorum Sanctæ Ro. Ec. Car. Conſiſtoraliter coram nobis Congregatorum Conſilio & aſſenſu ferimus in his Scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, & declaramus in cauſa & cauſis ad nos & ſedem Apoſtolicam per appellationem, per chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam Catherinam Angliæ Reginam illuſtrem a noſtris & ſedis Apoſtolicæ Legatis in Regno Angliæ Deputatis, interpoſitam legitimè devolutis & adnexatis, inter prædictam Catherinam Reginam, & chariſſimum in Chriſto filium Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem illuſtrem, ſuper Validitate & Invaliditate Matrimonii inter eoſdem Reges contracti & conſummati, rebuſque aliis in actis cauſæ & cauſarum hujuſmodi latiùs deductis, & dilecto filio Paulo Capiſſucho cauſarum ſacri Palatii tunc Decano, & propter ipſius Pauli abſentiam venerabili fratri noſtro Jacobo Simonetæ Epiſco Piſaurien. unius ex dictis Palatii cauſarum Auditoribus locum tenenti, audiendi, inſtituendis, & in Conſiſtorio noſtro ſecreto referendi commiſſi, & per eos nobis, & eiſdem Cardinalibus relatæ, & maturè diſcuſſis, coram nobis pendentibus, matrimonium inter prædictam Catherinam, & Henricum Angliæ Regis contractum, & inde ſecuta quæcunque fuiſſe & eſſe validum & Canonicum validaque & Canonica, ſuſque debitos debuiſſe & debere ſortiri effectus, prolemque exinde ſuſceptam & ſuſcipiendam fuiſſe & fore legitimam, & præfatum Henricum Angliæ Regem teneri, & obligatum fuiſſe & fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina Regina, ejus legitima conjuge, illamque maritali affectione & Regio honore tractandam, & eundem Henricum Angliæ Regem ad præmiſſa omnia & ſingula cum effectu ad implendum, condemnandum, omnibuſque juris remediis cogendum & compellendum fore, prout condemnamus, cogimus, & compellimus, moleſtationeſque & denegationes per eundem Henr. Regem eidem Catherinæ Reginæ ſuper invaliditate ac fœdere dicti matrimonii quomodolibet factas & præſtitas, fuiſſe & eſſe illicitas & injuſtas; & eidem Henrico Regi ſuper illis ac in invaliditate matrimonii hujuſmodi perpetuum ſilentium imponendum fore, & imponimus, eundemque Henricum Angliæ Regem in expenſis in hujuſmodi cauſa pro parte dictæ Catherinæ Reginæ coram nobis, & dictis omnibus legitimè factis condemnandum fore, & condemnamus, quorum expenſarum taxationem nobis in poſterum reſervamus.

Ita pronuntiamus, I.

Lata fuit *Romæ* in Palatio Apoſtolico publicè in Conſiſtorio, die xxiii. *Martii*, M. D. XXXIV.

Blotius.

The

The effect in Engliſh.

THE effect of this Sentence is as much to mean in Engliſh, *That Pope* Clement *the Seventh, with the conſent of his other Brethren the Cardinals aſſembled together in the Conſiſtory, ſitting there in the Throne of* (a) *Juſtice, calling upon the Name* (b) *of Chriſt, and having God only before his* (c) *eyes, doth pronounce, define and declare in the cauſe and cauſes between his dear Daughter* Katherine *Queen of* England *appealing to the See Apoſtolick, and his beloved* (d) *Son* Henry *the Eighth King of* England, *concerning the validity and invalidity of the Matrimony heretofore contracted between them, and yet depending in the Conſiſtory Court of the ſaid Pope* Clement; *that the ſaid Matrimony always hath,* (e) *and ſtill doth ſtand firm and Canonical, and that the Iſſue proceeding, or which ſhall proceed of the ſame, ſtandeth, and ſhall ſtand lawful and legitimate; and that the foreſaid* Henry *King of* England *is and ſhall be bound and obſtrict to the Matrimonial ſociety and cohabitation with the ſaid Lady* Katherine *his lawful Wife and Queen, to hold and maintain her with ſuch love and princely honours, as becometh a loving Husband, and his Kingly honour to do.*

(a) The Pope ſitteth in the Throne of Juſtice, with like humility and ſame fashion, as Luther did ſet in the ſeat of the higheſt, and Antichriſt ſitteth in the Temple of God.
(b) And ſaid never a word.
(c) *Id eſt*, having no bribe of money in his hands, nor any fear of the Emperour in his heart.
(d) So not this a glorious Father that will have no beggers to his Sons and Daughters, but Emperours, Kings and Queens?
(e) And why then did you ſend Campeius to England to diſſolve the ſame Matrimony before, as appeareth above?
(f) By his own Canon Law, he meaneth, and not by the Law of God.
(g) Here thou maiſt ſee (good Reader) how the Pope may and doth err like a falſe Prophet. For where he thought to put the King to ſilence, the ſame ſilence lighted upon himſelf, and whereby the Pope is driven himſelf to ſtand mute in England, and God grant he may ſo ſtand for ever. Amen.

Alſo, *that the ſaid* Henry *King of* England, *if he ſhall refuſe ſo to perform and accompliſh all and ſingular the premiſſes, in all effectual manner is to be condemned and compelled thereunto by all remedies of* (f) *the Law, and enforced, according as we do condemn, compel, and enforce him ſo to do, providing, that all moleſtations and refuſals whatſoever made by the ſaid King* Henry *againſt the ſaid Queen* Katherine, *upon the invalidity of the ſaid Marriage, to have been and be judged unlawful and unjuſt; and the ſaid King from henceforth for ever to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any Court hereafter* (g) *to ſpeak touching the invalidity of the ſaid Matrimony: like as we alſo do here will and charge him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetual ſilence herein; willing moreover and adjudging the ſaid* Henry *to be condemned, and preſently here we do condemn him in the expences on the ſaid Queen* Katherines *behalf here in our Court, expended and imployed in traverſing the foreſaid cauſe, the valuation of which expences we reſerve to our ſelves to be limited and taxed, as we ſhall judge meet hereafter.*

We do ſo pronounce. I,

At *Rome* in our Apoſtolical Palace publickly in our Conſiſtory, 23. *Mart.* M.D.XXXIV.

Blotius.

Now as you have heard the preſumptuous and arrogant Sentence of Pope *Clement*, wherein he taketh upon him, contrary to the Ordinance of God in his Levitical Law (as is before ſhewed) and contrary to the beſt learned Judgments of Chriſtendom, to command and compel the King, againſt his Conſcience, to retain in Matrimony his Brothers Wife; here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promiſe, another like wicked, blaſphemous and ſlanderous Bull of Pope *Leo* againſt *Martin Luther*, with the juſt Appellation alſo of the ſaid *Martin Luther* from the Pope to a general Council. Wherein may appear to all men the lying ſpirit of the Pope, both in teaching moſt Heretical Doctrine, derogating from the Blood of Chriſt, and alſo falſly depraving and perverting the ſound Doctrine of *Luther*, falſly and untruly charging him with Hereſie, when he is the greater Hereticke himſelf. For what Hereticke would ever ſay that the Church of *Rome* was conſecrated and ſanctified by the Blood of *Peter*, but only the Pope? Or who would call this Hereſie, to refer all our ſalvation and ſanctification only and totally to the Blood of the Son of God, unleſs he were an Heretick of all Hereticks himſelf?

Pope Leo his Bull againſt Luther, and the Appellation of M. Luther, from the Pope by way of an Appendix.

After the like dealing we read, 3 Reg. 18. of wicked King *Ahab*, who being only the diſturber of *Iſrael* himſelf, crieth out upon *Elias* for troubling *Iſrael*. So here in ſemblable wiſe Pope *Leo*, with what heaps of tragical words and exclamations doth he fare and rage againſt the true Servant of God, poor *Luther*; for diſturbing the Church of God, when it is the Pope only and his Fathers Houſe that troubleth, and long hath troubled the true Church of the Lord, as by his doings all the world may ſee enough and too much. In the mean time read, I beſeech thee, with judgment this impudent and falſe ſlanderous Bull of the Pope, with the Appeal alſo of *Luther* againſt from the ſaid Pope. The Copy whereof, becauſe it is rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto commonly ſeen, being before omitted, I thought to commit here to hiſtory, as I had it out of certain Regiſters; the manner and tenour whereof is this that followeth.

The Pope playeth with Luther, as *Achab* played with *Elias*, ſaying, he was the troubler of *Iſrael*, when it was he himſelf and his Fathers Houſe that troubled. I. diſt.

A Copy of the Bull of Pope Leo *the Tenth, no leſs ſlanderous than barbarous, againſt* Martin Luther *and his Doctrine.*

Leo Papa X.

LEO *Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam: Exurge Domine & judica cauſam tuam. Memor eſto opprobriorum eorum quæ ab inſipientibus ſunt tota die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces noſtras, quoniam ſurrexerunt Vulpes quærentes demolirivineam, cujus tu torcular ſolus calcaſti, & aſcenſurus ad Patrem, ejus curam, regimen, & adminiſtrationem Petro tanquam capiti, et tuo Vicario, ejuſque ſucceſſoribus inſtitur triumphamis Eccleſiæ commiſiſti, &c.* The Bull of Pope Leo againſt M. Luther. Quæ ſequuntur vide ſuperiore editione.

The ſaid ſlanderous and barbarous Bull of Pope Leo *the Tenth, againſt* Luther, *in Engliſh, with the Anſwer of* Luther *joyned to the ſame.*

LEO Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a perpetual memory: Riſe up, O Lord, and judge thy cauſe; remember the rebukes wherewith we are ſcorned all the day long of foolish Rebukers. Incline thine ear unto our Prayers; for Foxes are riſen up, ſeeking to deſtroy thy Vineyard, the Vinepreſs whereof thou only haſt troden, and aſcending up to thy Father haſt committed the charge and regiment thereof unto *Peter* as chief Head, and to thy Vicar and his Succeſſors. The wild Boar out of the wood ſeeketh to exterminate and root up the Vineyard. Riſe up *Peter*, and for this thy Paſtoral charge committed to thee from above, intend to the cauſe of the holy Church of *Rome*, the Mother of all Churches and of our Faith, which thou by the commandment of God didſt conſecrate with thine own Blood; againſt which (as thou haſt foretold us) falſe liars have riſen up, bringing in Sects of perdition, to their own ſpeedy deſtruction. Whoſe Tongue is like fire, full of unquietneſs, and replenished with deadly poyſon; who having a wicked zeal, and nouriſhing contentious in their hearts, do brag and lie againſt the Verity. The Popes Bull in Engliſh. In-here and mark good Reader, the Church of Rome holdeth by Scripture, the Blood of Chriſt.

Riſe up *Paul* alſo, we pray thee, which haſt illuminate the ſame Church with thy Doctrine and like Martyrdom. For now is ſprung up a new *Porphiry*, who as the ſaid *Porphiry* then unjuſtly did ſlander the holy Apoſtles, ſo ſemblably doth this man now ſlandered, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark againſt the holy Biſhops our Predeceſſors, not in beſeeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he diſtrulteth his cauſe, there he falleth to opprobrious checks and rebukes, after the wonted uſe of Hereticks, whoſe uttermoſt refuge is this (as *Hieron* ſaith) that when they ſee their cauſe go to wreck, then like Serpents, they caſt out the venom with their Tongue, and when they ſee themſelves near to be overcom, they fall to railing. For though Hereſies (as thou ſaiſt) muſt needs be, for the exerciſe of the Faithful; yet leſt theſe Hereſies ſhould further increaſe, and theſe Foxes gather ſtrength againſt us, it is needful that by thy means and help they be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed at the begining.

Finally,

Finally, let all the whole universal Church of Gods Saints and Doctors rise up, whose true expounding of holy Scriptures being rejected, certain Persons (whose hearts the Father of lies hath blinded) wife in their own conceits (as the manner of Hereticks is) do expound the Scriptures otherwise than the holy Ghost doth require, following only their own sense of ambition and vain glory; yea rather do wrest and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as *Hierome* saith, now they make it not the Gospel of Christ, but of man, or which is worse, of the Devil.

Let all the holy Church, I say, rise up, and with the blessed Apostles together make intercession to Almighty God, that the Errours of all Schismaticks being rooted and stocked up, his holy Church may be conserved in peace and unity.

For of late (which for sorrow we cannot express) by credible information and also by Publick Fame it hath come to our ears, yea we have seen also and read with our eyes divers and sundry Errours, of which some have been condemned by Councels, and Constitutions of our Predecessors, containing expressly the Heresies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians; some again respectively, either Heretical, or false, or slanderous, or offensive to good ears, or such as may seduce simple minds, newly to be raised up, by certain false pretensed Gospellers; who, by curious pride, seeking worldly glory against the Doctrine of the Apostles, would be more wise than become th them, whose babling (as Saint *Hierome* calleth it) without Authority of the Scripture, would find no credit, unless they should seem to confirm their false Doctrine even with Testimonies of the Scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh us so much the more grief, for that those Heresies be sprung in the noble Nation of the *Germans*, unto the which Nation we with our Predecessors have always born special favour and affection. For after the Empire first translated by the Church of *Rome*, from the *Greeks* unto the *Germans*, the said our Predecessors and we have always had them as special fautors and defenders of this our Church, and they have always shewed themselves as most earnest suppressors of *Heresies*; as witness whereof yet remain those laudable Constitutions of *German* Emperours, set forth and confirmed by our Predecessors, for the liberty of the Church, and for expulsing Hereticks out of all *Germany*, and that under grievous penalty and loss of all their Goods and Lands. Which Constitutions, if they were observed this present day, both we and they should now be free from this disturbance.

Respective-ly.

The *Germans* in old time moth addicted to Popery above all other Nations.

Furthermore, the Heresie of the *Hussites*, *Wicklevists*, and of *Hierome* of *Prague*, being condemned and punished in the Council of *Constance*, doth witness the same. Moreover, so much Blood of the *Germans*, spilt fighting against the *Bohemians*, doth witness the same. To conclude, the same also is confirmed and witnessed by the learned and true Confutation, Reprobation, and Condemnation set forth by the Universities of *Colen* and *Louane* in *Germany*, against the foresaid Errors. Many other witnesses also we might alledge, which here (lest we should seem to write a story) we pretermit.

Wherefore we, for the charge of our Pastoral Office committed unto us, can no longer forbear or wink at the pestiferous poyson of these foresaid Errors: of the which Errors we thought here good to recite certain; the tenor of which is this as followeth.

Articles of Luther.

It is an old Heresie to say, that the Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them, qui non ponunt obicem, (i.) *which have in themselves, to the contrary, no let.*

To deny that sin remaineth in a Child after his Baptism, is to tread down Paul *and Christ under foot.*

The origine of sin, although no actual sin do follow after, doth slay the Soul, leaving the Body, from the entrance into Heaven.

Unperfect charity of a man departing must needs bring with it great fear, which is enough to deserve the pain of Purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

To say that Penance standeth of three parts, to wit, Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction, is not founded in holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian Doctors.

Contrition, which a man stirreth up in himself, by discussing, remembring and detesting his sins, in revolving his former years in bitterness of Soul, and in pondering the weight, number and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal Bliss, and getting of eternal Damnation: this Contrition maketh a man an hypocrite, and a great sinner.

It is an old Proverb, and to be preferred before the Doctrine of all that have written hitherto of Contrition: from henceforth to transgress no more. The chiefest and the best Penance is a new life.

Best repentance is a new life.

Neither presume to confess thy venial sins, nor yet all thy mortal sins; for it is impossible to remember all the mortal sins that thou hast committed, and therefore in the Primitive Church they confessed the mortal sins which only were manifest.

While we seek to number up all our sins sincerely unto the Priest, we mean nothing else herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercy of God to be forgiven.

In Confession no man hath his sins forgiven, except he believe, when the Priest forgiveth, the same to be remitted: yea, otherwise his sin remaineth unforgiven, unless he believe the same to be forgiven. For else remission of the Priest, and giving of Grace doth not suffice, except belief come on his part that is remitted.

Think not thy sin to be absoiled for the worthiness of thy contrition, but for the word of Christ, Whatsoever thou looseſt, &c. *When thou art absolved of the Priest, trust confidently upon these words, and believe firmly thy self to be absolved, and then art thou truly remitted.*

*Admit the party that is confessed were not contrite, (which is * impossible) or that the Priest pronounced the words of loosing not in earnest, but in jest; yet if the party believe that he is absolved, he is truly absolved indeed.*

*Impossible, because it cannot be that the Faith of the true Confessor can be without contrition

In the Sacrament of Penance and Absolution, the Pope or Bishop do no more then any inferiour Priest can do: yea, and where a Priest is not to be had, there every Christian man, yea or Christian Woman standeth in as good stead.

† None ought to say to the Priest, that he is contrite; neither ought the Priest to ask any such matter.

† He meaneth this, because then as no man knoweth whether he be contrite or no, so no man can be certain for them sufficiently;

It is a great Errour of them which come to the holy Housel trusting upon this, that they are confessed, that their Conscience grudgeth them in no deadly sin, that they have said their Prayers, and done such other preparatives before; all those do eat and drink to their own judgment; but if they believe there to obtain Gods grace this Faith maketh them pure and worthy.

It were good that the Church should determine in a general Council, Lay-men to communicate under both kinds; and the Bohemians *so doing be therein neither Hereticks nor Schismaticks.*

The Treasures out of which the Pope doth grant his Indulgences, are not the merits of Christ, nor of his Saints.

*Indulgences and Pardons be a devout seducing of the Faithful, and hindrance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things * lawful, but not expedient.*

* This he corrects in his afterations of these Articles, and saith, that Indulgences be neither lawful nor expedient.

Pardons and Indulgences, to them which have them, availnot to remission of the punishment due before God for actual sins committed.

They which think that Indulgences are wholsome and conducible to the fruit of the Spirit, are deceived.

Indulgences are only necessary for publick Transgressions, and are only granted to them that are obstinate and impatient.

Concilium malignantium.

And likewise he corrects and revoketh the Articles.

Indulgences and Pardons are unprofitable to fix sorts of persons. First, To them that be dead, or lie in dying. Secondly, To them that be weak and infirm. Thirdly, To such as have lawful impediments. Fourthly, To them that have not offended. Fifthly, To such as have offended, but not publickly. Sixthly, To those that amend and do well.

Indulgences and Pardons taken clean away.

Excommunications be only outward punishments, and do not deprive a man of the publick spiritual Prayers of the Church.

Christians are to be taught rather to love Excommunication, than to dread it.

The Bishop of Rome, *Successor of* Peter, *is not the Vicar of Christ, ordained by Christ and St.* Peter, *to have Authority over all the Churches in the World.*

The

The Words of Christ to Peter, Whatsoever thou looseſt &c. *Matth.* 16. *extend no further but onely to those things which be bound of* Peter *himself.*

It is not in the Hands either of the Church or of the Pope to make Articles of the Faith, yea, or Laws either of manners or good works.

Albeit the Pope with a great part of the Church teaching so or so, do not err therein; yet is it no sin nor Heresie for a Man to hold contrary to them, namely, in such things which are not necessary to salvation, so long as it is not otherwise condemned or approved by a General Councel.

We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the Authority of Councels and freely to gainstand their doings, and to judge upon their Decrees, and boldly to speak our knowledge whatsoever we judge to be true, whether the same be approved or reproved by any General Councel.

Some of the Articles of John Hus, *condemned in the Councel of* Constance, *are Christian, most true and Evangelical, whom the Universal Church cannot condemn.*

In every good work of ours, when it is best done, it is a venial sin.

*This Article is true if the work should be brought to be tried by Gods judgment. And here also he corrects himself in this word venial, because all sins are damnable.

To burn Hereticks is against the will of the Spirit.

"To fight against the Turks is to repugn against God, Visiting our Iniquities by them.

Freewil after sin is a title and name onely of a thing, and while man doth thus which lieth in him, he sinneth deadly.

Purgatory cannot be proved out of Holy Scripture which is Canonical.

Souls in Purgatory be not certain of their safety, at least not all neither is it proved by Reasons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the State to deserve or increase charity.

*He meaneth that we should specially reform our lives, which deserve the Turks to plague us.

"Souls in Purgatory do sin without intermission, so long as they seek rest, and dread punishment.

*These Articles all of Purgatory he corrects and taketh Purgatory clean away.

The Souls being delivered out of Purgatory by the Prayers of the living be less blessed, than if they had satisfied for themselves.

Ecclesiastical Prelates and worldly Princes should not do amiss, if they would scoure away all the bags of begging Friers.

All which Errors there is no Man in his right wits but he knoweth the same, in their several respects, how pestilent they be, how pernitious, how much they seduce godly and simple minds, and finally, how much they be against all charity, and against the Reverence of the Holy Church of *Rome* the Mother of all faithful, and Mistress of the Faith it self, and against the sinews and strength of Ecclesiastical Discipline, which is obedience, the Fountain and Welspring of all vertues, and without the which every man is to be convinced easily to be an Infidel.

We therefore desiring to proceed in the premisses more earnestly, as behoveth in things of most importance, and meaning to cut off the course of this pestiferous and cankered disease, left it should spread it self further in the Lords field, like hurtful Brambles or Briers, and using upon the said Errors, and every of them, diligent trial, debating, streight examination, ripe deliberation: And further, weighing and thorowly sifting all and every of the same together, with our reverend Brethren the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, the Priors of the Orders regular, or Ministers General, also with divers other Professors and Masters of Divinity, and of both the Laws, and those the best learned; do find the foresaid Errors or Articles, respectively, as is aforesaid not to be Catholick, nor to be taught as Catholick, but to be against the Doctrin or Tradition of the Catholick Church, and against the true interpretation of Holy Scripture, received by the same; to whose Authority *Augustine* thuought he ought so much to lean, that he would not (as he said) have believed the Gospel, if the Authority of the Church had not thereunto moved him.

For by these Errors, or at least be some of them, it followeth consequently, that the same Church, which is guided by the Holy Ghost, now doth, and ever hath erred: which is utterly against that which Christ at the time of his ascension (as we read in the Holy Gospel of *Matthew*) promised to his Disciples, saying, *I am with you until the end of the world, &c.* And also against the Determination of the Holy Fathers, against the expresse Ordinances or Canons of Councels and head Bishops, whom not to obey hath always been the cause and nurse of all Heresies and Schisms, as *Cyprian* doth witness.

The Articles of Luther condemned.

Wherefore by the Counsel and Assent of the said our Reverend Brethren, upon due consideration of all and singular the Premisses, by the Authority of Almighty God, and of the Blessed Apostles, of *Peter* and *Paul*, and our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject all and singular the Articles or Errours aforesaid respectively, as some to be Heretick, some to be slanderous, some to be offensive to godly ears, or else seducing simple minds, and regugnant to the Catholicke truth, and by the tenour hereof we here decree, and declare that they ought of all Christian People, both Men and Women, to be taken as damned, reproved and rejected. And therefore forbidding here under pain of the Greater Curse and Excommunication, losing of their Dignities, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and to be deprived and made uncapable of all Regular Orders and Priviledges, given and granted by the See Apostolick, of what condition soever they be; also of losing of their liberties to hold General Schools, to read and profess any Science and Faculty; of losing also their Tenures and Feoffments, and of inhability for ever to recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under pain of secluding from Christian Burial, yea and of Treason also, and incurring such pains and punishments expressed in the Law, as are due for all Hereticks and Fautors of the same fame; we charge and command all and singular Christian People, both Men and Women, as well of the Laity, as of the Clergy, both Secular and also Regular, of what Order soever they be, and briefly all other Persons, of what degree or condition soever they be, or in what Dignity soever they are placed, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal; as first the Cardinals of the Holy Church of *Rome*, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, which the Prelates and Heads of the Churches Patriarchical, Metropolitane, or other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other small and infinite Churches; also all Clerks and other Persons Ecclesiastical, as Abbots, Priors, or Ministers, general or particular, Brethren or Religious Men, exempt and not exempt; Also Universities of Schools, and all other, as well Secular Priests, as Regular and Religious Persons of all Orders, yea of the begging Friers also. *Item*, Kings, Electors of the Imperial Crown, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Barons, Captains, Conductors and Servitours, and all Officers, Judges, Notaries, whether they be Ecclesiastical, or Secular; Communalties, Universities, Dominions, Cities, Castles, Lordships, and places, with the Inhabiters of the same; and finally all other Persons whatsoever, Ecclesiastical or Regular, dispersed in whatsoever places through the whole "Universal World, or which shall be hereafter dispersed, but especially in high *Almany*, that they shall not presume publickly or privately under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressly, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour the foresaid Errours or any of them, or any such perverse Doctrine.

Behold how Kings come after bags and wallets, and begging Friers.

"Here may be a doubt, whether the Man in the Moon be exempted with hisbush of thorns on his neck out of this Bull or not.

Over and besides, forsomuch as the foresaid Errours, and many other are contained in the Books or Writings of the foresaid *Martin Luther*, therefore we condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, and hold for utterly condemned, reproved and rejected, the foresaid Books, and all the Writings of the said *Martin*, with his Preachings, in what tongue soever they are found, wherein the said Errours or any of them is contained, willing and commanding under the vertue of Holy Obedience, and incurring the Penalties aforesaid, to all and singular Christian People, both Men and Women above rehearsed, that they presume not by any manner of ways, directly, colourably or expressly, privily or apertly, either in their Houses, in other publique or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by others, but straightways after the

The Books of M. Luther condemned.

the publishing hereof, they do burn or cause to be burned the said errors, by their Ordinaries diligently beeing searched out, and solemnly presented in the sight of the whole Clergy and the People, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

Let us see here what we have now done first Luther gently submitted himself, but you refused him: he then required him the judgment of a Universities in Germany; it would not be taken: he then appealed from the Cardinal to the Pope, the Pope refused him: then he appealed from the Pope to the Council, neither did the Pope admit that: he required, to be convicted by the Scriptures, the Pope neither would nor could so do. And yet the Pope saith he left nothing undone. 1. Here note, good reader, that Luther appealed from the Pope to the Council two years before this Bull which was Anno. 1518.

Now as touching the said *Martin*, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charity have we not shewed, whereby to have reduced him from these errours? For after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers Tractations had with our Legate, as by our own Letters, that he would relinquith the foresaid Errours, or else having safe Conduct offered to him, with Mony necessary for his journey, to come to us without any fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to cast out, and so after the example of our Saviour, and his Apostle Saint *Paul*, he would speak, not in Corners and in secret, but openly to our Face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no less, but that reforming himself, he would have Recognized his Errours, neither should have found so many faults in the Court of *Rome*, which he being seduced with the Rumors of Malicious people, more than he ought, doth so much reprehend. Where we would have taught him to see more clearly than the light day, that the Holy Fathers of *Rome* our Predecessours, (whom he without all modesty most injuriously doth raile upon) did never erre in their Canons and Constitutions (which he so much depraveth.) For as saith the Prophet, *Neither is there* Rosin *or* Physitian *lacking in* Galaad. But he hath always shewed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appear, and yet to this present day, continuing still in his stubborn Mind and Heart indurate, hath remained now more than a year under our Curse; yea and moreover, adding mischief to mischief, (which is worst of all) he hearing of this our Citation, burst out into a presumptuous Appellation from us, unto the next General Council, against the Constitution both of Pope *Pius* the second, and Pope *Julius* the second, our Predecessors, which so decreed, that all they which so did appeal should be punished as Hereticks.

In vain also he seeketh Refuge to the General Council, which professeth himself not greatly to regard such Councels. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one Notoriously suspected of his Faith, yea a very Heretick indeed, without any further Citation or delay, to the Condemnation of him, as of an Heretick, and to the severity of all and singular pains and censures afore written. Yet we nowithstanding by the Counsel of our Brethren aforesaid, following the Clemency of Almighty God, *which will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live*, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the See *Apostolique*, have thought good to use all favourable meanes towards him that we might, and so to work, (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation, so that he forsaking his former Errors might be received as the lost Child, and return again into the lap of his Mother the Church.

The Popes exhortation to Luther.

Wherefore in most hearty wise we exhort and beseech the said *Martin* and all his Adherents, Receivers and Fautors, by the Bowels of the Mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom, and by whom, is made the Redemption of Mankind, and the edification of his Holy Mother Church, that they will cease to disturb the Peace, Unity and Verity of the said Church; for the which our Saviour so instantly prayed to his Father, and that they will abstain from such Pernicious Errors aforesaid. Who in so doing shall find with us (if they shall obey, or shall certifie us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed effectually herein) the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency; willing and charging the said *Martin* notwithstanding from henceforth, that he utterly desist in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching. Or else if the love of Justice and Vertue shall not restrain the said *Martin* from Sin, neither the hope of our Pardon shall reduce and bring him to Repentance; to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admonish the said *Martin* and his Adherents, Abettors, Fautors, and Receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the Verity of Holy Obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, districtly charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first, ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediatly following after the setting up of these present Letters, the said *Martin*, his Abettors, Fautors, Adherents, and Receivers aforesaid, do surcease from the foresaid Errors, and from the preaching, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same also from setting out of Book or Scriptures upon the said Errors, or any of them; and furthermore, that they burn or cause to be burned all and singular such Books and Scriptures as contain the foresaid Errors, or any of them, by any manner of way.

The Pope threatneth M. Luther with punishment.

Also that the said *Martin* do utterly revoke those Errors and Assertions, and so certifie us of the revoking thereof by publick Testimony, in due form of Law, signed by the Hands of two Prelates, to be sent unto us within the term of other like forty days or else to be brought by him unto us, if he himself will come (which would please us much rather) with a full safe conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true Obedience should hereafter remain.

The Popes safe conduct to Luther offered.

Contrariwise, if the said *Martin* (which God defend) his Abettors, Fautors, Adherents, and Maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfil, to every effect and purpose, all and singular the premisses within the term aforesaid, we then following the Doctrine of the Apostles, which teacheth us to void an Heretical person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now, declaring by our Authority the said *Martin*, his Abettors, Fautors Adherents, Maintainers, and Receivers, as withered Branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary Doctrine, repugnant to the Catholick Faith, flanderous and damnable, to the great offence of Gods Majesty, to the detriment and slander of the Universal Church and Catholick Faith, and despising the Keys of the Church, to be, and to have been notorious and obstinate Hereticks, do condemn the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such of all Christian people aforesaid.

All the Books of Luther both good and badcondemned by this Pope.

Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that any man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expreslly, privily or apertly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish or defend, either by themselves or by any other, the said Books and Writings, not only those wherein the Errours aforsaid are contained, but also all others whatsoever have been or shall be set forth, written or made by the said *Martin*, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the Catholick Faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all Christian people or rather with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

We admonish moreover all and singular Christs faithful people, under the said pain of the Great Curse, to avoid or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lie, the foresaid Hereticks not obedient to our commandment, and to have no Fellowship nor any Conversation or Communion with them, or with any of them, neither to Minister to them things Necessary.

And moreover, to the more confusion of the said *Martin*, with his Abettors, Adherents, and Retainers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as Hereticks, after the expiring of the term aforesaid, we command all and singular Christs faithful people both Men and Women, as Patriarchs, Archbishops, Prelates of Churches, either Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other Cathedral, Collegiate, and other inferiour Churches; to Deans and Chapters, and other Ecclesiastical Persons Secular, and of all other Orders, even of the begging Friers also, namely of that Congregation, where the said *Martin* is professed, or hath his abode; also to Regular, exempt, and not exempt; *Item*, to all and singular Princes what

Apoc. 12. And he shall have power upon every kindred, and company, & people, and tongue, and nation, &c.

The Pope here dreameth of a dry Summer, thinking all the World to be subject unto him.

what Dignity or Calling soever, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal, they be of; to Kings, Princes Electors, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Captains, Conductors, Servitors, Communalties, Universities, Dominions, Cities, Lands, Castles, and Places, or the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; and briefly, to all and singular other aforesaid, through the Universal World dispersed, specially in *Almany*, that they, and every of them, under all and singular Penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said *Martin*, his Abettors, Adherents, Receivers, and Fautors, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who in so doing, for their good work, shall receive of us and the See Apostolick condign reward and récompence) or at least, that they utterly drive them, and every one of them, out of their Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Houses, Monasteries, Covents, Cities, Dominions, Universities, Communalties, Castles, Lands, and places respectively, as well the Clergy-men, as the Regular and Lay-men, all and singular aforesaid.

These Cities, Dominions, Lands, Castles, Villages, Communalties, Holds, Towns and Places, wheresoever they be situate respectively, Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other Churches, Monasteries also, Priories, Covents, and religious and devout places, or what Order soever (as is aforesaid) unto the which it shall chance the said *Martin* to come, so long as he or they shall there remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the Ecclesiastical Interdiction.

And that the Premisses may be known to all men, we command moreover all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelats of the Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, to Deans and Chapters, and other persons Ecclesiastical, and of what Order else soever aforesaid, to Regular Brethren, Religious Monks, exempt and not exempt aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within *Almany*, that they and every of them, under like Censures and Pains, do publickly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced of others, the said *Martin*, with all and singular his foresaid Adherents, which shall not obey our Commandments and Monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every *Sunday*, and other Festival days, within their Churches, when as the greatest concourse of people shall resort to Divine Service, to be declared and condemned for Hereticks, and that all Christs faithful People shall avoid them under the said Censures and Penalties as be afore expressed, and that they do set up these Presents, or cause to be set up, or the Transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensuing, in their Churches, Monasteries, Houses, Covents, and other places there openly to be seen and read.

Item, We do Excommunicate and Curse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, preheminence, dignity, or excellency they be, which shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or other, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expresly, whereby these Presents, or the Copies transcript, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their Lands and Dominions, &c.

Cujus contrarium verum est.

Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary this Writing of our Damnation, Reprobation, Rejection, Decree, Declaration, Inhibition, Will, Commandment, Exhortation, Beseeching, Requeft, Admonition, Assignation, Grant, Condemnation, Subjection, Excommunication and Curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*.

Given at Rome *at* S. Peters, Anno 1520. 17 Calend. Julii. *And of our Popedom the eighth year.*

M. Luther answering again to the Popes Bull.

Although it was somewhat long before this Bull aforesaid of Pope *Leo*, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of *Luther*, yet so soon as he by means of his Friends might get a sight thereof, he shaped again an Answer to the same; in such sort, as I am sure the Pope himself will say that this Bull was never so baited, and so well-favouredly shaken in all his days, as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his Answer, may evidently appear. The Contents and Copy of the which Answer I thought here, next after the said Bull, immediatly to exhibit to the Christian Reader, that whoso is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the Pope, out of his painted vizor, appear in his own perfect colours. The Answer now to the Bull here followeth.

The Popes Bull-baiting

The Pope described in his colours.

JESUS.

Martinus Lutherus *Christiano Lectori, gratiam Christi in salutem æternam.*

The answer of M. Luther to the Popes Bull in Latine.

Fama pervenit ad me, Christiane Lector, exisse Bullam quandam adversum me, pene in omnem terram, prius quam ad me, in quem unicè fuerit, & cui maximè erat inferenda, veniret. *Forte, quòd noctis & tenebrarum scilicet filia, timet lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipsam noctuam, vix tandem multum adjuvantibus amicis, in imagine sua, datum est videre, &c.*

Quæ sequuntur vide superiore editione, p. 1465.

Here followeth the same Answer of Martin Luther *against the execrable Bull of Pope* Leo *in English.*

The Copy of M. Luthers answer to the Bull of Pope Leo in English.

MArtin *Luther* to the Christian Reader, wisheth the Grace of Christ to eternal Salvation. I heard a fame afar off (Christian Reader) that a certain Bull was put out against me, and that almost over all the World before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except peradventure it was for that the said Bull, like unto a night Crow, and as a Bird of darkness hatched in the night, durst not flee in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night Fowl after long time, by help of Friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likeness to behold. Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my Papists do dally and jest with me, in setting out such famous Libels without any name, against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad men so against me at *Rome*, or no. For first, neither do I see here the Stile (as it is called) nor the Process of the Court of *Rome* observed. And again (which maketh me more to doubt) herein be brought and condemned such Articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, the said Monster to be hatched by *Jobis Eckius*, a man wholly compact and framed altogether of lies, diffimulations, errors, and heresies.

Eckius a false Apostle.

The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruted abroad, that the said *Eckius* is thought and said to be the Apostle of such a goodly Bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet Apostle for such an Apostleship than he. And indeed I heard no less long since, that a Bull was in working against me at *Rome*, partly by the workmanship of *Eckius*; which because (as the stile and composition thereof declareth) it displeaseth the good and learned men there) was therefore deferred) and should have been suppressed.

But whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wheresoever this Apostle *Eckius* beareth rule, there to be the Kingdom of Antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the mean time I will so deal, that I will not seem to believe Pope *Leo* the Tenth, with his learned Cardinals, to be the Authors of this furious madness: Which I do not so much for the honour of the See of *Rome*, as because I will not be puft up too much with pride, and seem to my self as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the Verity of God. For if it were so indeed, that the Bishop of *Rome* did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as *Luther*, to be condemned for so manifest a Truth of such a proud Prelat? Wherein what were more to be wished for of me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and furious Anti-

M. Luther thinketh himself not worthy to suffer in so good acause.

christ? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulness to God, if it might be my hap at any time, in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter find his Martyr worthy for the same; I for my Sins am not worthy to come to that honour.

M. Luthers protestation.

Let other men therefore think of these Romanists what they list; thus I think, that whosoever was the Author of this Bull he is a very Antichrist; and against Antichrist these things I write, to redeem the verity of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboureth to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his Will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy Angels, and all the World, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this Bull, which Bull I also do curse and execrate, as an Enemy, a Church-Robber, and Blasphemy against Christ the Son of God, our Lord, Amen.

Mark here how Luther renounceth.

Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full truth of my Spirit, those Articles in the said Bull condemned and excommunicate, and affirm that the same ought to be holden of all Faithful Christians, under pain of eternal malediction, and that they are to be counted for Antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said Bull, whom I also, together with the Spirit of all them which know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the Precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen: And let this stand for thy revocation, O *Bulla, vere Bullarum filia: (i)* O thou Bull, which art the very Daughter of all vain * bubbles.

* Bulla in Latin signifieth a bubble in English, as the Water.

This my Confession and Protestation made (for witness wherof I take them all that shall read these presents) before I proceed to defend and declare these foresaid Articles, I will first begin with certain Arguments for the confutation of the said Bull; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish Antichrist. For the Apostle *Peter* so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a Reason of that Faith and Hope which is in us. And the Apostle *Paul* willeth a Bishop to be mighty to exhort in found Doctrine, and to refute the gainsayers. And these things be they which now three years ago I have desired and looked for out of *Rome*, or from them which take part with *Rome*. Which things also we do read to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient Fathers, whensoever they condemned Heresie. Neither do we read that the Apostles did ever decree any thing in their Councels, but they first alledged the holy Scripture. So I also when I waited that they would answer me with Grapes, and enform me with true Testimonies of the Scripture, behold they bring to me sowre and wild Grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words, whereas I have fortified my matter with plain Scriptures.

Tit. 1.

The Papists will not abide the trial of the Scripture.

I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned Antichrist, hast thou joyned fuch brain-sick rashness together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to think all men to be turned into Stocks and blocks, and to think that thou with thy bare and naked words only canst triumph against the invincible force and power of Gods holy Word? Hast thou learned this manner of condemning the Magistralities of *Colen* and of *Louvaine*?

If this be the manner of the Church to damn Errors, only to say, I like it not, I deny it, I will not; what Fool, what Patch, what Ass, what Block cannot condemn after this manner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed, in the publick sight of the Church to dare once to set the trifling vanities only of thy naked and bare words against the Thunderbolts of Gods eternal Word? O impudent condemnation and right seemly for Antichrist! which hath not one jot or tittle to bring against such evident Scriptures inferred against him, but only with one word cometh and saith, I condemn thee. And why then do we not believe the Turk? Why do we not admit the Jews? Why do we not honour the Hereticks which also condemn our writings as well as he, if it be enough only to condemn? unless we do not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some Scriptures and Reasons: but these men after a new found fashion, utterly without all Scriptures or Reason, do condemn us. What then shall I think to be the cause why they proceeded against me with their Bull condemnatory, so vain, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their meer blockishness; whereby they seeing my allegations to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrifie me with their vain ratling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee Antichrist, that *Luther*, being accustomed to War, will not be terrified with these vain Bulls, and hath learned to put a difference between a piece of Paper and the omnipotent Word of God.

The Popes vain terrours cannot make M. Luther afraid.

Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their own Conscience, durst not particularly digest all and singular the Articles in their Orders; for they feared lest they should note him for an Heretick, whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive, and therefore they have found out this Adverb *respective*: and after the numbring of the Articles, then come they and say that some be respectively Heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive, which is as much to say, as we suppose them to be Heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous, but we cannot tell *qui, qualis, quanti*, i. which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou? how art thou afraid of the light? how dost thou turn and return all things, lest thou should it be taken like a *Proteus*? and yet for all that thou shalt not so escape, yea in thy wiliness thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

Respectively.

Come out therefore, O thou Ass-headed Antichrist, shew forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou when thou sayest this Article is Heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth. And too shameful it is to condemn an Article for Heretical, and yet cannot name the same. Neither will I be answered here with respectively, but I look to be taught simply and plainly, for I am one of *Occams* faction which contemneth these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

Proteus is a certain Monster among the Poets, which turneth himself into all colours.

Thou seest therefore (good Reader) the ignorant dotage of this Antichrist, how craftily, and yet grossly he thinketh to walk in a net under his adverb, respectively, who not only doth not teach the truth, and caule of his condemning, but neither also dare prove any error, nor shew forth what it is that he condemneth, and yet must he needs condemn. Is not this trow you a proper kind of damning, to damn and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine manner of loquution, passing all Rhetorick, to speak, and yet not to know what he speaketh? what Purgatories might we with sufficient to purge the doltish brains of these Bull bragging Bedlems? with such blindness and doltishness are all these Adversaries of Gods truth worthy to be plagued.

The dotage of Antichrist.

But I know whereupon all this grief riseth. The origine whereof is this; *Eckius* mine old Adversary remembring how he was put to shame enough at *Lypsia*, when he rousing himself upon his stage, and frothing at the mouth like a Bore, with a furious mouth called me three hundred times Heretick, for the Article of *Huss*, and yet afterward was was not able to prove the same, whereas the Sentence Condemnatory of the Councel of *Constance*, alledged by me otherwise than *Eckius* looked for, noted there no certain note for Heretical; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishness called some of his Articles Heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; and *Eckius* hearing this, being confounded in himself for his impudent rashness, perceiving that he had called me Heretick falsely and untruly: he thought then to heal this wound again at *Rome*, and there to stablish his false and impudent lying. But the lying Sophister shall not prevail by the help, I trust, of Christ: for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not disemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in general, do shew what is, and what is not Heretical. But when will they so do? when Christ and *Belial*, or when light and darkness shall agree together.

Eckius.

1 Cor. 1.

Luke 2.

Eckius when he was with a lye.

And

And what shall I do then in the mean time? first I will contemn these daftardly Dotipoles and unlearned Papists and Apostles of Antichrist. And I will scorn them as *Helias* did, and say, *If* Baal *be God, let him answer: peradventure he is drunk, or busie in his journey, cry out higher, for he is a God and peradventure sleepeth.* For what other thing do these Bull-bragging Asses deserve else, which condemn that they know not, and confess all their own ignorance?

3 Reg. 18.

Secondly, I will not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretick, erroneous, or offensive, so long as I shall not be proved and plainly convicted with simple and manifest words in what Article I am so judged. Neither do I here charge my Papists, these Blockheads, that I will put them to their proofs, but only that they will shew me at least my error, that is, that they will shew me, if they know what it is that they themselves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their own doings. For so long as they assign me no Heretical Article, I am at free liberty to deny what Article soever they lay unto me to be heretical, and say it is Catholick.

The brutish distinction of the Papists between Articles heretical, erroneous, slanderous, and offensive.

Again, what a rudeness is it in this wicked and doltish Antichrist, worthy to be laughed at, whereas these Drodemaries do distinguish heretical Articles from those that are erroneous, and the erroneous from offensive, and those again from slanderous? By the which subtile distinction of those gross headed Dolts this we do gather, That that Article which is erroneous is not heretical, and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertain to these Ecclesiastical Condemners, which ought to condemn those things only which be heretical? For that which is not heretical is Catholick, as Christ himself saith, *He that is not against us is with us.* Yea, I would with that these jolly Sophisters would shew me in all the Church an Article that is erroneous and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from heretical, but only in stiffness of detending. For all things be equally either true or false, although affection, in some one thing which is true or false, may be greater or lesser. Ye see therefore again, how these men for all their bragging Bulls are not able to produce me one Article which is erroneous and not heretical, and yet like wise brainsick men, they will needs babble they know not themselves what, condemning that which they find erroneous and not heretical, which cannot stand either in matter or in words, so that such as are the Articles, such is the Condemnation.

Luke 9.

Erroneous.

Scandalous.

The like wisdom also they shew in affirming that to be scandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That Article I would fain see either in my Books, or in the words and works of any Writer else from the beginning of the World to the latter end. What made my Papists then to excogitate these so prodigious Monsters, but only their monstrous fury and madness? Unless peradventure they mean those Articles so to be scandalous, as commonly all true and Catholick Articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous than Verity? Yea, only Truth and Verity is scandalous to all proud and senseless persons, as it is said of Christ, 1 *Cor.* 1. *We preach, faith S. Paul, Christ crucified, a stumbling stone to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness.* And in *Luke* 2. *He is set to be the fall and rising up of many in* Israel. wherefore, whereas my Papists do distinguish scandalous Articles from heretical and erroneous, and forsomuch as that which is not heretical or erroneous must needs be Catholick and true; it followeth thereof, that these scandalous Articles be understood and condemned of them for such as be very Catholick and found. O worthy commendations and meet for the Papists!

1 Cor. 1.

Luke 2.

Mark here, good Reader, the impiety of these blind Buzzards, whither they roll themselves, how they deride and mock themselves, how easily they are taken in their own words, how fond and foolish they are in their studies, not only in not proving any error or slander in these Articles, but also in going about only to express them, how they cast out things impossible and most foolishly repugnant to themselves. Where is then, thou most presumptuous and shameless Bull, thy doltish respective now become? whither respected is thou? Verily into the bottomless pit of impiety, and thine own brutish stolidity.

The like also is to be said touching the Articles offensive, which must be neither slanderous, neither erroneous, nor heretical, seeing they are made distinct by such great Rabbines. Who will not now marvel at the deep and profound wisdom of these Papists, which could find out that to be offensive in the Church, which is neither false, neither heretical, nor slanderous, but true, found, Catholick and edifying, and yet must that also be condemned. And who would not now delire and covet to be condemned also of such hair-brained Ideots, who by their own condemning, do utter themselves to approve things damnable, and to condemn things justifiable, that is, which openly shew themselves, to their own great ignominy and shame, to be more senseless than stocks, rocks, or blocks. Go ye now therefore, O ye impious and brainless Papists, and if ye will needs write, shew your selves more sober: for this Bull, it appeared, was either found out in your night Feasts, among Drabs and Harlots, or else huddled up in the Canicular days, or mad Midsummer Moon: for never were there any Dizzards that would shew themselves so mad.

Offensive.

Let us now return this durt of Antichrist, and cast it in his own teeth, and of his own words let us judge him and condemn him, that hereafter he may learn to take better heed, and to be better advised in his lying. For as the Proverb saith, *A liar had need to have a good memory.* If some Articles be offensive, and some heretical, and thou condemnest him which is no Heretick, and consequently a true Catholick, although he be six hundred times offensive; Doth not thy shameless mouth then condemn thy self, not only of Heresie, but of extream Impiety, Blasphemy and Treason against Gods holy Truth, shewing thy self to be the Man in deed which is the Adversary, and is extolled above all which is called God, or is worshipped? Art not thou then the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, which denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of Truth, to stablish the setting forth of his Error, for men to believe iniquity, as *Paul* foretold? for if the Article be not heretical, it cannot be offensive or slanderous, but only to such Heresticks as Antichrist is, and Satanists of all Piety. See therefore how his shameless and most fooliih Bull, whiles it condemneth in me one thing to be heretical, and another offensive, doth manifestly declare the Authors thereof to be true Heresticks, and the Enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appear that there is no knowledge nor counsel against the Lord, seeing blind Impiety is thus caught in the words of his own mouth; so truly it is said, That he which casteth up a stone on high, it falleth down again upon his own pate.

The Popes dirt cast in his own teeth.

2 Thes. 2.

Prov. 17.

And (which is chiefest of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to pass, that the cogitations of their own hearts be revealed, and that they themselves chiefly do utter and disclose their own wickedness which they covet most to conceal, that all men may see how ready they are to condemn all Verity even at once. For when they affirm such Articles to be heretical which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare shew or name to be heretical, what have we thereby to understand, but that they are Adversaries of Christ from the bottom of their hearts, and ready to impugn all Truth, and yet notwithstanding with their damnable hypocrisie, they pretend themselves to be Condemners of Heresies? Learn, learn, ye beetle-headed Asses with your blustering Bulls, learn, I say, what it is, *Christ to be a sign of contradiction, and a stone of offence.* How soon and easily is all your inward impiety and your ignominy disclosed with the same covert of words, wherewith in vain you went about to cloak the same? Thus then have we here proved by this first and manifest Argument, that the foresaid Bull proceedeth from none other, than very Antichrist himself, the chiefest Adversary of God and of all Godliness. And now let either *Eckius*, or the Pope, acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what Opinion we ought to have of him, or what Name to give him; in whom all cursed names, as in one heap, do concur together and agree.

The Popes contemneth his own wicked-nesse.

Luke 2.

The Popes impiety, blasphemy, ignorance, foolishness, hypocrisie, lying, yea briefly Satan himself with his Antichrist.

Bull condemneth itself.

Neither doth this impiety any thing less appear in that also which I will now say. For this worthiful Bull *M. Luthers* decreeth in plain and most impudent words, that those Books which have no error,

Books also of mine ought to be burned, in the which are no Errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

Canst thou, O Christian Reader, now doubt that the great Dragon of Hell himself speaketh in this Bull? It is an old Proverb, *That the Ass singeth therefore evil favouredly, because he taketh his note too high.* So this Bull in like manner should have piped more tuneable, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against Heaven, so impudently and devilishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whensoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth; but this Man of Sin, the Adversary which is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily but apertly, and that in the open Church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned the sincere verity of Christ, known and allowed both of him and of all others. What could be more done amongst the Turks? what place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of Hell? And are ye not afraid, ye Antichrists, with your brutish Bulls, least Stones and Trees should sweat with blood, at the most horrible fight of this your execrable impiety and blasphemy?

The Papists pretend to know and intimate the verity of Christ, and yet cannot abide it.

Where art thou now, good Emperour *Charles?* Where are ye Christian Kings and Princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in Baptism, and can ye now abide these Infernal Voices of such an Antichrist? Where be ye Bishops, Where be ye Doctors, Where be all ye that confess Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious Monsters of the Papists? O miserable Church of God, which art made now so great a scorn, and a very mocking stock of Satan! O miserable are all they which live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the Papists, Enemies to the Cross of Christ and Verity of God, resisting all men, and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached, as S. *Paul* said of the Jews. Admit, I pray you, that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious Bull doth make me to be, an Heretick, erroneous, schismatical, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my Books; yet why should the other Books of mine be condemned which are Catholick, Christian, true, edifying and peaceable. Where have these wretched Papists learned this Religion, that, for the persons cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and found Verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye also pluck up the good Wheat also with the Cocle? Will ye also scatter the Corn away together with the chaff? And why then receive ye *Origen* in his Catholick Books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked *Aristotle* (in whom is nothing taught but Errors) and do not at least in some part condemn him? Why burn ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical Decretals of the Pope? Why do ye not all this? but only for that ye are set in this holy place for none other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in *Daniel*, which should put down truth, and set up lies, and the operation of error. For this thing, and none other, becometh the Seat of Antichrist.

The Pope condemneth as well the goods Books of M. Luther as the other, without all respect of truth, or of the cause.

Dan 9.

Wherefore this I say to thee (Pope *Leo*, the Tenth, and to you Lord Cardinals, and all other whosoever is in any part or doing in that Court of *Rome*) and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if you will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptism the Son of God, and Coheir with Christ, being founded upon a sure Rock, which neither feareth the gates of Hell, nor Heaven, nor Earth, and say, monish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reform your selves, and take a better way, and refrain hereafter from those Diabolical Blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties; and this I alledge, That unless ye so do, know it for certain, that I, with all them that worship Christ, do recount your Seat, possessed and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned Seat of Antichrist, which we not only do not obey, and will not be subject, nor concorporate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the principal and chiefest Enemy of Christ, being ready in this our Sentence and Profession, not only to suffer gladly your fond foolish Censures, but also do pray you heartily that you will never assoil us again, nor ever number us in your Fellowship; and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer our selves to dye for the same. And according to the power and might, that the Spirit of Christ and efficacy of our Faith can do in these our Writings, if ye shall persist so still in your fury, we condemn you, and together with this Bull, and all the Decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the Flesh, that your Spirit in the day of our Lord may be delivered, in the Name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

M. Luther warneth to the Pope.

M. Luther confesseth the Pope.

For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth (in whom I do nothing doubt) who I firmly trust will shortly come and slay with the Spirit of his Mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition; forsomuch as I cannot deny, if the Pope be the Author and Doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, final, most wicked, and that famous Antichrist, that subverteth the whole World by the operation of his delusions, as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

The Pope the true Antichrist.

But whither doth the burning zeal of Charity carry me? neither am I as yet fully perswaded this to be the Popes Bull, but to proceed from his wicked Apostle *Ecclesius*, who with his Fautors, furiously gaping at me like a Wolf, would swallow me clean up, singing with the wicked thus, *Let us swallow him up quick and whole like Hell, and like one descending down into the Pit.* For little careth this furious Madbrain how the verity of God be extinguished, (yea, he would count that for a lucre) so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his Brother. O miserable state of the Church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood! But who heareth our groanings? or who comforteth our weepings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us.

Prov. 1.

What safe conduct M. Luther requireth of the Pope.

Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, That besides other great friendship which they have shewed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberality, in my journey to *Rome*. Will ye see what a charity is newly come upon the City of *Rome*, which after it hath pilled and polled the whole World of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by intollerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offereth money. But this impudent lye I know with whose hammer it was coined: *Cujusmus* the Cardinal, a man born and formed to lye for the Whetstone, after his worthipfull Legacy depeached in *Germany*, coming home to *Rome*, there forged and feigned that he promised me money, whereas he being at *Ausburge*, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his Family. But thus it becometh the Bull to be *verè bullis*, that is, a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

The Pope hireth in his Bull, where he faith that he offered money to Luther to come to *Rome*.

And so these great Judges and Condemners, after all this, yet have Authority to command us to believe them to say truth, when they do nothing but lye, and that they are good Catholicks, when they be stark Heretickes; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very Antichrist; and all by the virtue of this Universal, *Quodcunque ligaveris, &c. Whatsoever thing thou bindest, &c.* So that where nothing is excepted, they thinke they may do all things. Who not only do lye most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudency) do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men fully to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me: Whereas these Tyrants of *Rome*, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no Adverfary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now if there were no other matter else to bring this Bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vain, and false this Bull is? What? Would *Rome* (think

The Pope by the vertue of this universal *Quodcunque ligaveris, &c.* do all things.

(think ye) offer money to me? And how then cometh this (which I know to be most certain) that out of the Bank (as they call it) two or three hundred Crowns were assigned in *Germany* to be disposed and given to Ruffians and Catchpoles, to murther Luther? For these be the Reasons and Arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy Apostolick See, the Mistress of Faith, and Mother of all Churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very feat of Antichrist, and manifold ways Heretical, if she had fought with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; whereof she her self is nothing ignorant, and therefore because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth and taketh on like as she were mad in the Church of Christ, confounding and confuming all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction, and yet for all this they must needs be counted most holy Fathers in God, Vicars of Christ, and Pastors of his Flock.

Men hired by the Papists to kill Luther.

The Popes Church fleeth the trial of the Scripture.

But go to (that I may also dally with them a while) let them yet send me the money they spake of; for as touching their promise and safe conduct (because I will not overcharge them) that I gladly resign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsmen to conduct me safe to *Rome*, and so, for any other promise of safe conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in *Rome*, which devoureth up her Inhabitants, neither keepeth, nor ever did keep promise with any; where these most holy Fathers do slay their beloved Children in the Charity of God, and Brethren destroy their Brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and stile of *Rome*. In the mean time I will keep my self free and safe from the citation of this most reverend Bull. O ye miserable Varlets, which are so confounded with the truth, and with your own Conscience, that neither ye can lye handsomly, neither dare ye speak the truth, and yet neither can ye so keep your selves quiet, to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

Furthermore, here in this Bull is brought in a strange fashion of stile not heard of before. For where *Augustine* would have said, that he would not believe the Gospel, except he had been moved by the Authority of the Church, now cometh in this goodly Bull, and maketh this Catholick Church to be a few reverend Cardinals, his Brethren, and Priors of Regular Orders, Masters of Divinity, and Doctors of the Law, out of whose counsel the said Bull bosteth her self to be born and brought forth; bleffed Babe, forsooth, of such an Universal Church. O happy travel (no doubt) of this Catholick Church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as *Augustine* the valiant impugner of Sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the Synagogue of the Devil. See therefore the madness of these Papists: the Universal Church is a few Cardinals, Priors, and Doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in all, when also it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the Member of one Chappel or Altar. And whereas the Church is the Communion of Saints, as we say in the Creed; our of this Communion of Saints, that is, out of this Universal Church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons; and so whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the Universal Church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be Liars, Hereticks, and Antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

A new Universal Church of the Popes making.

The Universal Church bound to twenty persons.

What *Augustine* calleth the Universal Church.

No Universal Catholick Book but only the Scriptures.

Would there ever any man think such doltishness and madness to be in *Rome*? Is there any brains in these mens heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? *Austin* speaketh of the Church dispersed thorow the whole World, confessing the Gospel with one consent. Neither would God that any Book else should be received with such consent of the whole World as the holy Scripture, (as the said *Augustine* in his Confessions affirmeth) lest by the receiving of other Books, Schisms may take occasion to rise, according as the wicked See of *Rome* hath long sought by her Decrees, and hath for a great part brought the same to pass already. But yet the Universal Church did never agree thereto. For in the East, West, and South there have been Christians, which being content only with the Gospel, have not regarded how *Rome* harh gone about of a particular Church to make her self an Universal Church, and accuseth other Churches as Schismatical, when as she hath cut off her self from the Universal Church, and striveth in vain to draw the whole Universal Church to her, being the Mother and Fountain of all Schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

The Catholick Church, and the Church of *Rome*, are two things.

Let no man therefore ever think, that this true Catholick Church aforesaid will believe or maintain those things which this detestable Bull here pratleth, when as neither that which is the very true Church, of *Rome* indeed doth her self so think, neither taketh that by and by to be Catholick, whatsoever is known to proceed from the Church of *Rome*. For as I said, there is no Book which shall be called Catholick hereafter, as neither it hath been heretofore, besides only the holy Scripture. For the Church of *Rome*, it may suffice to glory her self to be a little parcel or piece of the Universal Church; and so let her vex her self only with her own Decrees.

The pride and presumption of the Church of Rome.

Neither let any man think this to be the Bull of the Catholick Church, but rather to proceed out of the Court of *Rome*. For such wisdom and Religion may well beseem that Seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole Universal Church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked Bulls most arrogantly and vainly to the whole World, in the stead of sincere Catholick Doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that she trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, proudly taketh upon her to prescribe Laws to all men, of all their doings and sayings, as though for dominion only and lostiness of spirit she were to be counted the House and Church of Christ; whereas by this means Satan also, the Prince of the World, or the Turk, might be counted the Church of Christ. Again, neither can the Monarchies of the Gentiles abide mighty Princes to reign over them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the Church the Spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man, and not the Pope alone, or the Court of *Rome*, unless they be Spiritual.

Dominion and Power maketh not the Church. 1 Cor. 2.

But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible Champion of the Church, S. *Paul*, who, 1 *Cor.* 14. saith; *If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace.* Here have ye plainly, that the Pope, or any other Elder whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to other in the Church that is inferior. Therefore upon his Authority, contemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling Bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the Articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea of the Pope himself, with his whole Church, unless he shall inform me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first Article is this.

1 Cor. 14.

The first Article.

It is an heretical Sentence, and also common, to say, That Sacraments of the new Law do give grace to them which have no obstacle in themselves to the contrary.

1. Article.

The Answer.

Answer of M. Luther to the first Sentence.

I acknowledge this Article to be mine, and I ask of you, good Masters Respectivists, which make these Articles respectively, some to be Heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, &c. whether respected this Article I pray you? To hereste, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whether respected you in condemning the same? To the holy Scripture? To the holy Fathers? To Faith? To the Church? To which of these I beseech you tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labor of proving, but only require you to shew your judgment what you think, that I may know wherein I say amiss. Will you that I should tell you (you babish Infants and Noddies) whether this Article respecteth? I will. This Article hath two respects. Whereof the one respecteth the Papists, the condemners hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be Mules, some to be Horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense, and yet not-

Two respects noted in this Article. Rom. 14.

The obstacle letting Sacraments to give grace, is the actual purpose of Sinning, say the Papists. The only obstacle letting Sacraments to give Grace, is unbelief, *saith Lather*, speaking after this thirtieth. But the truth is that Sacraments neither with obstacle, nor without obstacle, do give Grace to the Believers or Unbelievers, but only do signifie Grace given by Christ.

withstanding they will needs condemn all things. Another reſpect it hath to the holy Scriptures, which ſaith, *Romans* cap. fourteen, Whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin. Whereupon conſequently it followeth, that the Sacraments of the new Law can give no grace to the unbelievers (forſomuch as the Sin of Infidelity is the greateſt obſtacle) but only, to the believers. For only Faith putteth no obſtacle; all other things be obſtacles, although they put not the ſame obſtacles which the Sophiſters underſtand, meaning only of the actual purpoſe of eternal Sin. I conſeſs therefore this Article not only to be mine, but alſo to be the Article of the Catholick and Chriſtian verity; and the Bull which condemneth the ſame, to be twice Heretical, Impious and Blaſphemous, with all them which follow the ſame. Who, little regarding the Sin of Incredulity, fooliſhly and madly do hold that the obſtacle is taken away, if a man ceaſe from Sinning, although the unbeliever can think no good thing. But theſe things I have diſcuſſed more at large in my Books, and will more diſcuſs, if thoſe prating Romaniſts dare at any time prove their opinion and confute mine.

The ſecond Article.

To deny that Sin remaineth in a Child after his Baptiſm, is as much as to tread down Chriſt and Paul *together under foot.*

The Anſwer.

Anſwer of M. Luther to the 2. Article.

I would require of them to ſhew the cauſe why this Article is condemned, if they were not ſo blinded in their fantaſtical reſpects, that they are not able to perceive why they would have this Article condemned. And yet I cannot tell whether it be Heretical or Erroneous. And no marvel when as the condemners themſelves cannot tell me. I hold therefore this Article by the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 7. I my ſelf in my mind do ſerve the Law of God, and in my Fleſh the Law of Sin. Here the Apoſtle confeſſeth plainly of himſelf, that in his Fleſh he ſerveth Sin. And alſo 1 *Cor.* 1. Chriſt is made to us of God our righteouſneſs, our wiſdom, ſanctification and redemption. And how then doth he ſanctifie them that be ſanctified already? unleſs it be as the *Apoc.* ſaith, He that is holy let him be holy ſtill, To be ſanctified, is as much as to be purged from Sin. But what have theſe our reſpectiviſts to do with the Apoſtle *Paul*, ſeeing they are the whole Univerſal Church, by whoſe Authority *Paul* either ſtandeth or falleth, being but a member only, and a part of the Church? The Lord rebuke thee Satan, and theſe thy Satanical Papiſts.

Rom 7.

1 Cor. 1.

Apoc 21.

The third Article.

The original root of Sin, although no actual Sin do follow, ſtoppeth the Soul departing out of the Body from entrance into Heaven.

The Anſwer.

The anſwer of M. Luther hitherto, to the 3. Article.

As touching this matter, I never defined any thing neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done with ſuch a Soul. But our Papiſts, more blind than Buzzards, when they are nothing able to perceive what cauſe this Article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that which the whole Univerſal Church is ignorant of: I yet notwithſtanding, contemning this fooliſh and fond condemnation aforeſaid, do hold this Article probably to be true. For ſeeing this original root, which I ſpake of, is truely Sin, as I have proved, *Rom.* 7. and *Gal.* 5. and ſeeing that Sin letteth a man from entring into Heaven; as it is written, No polluted thing ſhall enter; I ſuppoſe therefore that Original Sin with-holdeth a man from entring into Heaven. Neither do I any thing at all eſteem the fantaſtical dreams of them, whereby they extenuating Original Sin do call it openly the pain of Sin, and imperfections, plain againſt the manifeſt Scriptures, which call it Sin, and teach the ſame to be cured by Grace, which is the medicine of true and of ſained Sin.

Sap. 7.

The fourth Article.

The imperfect charity of a man departing neceſſarily carrieth with it great fear, which of it ſelf is enough to make the pain of Purgatory, and letteth the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Anſwer.

The anſwer of M. Luther to the 4. Article.

This followeth of the other going before; which in like manner I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet hold the ſame, asking before a diſpenſation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the Bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this: We are the higheſt powers in the Church, yea we are the Church it ſelf, *Ergo*, we are the beſt learned, moſt holieſt, full of the Holy Ghoſt, which cannot err, although we ſhink like a filthy puddle to the whole World, polluted with all kind of Sins, and drowned in ignorance. But all theſe reaſons prevail nothing with me; peradventure they may with them, which fear leſt if my Sentence ſhould prevail, then Purgatory ſhould be taken out of the Popes hands, and then Prieſts and Religious men, having loſt their gainful Offices of vexing (of releaſing I would have ſaid) of the dead, ſhould be pinched by the Bellies and brought to penury. It was time therefore for their greedy avarice here to awake and look about, and not to ſuffer their frivolous opinions, but yet very gainful, to be overcome with truth, and ſo to be overthrown.

The Popes Doctrine gainful to the purſe.

The fifth Article.

Where they ſay penance ſtandeth of three parts, to wit contrition, confeſſion, and ſatisfaction, it is not founded in holy Scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and Chriſtian Doctors.

The Anſwer.

The anſwer of M. Luther to the 5. Article.

This Article, in what reſpect it is condemned, I do right well perceive. For the reſpect thereof is to greedy covetouſneſs, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like reſpect, which is this; If this Article were true, then men would give nothing for ſatisfaction and indulgences, neither ſhould we have any more wherewith to vex them with confeſſions, caſes reſerved, reſtricted or amplaited for our gain, and ſo ſhould we become beggers, and Gods Service ſhould be minished, in Vigils and Maſſes. But it is wicked that Gods Service ſhould be minished; therefore *Luther* is an Heretick. This conſequence holds *a reſpectu Bullæ ad Papiſtas, Id eſt*, From the Bull to the Papiſts and contrariwiſe.

I beſeech thee by the Lord Jeſus, whatſoever grave and learned Reader ſhalt read theſe things, that thou wilt pardon this my lenity, and, as it may ſeem, my childiſhneſs. For thou ſeeſt how I have to do with ſuch men as be twiſe Children, and yet do brag, themſelves to be peers and principal pillars of all men. I aſſure you I know it moſt certainly to be true, that there be many and great Governors of the people, which this ſo ridiculous and fooliſh reaſon above recited hath moved to the condemnation of my Books. Unleſs I perceived (with tears I ſpeak it) the anger of God ſharp and fierce againſt us in bringing us under ſubjection of ſuch effeminate Children, and ſuch dregs of the Earth, and vile refuſe of all other people of the whole World, it would make me to burſt for very grief and ſorrow.

My Sentence is and hath been this, that ſatisfaction, which the Keyes are able to diſpenſe withal ſtandeth not by the Law of God. For if it did, then could it not be diſpenſed withal by the Keyes. If theſe Bull-founders do charge me with any other thing beſides in this Article, they do nothing elſe but as they are wont to do. For what matter or marvel is it if Antichriſt do lye?

The

The ſixth Article.

Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembring and deteſting our Sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years paſt in the bitterneſs of his Soul, in pondering the greatneſs, the multitude and filthineſs of his Sins, the loſing of eternal bliſs, and purchaſing of eternal Damnation; this contrition maketh an Hypocrite, yea rather a man to be more a Sinner.

The Anſwer.

The anſwer of M. Luther to the 6. Article.

O the incredible blindneſs and bruitiſhneſs of theſe Romiſh Bulls. This Article is truly mine, and very Chriſtian, which I will not ſuffer to be wreſted from me, for all the Popes and Papiſts in the World. For this I meant by that Doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unleſs it be done in Faith and Charity, which thing they alſo teach themſelves, but that they do neither know nor teach, neither what Faith nor Charity is. And therefore in condemning my Doctrine, they condemn alſo their own, fooliſhly repugning againſt themſelves in their own contradiction. I ſay therefore that he which teacheth repentance in ſuch wiſe and manner, that he hath not a greater regard to the promiſed mercy of God and Faith in the ſame, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of *Judas Iſcariot*, he is peſtilent, a Devil to mens Souls, and Tormentor of Conſciences. Read the Books of theſe Sophiſters, where they write of Repentance, and thou ſhalt ſee there no mention made either of promiſe or Faith. For theſe lively parts of repentance they clean omit, and only do vex men with their dead contritions. But hereof we have, and will hereafter intreat more at large.

But what ſhould I here ſtand upon every Article, ſeeing my Books be abroad, wherein I have given a reaſon of all ſufficiently, and more would have done, if mine Adverſaries alſo had brought to light theirs? For what fooliſhneſs is this, that they think to anſwer me with this one ſaying, that they count all my ſayings as damned, whereas I did write to this end only, that they ſhould acknowledge their errors, wherewith they have ſo long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I ſhould be condemned, which underſtanding and knowing the ſame right well, have juſtified thoſe things, which they have condemned, before with ſufficient Authority both of Scripture, and Reaſon. Neither looked I that they ſhould tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough) but that which I ſought of them, was, to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught, and behold, none of them all durſt once put forth his head. Wherefore I ſee theſe Aſſes nothing to underſtand either in things that I ſay, or yet themſelves. But they be ſuch blind Buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I ſeek in my Books: for they dream that I have ſuch an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their ſide, when there is nothing that I leſs think to be true. For I, foreſeeing that they had condemned all theſe things before, came forth and ſhewed my ſelf as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned of them, to accuſe their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blaſphemous, and ſo openly to denounce them as Hereticks and Erroneous, unleſs they ſhewed ſome better reaſon and ground of their doings and Doctrine; whereas they on the other ſide, like fooliſh Minſtrels harping all on one ſtring, have nothing elſe in their mouths, but we condemn that we have condemned, proving, after a new kind of Logick, the ſame thing by it ſelf. O moſt idiot-huddipeaks, and blockiſh condemners, where is the ſaying of *Peter*? Be always ready to render an account of that Faith and hope which is in you.

The purpoſe of *Luther* in ſetting forth his Articles.

1 Pet. 3.

Wherefore ſeeing theſe ignorant Papiſts, being thus confounded, do ſo flie away from the face of the manifeſt verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themſelves, or of their cauſe, and have blaſted out with much ado this timorous Bull of theirs; I being comforted with the flight of theſe mine adverſaries, do account this their daſtardly damnation inſtead of full allowing and juſtifying of my cauſe, and ſo rebound again their own damnation upon their own heads: for how could they more condemn themſelves, than while they (fearing to be found themſelves culpable of Hereſie, if they ſhould be driven to give account of their Doctrine) do flie to this miſerable and deſperate refuge, willingly to ſhut their eyes, and ſtop their ears, and to ſay I will not, I damn thee, I hear thee not, I allow thee not? If I ſhould have played any ſuch mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed againſt me? This daſtardly fear declareth what cowards they are.

Wherefore not to burthen the Reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in proſecuting every Article, I here proteſt by theſe preſents, that I * confeſs all theſe things here condemned by this miſerable Bull, for pure, clear, and Catholick Doctrine; whereof I have ſufficiently given account in my Books which be extant abroad.

* Note here good Reader what manner of Articles these Articles are, which the Pope and his Parliament of Lords, *Luther* coming after to 8 more knowledge that the Pope was I nilling, deſiring, and in the Lord exhorting all them which Antichriſt, truly confeſs Chriſt, that they will beware and take himſelf in heed of their peſtiferous Doctrine, and not to doubt, but his aſſertion, that the true Antichriſt reigneth by them in the World ons, that he utterly calleth backbiting ſame, nor revoking them as the Pope would have had him, but rather aggravating them againſt the Pope.

Furthermore, I will alſo that the ſaid my Books being extant abroad ſhall be taken as a publick accuſation againſt theſe wicked Sophiſters and ſeducers of the people of God; ſo that unleſs they ſhall give an account of their Doctrine, and ſhall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lyeth denounce them as guilty of Errours, Hereſie, and Sacrilege, admonition, on, let him know that I am pure and clean from his Blood, and excuſed from the laſt judgment of Chriſt. For I have left nothing undone, which Chriſtian Charity did bind me to do.

Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may reſiſt theſe babling and trifling condemners, the uttermoſt and laſt which I have I will give and beſtow in the quarrel, that is, this Life and Blood of mine. For better it were for me a thouſand times to be ſlain, than to revoke one ſyllable of theſe Articles, which they have condemned. And now as they do curſe and excommunicate me for their damnable Hereſie, ſo I again likewiſe do curſe and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God. Chriſt, which is only the judge of all, judge and determine this matter between us, whether of theſe two excommunications, his or mine, ſhall ſtand and prevail before him. Amen.

In ſtorying the life of *Luther*, before, it was declared how the ſaid *Luther* in the beginning, firſt being rejected of the Cardinal *Cajetanus*, appealed from the Cardinal unto the Pope. When that would not ſerve, neither could any tolerable ſubmiſſion of *Luther* to the Pope be received, but that the Pope with his Cardinals, contrary to all Equity and Conſcience, would needs proceed againſt him, and againſt the expreſs truth of Gods Word, thinking by meer Authority to bear down the verity as he had uſed before to do; *Luther*, following the juſtneſs of his cauſe was then compelled to appeal from the Pope to the next general Council, and ſo did, as before you may read: Which was two years before the Popes Bull againſt *Luther* came out. The tenour of which appellation, before omitted. I thought here to exhibit; whereby the Reader, conſidering the great change of Religion, and ſtate of the Church which ſince hath enſued, may alſo perceive the true original cauſe and occaſion how it firſt began, by what order and degrees it after increaſed, what humility and ſubmiſſion firſt on *Luthers* part was ſhewed, and again, what inſolency, wrong and violence of the Popes part was declared. And further where Pope *Leo*, in his Bull above preſixed, ſeemeth to pretend certain conditions of favour, charity, and money offered to *Luther* in the beginning, how falſe and vain that is, by this preſent appeal may appear. The copy whereof, as it was drawn by the publick notary, and exhibited, is this as in form here followeth.

Read afore.

Read afore.

The tenour and form of the Appeal of Martin Luther, *from Pope* Leo *to the next Generall Councel.*

The appeal of M. Luther from the Pope to the next General Council.

IN *nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a nativitate ejuſdem*, 1518. *indictione ſexta, die vero ſolis vigeſima octava menſis Novembris. Pontificatus ſanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri, Domini Leonis, divina*

vina providentia Papæ, decimi, anno sexto in meis Notarii publici testimoque infra scriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum & rogatorum præsentia constituta, &c.

The effect of the said Appeal of Luther, *in English.*

Luthers Appeal from the Pope in English.

THE effect of the Appeal aforesaid is this, That forsomuch as the liberty of appealing is provided for a remedy to relieve the oppressed from injury and violence of the Superiour, it was therefore lawful for *Martin Luther* so to do, especially being manifold ways injured and molested be the See of *Rome*, and other the Popes Confederates, as he in the said Appeal declareth. For at first whereas he modestly disputing of the errours and abuses of the Popes Pardons, did somewhat withstand the impudent ravine and blasphemies of them that came about with the Popes Pardons to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them in their publick Sermons to be an Heretick, and consequently upon the same accused to Pope *Leo* for an Heretick, by *Marins* the Popes Proctor and others.

Then was obtained of the Pope a Commission to cite up the said *Luther* to appear at *Rome* before the Cardinals, by *Hieronymus*, and *Sylvester Prieras*, his mortal enemies, whereas he could by no way appear without manifest danger of his life, both by the way, and also in the City of *Rome*.

For the consideration whereof, Duke *John Fredrick*, Prince Elector, and the Lantgrave intreated for him to have his cause indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to two parties that were equal, and not partial: yet notwithstanding the earnest sute of these Princes, the contrary labours of the Cardinals, which were his capital Adversaries, so prevailed at *Rome*, that the cause of *Luther* was still detained in their own hands, and contrary to all indifferency, was committed to the hearing of the Popes Legate then in *Germany*, called *Cardinalis Sanctæ Sixti*. Who being no less Enemy against *Luther* than the other, and notwithstanding that *Luther* personally appeared at his call, and with humble protestation submitted himself to be answered by the Scriptures, and referred himself to the judgment of the See of *Rome*, and of our Universities, to wit, *Basil*, *Friburge*, *Lovaine*, and *Paris*, yet contrary to all equity, shewing forth no Scripture nor Reason, rejecting his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer, with all other his Requests and Suits, he would needs forthwith have him to revoke his errours, threatning and menacing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his sight.

Cardinalis Sanctæ Sixti, Enemy to Luther.

Luther appealeth from the Cardinal to the Pope.

Whereupon *Luther*, being thus proudly rejected of the Cardinal, made his Appeal from the said Cardinal to Pope *Leo*, being better informed.

This Appellation also being contemned of the Pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reasonable condition, nor shew *Luther* his Errors by the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to be decided, but would needs perforce proceed against him by meer Authority and Oppression at *Rome*; *Luther* then seeing there was no other refuge or remedy for his own defence, and seeing moreover the truth of Gods Word to lye under foot, by Might and Authority oppressed, so that none durst almost confess the same, and that the poor flock was so moulded in errors and vain opinions, to the seduction of their Souls; for these and other such causes, he being necessarily thereunto compelled, commenced this Appeal from the Pope misinformed, to the next General Councel that should be, calling for the help of the publick Notary, and testimony also of sufficient witnesses, requisite in that behalf accordingly.

M. Luthers appeal from next Pope, to the next General Councel.

The death of King Henry *the eighth, with the manner thereof.*

The order and manner of the Kings death.

AND thus closing up this eighth Book with the death of King *Henry* the eighth, I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his Grace) proceed next to the time and Reign of King *Edward* his Son, after that first I shall interpose a few words touching the death of the said King *Henry* his Father, and the manner of the same. Who after long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, lay from S. *Stevens* day (as is above mentioned) to the latter end of *January*. His Physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the Act past before in Parliament, that none should speak any thing of the Kings death (the Act being made only for Soothsayers, and talkers of Prophecies, moved them that were about the King to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity. Which when the said King was well in dread to do, M. *Denny*, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the King, told him what case he was in, to miss judgment not like to live, and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betime for Grace and Mercy, as becometh every good Christian man to do.

Of the Act that none should speak of the Kings death, Vide Statut. Anno Hen. 8.

Although the King was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of his Physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to consider his life past. Which although he much accused, yet (said he) is the mercy of Christ able to pardon me all my Sins, though they were greater than they be. Master *Denny* being glad to hear him thus to speak, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man first for to confess withal, and to open his mind unto. To whom the King answered again, that if he had any, he would have Doctor *Cranmer*, who was then lying at *Croydon*. And therefore Master *Denny* asking the King whether he would have him sent for, I will first, said the King, take a little sleep, and then as I feel my self I will advise upon the matter.

Sr. Gardiner appointed by the King to be had to the Trayer.

Sr. Gardiner strictly consulteth with the King.

K. Henry layeth to Winchesters charge.

Winch. confesseth his popery to the King.

The King at his death chuseth to talk with Cranmer.

After an hour or two, the King awaking, and feeling feebleness to increase upon him, commanded Doctor *Cranmer* to be sent for; but before he could come, the King was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Doctor *Cranmer* to be come, he reaching his hand to Doctor *Cranmer*, did hold him fast, but could utter no words unto him, and scarce was able to make any sign. Then the Archbishop exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes or with his hand, as he trusted in the Lord. Then the King, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could, and so shortly after departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three Children, *Edward*, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*.

D. Cranmer cometh to the King.

The Kings Children.

Moreover, forsomuch as mention is inserted in this place of the good inclination of King *Henry* in his latter days to the reformation of Religion, by the occasion hereof it seemeth also to stand, how that likewise to add by way of appendix touching the talk between the Archbishop of *Canterbury Thomas Cranmer*, and the Duke of *Suffolk Charles Brandon*, as concerning the Kings purpose and intent conceived against the Bishop of *Winchester Steven Gardiner*, in that he could never allow any reformation in Religion in this Realm, and namely, being offended with this, that men should use in their talk, The Lord, as well as our Lord; the said Duke said unto the said Archb. We of the Counsel had him once at a good lift, and should well have dispatched him from his Authority, if the Kings Majesty our Master had stayed himself from admitting him to his presence, as then his Highness was content that we should thoroughly have sifted and tryed him. Then my Lord (quoth the Duke to the Archbishop) at that time when *Gardiner* his Secretary was attached, and suffered for defending the Popes Authority. For then I and certain of the Counsel having conference with the Kings Majesty for that matter, his Highness was fully perswaded, that the Bishops Secretary, being in such special favour with his Master, would never stand so stiff in defence of he Bishop of *Romes* usurped Power and Authority, without his said Masters both advice, knowledge, and perswasion. For already (quoth the King) he played but an homely part with me, when he was Embassadour to the Pope concerning my cause of divorce. And therefore (quoth the King to me) send for him, my Lord, incontinently, and by assistance of two or three more of the Counsel, whom

Talk between Dr. Cranmer and the Duke of Suffolk.

whom you think good, let him be committed to the *Tower*, to answer to such things as may be objected against him. This communication was in the evening, so that we purposed to have executed the Kings pleasure and commandment the next morning. Howbeit our talk was not so secret, but that some of his friends of the Privy Chamber (where he had many friends then) suspecting the matter, sent him word thereof. Who incontinently repaired to the Kings Presence, and finding some matter to minister unto the King, his Highness said to the Bishop, We do marvel that your Secretary hath thus notoriously offended against us and our Laws. It is surely thought that you are not all clear in this offence, but that you are of the same opinion with him, and therefore my Lord be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault, but if you halt or dissemble with me, look for no favour at my hand.

With this monition *Winchester* fell down upon his knees, and beseought his Majesty of Mercy and Pardon, manifestly confessing that he had long time been of that opinion with his said Secretary; and there bewailing himself promised from that day forward to reform his opinion and become a new man. Well, quoth the King, this way you have of me that which otherwise you should never have obtained. I am content to remit all things past, and pardon you upon your amendment.

K. Henry intreature to pardon them that come to him, and confess their sute.

The next morning I had word how the matter was handled, whereupon I came to his Highness and said; your Majesty hath prevented our Commission, which I and other had from your Grace concerning my Lord of *Winchesters* committing to the *Tower*. Wot you what, quoth the King? He hath confessed himself as guilty in this matter as his man, and hath with much sorrow and pensiveness sued for my Pardon; and you know what my nature and custom hath been in such matters, ever more to Pardon them that will not dissemble but confess their fault.

Thus willy and politicky he got himself out of our hands. But if I had suspected this, I would have had him in the *Tower* over night, and stopped his journey to the Court. Well, said my Lord of *Canterbury*, he was evermore too good for you all.

Moreover as touching this foresaid Bishop of *Winchester*, forsomuch as he in King *Edwards* time bragged so much of his old Master of famous memory King *Henry* the eighth, to the intent that the glorious vanity of this Bishop, and of all other like unto him, may appear more notoriously to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of Master *Denny*, as also of Sir *Henry Nevil*, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record was this, that King *Henry* before the time of his sickness, taking his Horse upon the Tarras at *Windsor* to ride out on hawking, saw standing before him the Lord *Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour, with divers other Counsellors, and amongst them the Bishop of *Winchester*. Whereupon he called the Lord Chancellor, and said, Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you (meaning the Bishop?) Whereupon the Lord Chancellor answered, That his coming was to bring his Majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the Clergy, Whereat the King said, Ah, let him come hither, and so he did his message, and the King went straight away.

Talk between the Lord Chancellour, Archbishop of Cant. and the Duke of Suffolk, about St. Gardiner.

Winch. commanded no more to come in the Kings sight.

Winch. though he were excluded, yet would fain fill to be of the Kings Councel.

Item, another time the King immediately after his repair to *London* fell sick, and caused divers times his whole Councel to come unto him about his Will, and other his grave affairs. At what time the Bishop also would come up with them into the utter Privy Chamber, and there remain until the Councel came from the King, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the World withal.

Winch. excluded out of the Kings Will.

Furthermore, as the King grew more in sickness, he considering upon his Will and Testament made before, at his going over to *Bulein*, willed the same to be drawn out again, with leaving out and excluding the Bishop of *Winchester* by Name from amongst his Executors. Which being to him no small corsey, and a cutting off of all their purposes, a way was found, that Sir *Anthony Brown* a principal Pillar of *Winchesters* side, pretending unto the King, as though by the negligence of the writer the Bishops Name had been left out of the Kings Will, kneeled down to the Kings Majesty lying in his Bed, and said; My Lord of *Winchester* I think by negligence is left out of your Majesties Will, who had done your Highness painful, long and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them.

Sir Anthony Brown a great friend to Winch.

Hold your peace, quoth the King, I remembred him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out. For surely if he were in my Testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesom a nature. Mary, quoth the King, I my self could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me, but so shall you never do, and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf. Sir *Anthony Brown*, perceiving the King somewhat stiff herein, gave place to the Kings words at that time. Howbeit, seeking further occasion, upon more perswasions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the King to have the Bishop one of his Executors. When the King perceived that this instant sute would not cease; have you not yet done, quoth the King, to molest me in this matter? If you will not yet cease to trouble me, by the Faith I owe unto God, I will surely dispatch thee out of my Will also, and therefore let us hear no more of this matter. All this Sir *Anthony Denny* was heard to report to the Archbishop of *Canterbury Thomas Cranmer*, of the said Archbishops Secretary who is yet alive, and witness unto the same.

K. Henries Will of the Bish. of Winch.

Witnes.

And thus much touching the end of King *Henry*, who if he had continued a few months longer (all those obites of the King and Masses, which appear in his Will made before he went to *Bulein* notwithstanding) most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the Church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one Mass in all *England*. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me. The one is, the assured Report and Testimony of *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hearing the King declare the same out of his own mouth, both to himself, and to *Mounsieur de Annebault* Lord Admiral of the *French* Embassadour, in the Month of *August* a little before his death, as above may appear more at large. The other cause which leadeth me thereunto is also of equal credit, grounded upon the Declaration of the Kings own Mouth after that time, more near unto his death unto *Bruno* Embassador of *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*: Unto the which Embassadour of *Saxony* the King gave this answer openly, that if the quarrel of the Duke of *Saxony* were nothing else against the Emperour, but for Religion, he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt nor fear; and so with this answer he dismissed the Embassadour unto the Duke, openly in the hearing of these four sufficient witnesses, as the Lord *Seymer* Earl of *Harford*, Lord *Lesley* then Admiral, the Earl of *Bedford* Lord Privy Seal, the Lord *Paget*. But the secret working of Gods holy providence, which disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather by taking the King away to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his Church to the peaceable time of his Son *Edward* and *Elizabeth* his Daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any Blood, and life unspotted with any violence or cruelty.

The purpose of the King of the bad.

Credit of this narrative.

The Kings Embassadour to the D. of Saxonie Embassador, a little before his death.

And thus to finish this Book, I thought here to close up. King *Henries* Reign. But because a little vacant space of empty Paper remaineth behind needful to be filled up, to imploy therefore and to replenish the same with some matter or other, I thought to annex hereunto one story which happened in this King *Henries* Reign. Which albeit it serveth not to the purpose of this our matter now in hand, yet nevertheless to supply the room it may stand in some place, either to refresh the travelled mind of the Reader wearied with other Stories or else to disclose the detestable impiety of these Counterfeit Sects of Monks and Friers, who, under the Hypocritical visour of pretensed Religion, have so long seduced and deceived the World. Although the deceitful parts and practises of these fantastical Orders be so many and in all places so notorious, that they are not able to be expressed; yet amongst

amongst many, one you shall hear that chanced in this Kings days in the City of *Orleance* in *France*, by the *Gray Friers*, about the year of our Lord, 1534. The Story is this.

A Tragical History of certain Friers *in* France, *in the City of* Orleance, *Anno* 1534.

Ex Comment. Joan. Sleid. A Story of certain Friers in Orleance.

THe Majors Wife of the City of *Orleance* provided in her Will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when any departeth there, in some places the Belmen are hired to go about the City, and in places most frequented to assemble the people with the sound of the Bell, and there to declare the Names and the Titles of those parties deceased, also where and when they shall be buried, exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the Coarse is carried forth, the most part of the begging Friers go withal to the Church, with many Torches and Tapers carried before them, and the more pomp and solemnity is used, the more is the concourse of people. But this Woman (as I said) would have none of all this gear done for her. Wherefore her Husband, which loved her well, followed her mind herein, and gave unto these greedy Cormorants the Friers which waited for their prey (in whose Church she was buried besides her Father and her Grandfather) six Crowns for a reward, whereas they gaped for a great deal more. And afterward when he cut down a Wood and fold it, the Friers craving to have part thereof freely and without money, he denyed them: this took they wonderful grievously, and whereas they loved him not before, they devised now a way to be revenged, saying, that his Wife was damned everlastingly.

The workers of this Tragedy were *Colyman* and *Steven* of *Arras*, both Doctors of Divinity; and the first indeed was a Conjurer, and had all his Trinkets and his Furniture concerning such matters in readiness, and they used the matter thus.

They set a young man which was a novice, above over the Vault of the Church, and when they came to mumble up their Mattins at Midnight, after their accustomed manner, he made a wonderful noise and shriking aloft. Then went this *Colyman* to crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. Being charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb Spirit, he rustled and made a noise again, and that was the sign and token.

When they had laid this foundation, they went to certain of the chiefest in all the City, and such as favoured them most, and told them what an heavy case was chanced, yet did they not utter what it was, but intreated them to take the pains to come to their Service at night. When they were come, and the Service was begun, he that was aloft made a great noise. Being demanded what he would, and what he was, he signified that he might not speak, then was he commanded to answer to their Interrogatories by Signs and Tokens. Now, there was a hole made for the purpose, wherby, laying to his ear, he might hear and understand what the Conjurer said unto them. There was also a Table at hand, and when any question was asked, he would crook and beat upon the Table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then, first the Conjurer demanded whether he were any of them that had been buried there. After that, reckoning up many of their Names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, at the last he named the Majors Wife. Here he made a sign that he was the Spirit of that Woman. Then he asked whether she were damned, and for what desert or offence? Whether it were for covetousness, pride, or lechery, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new sprung up Heresie and Lutheranism? Moreover, what was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet? Whether it were that the Body being buried within holy ground should be digged up again, and carried to some other place? To all these things he answered by signs in like case as he was commanded; whereby he affirmed, or denied every thing, striking twice or thrice upon the Table.

The conjurer what he demanded of the Spirit.

Luthers Heresie a great bug among the Friers.

When he had thus signified that *Luthers* Heresie was the cause of her damnation, and that her Body must be taken up, the Friers desired the Citizens that were there present, to bear witness of such things as they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they taking advisement left they should both offend the Maior, and bring themselves in trouble, refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the Friers took the Pixe with the Host and the Lords Body (as they call it) and all their Saints Reliques, and carried them to another place, and there they said their Mass; which they are wont to do by the Popes Law, when a Church is suspended and must be hallowed again: and when the Bishops Official heard of this, he came thither to understand the matter better, and associating to him certain honest men, he commanded the Frier to conjure in his presence, and would have appointed certain to go up to the Vault, to see if any Spirit did there appear. But *Steven* of *Arras* was sore against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying, that the Spirit ought not to be molested. And albeit the Official did earnestly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the mean time the Maior, making his friends privy what he would do, went to the King, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the Friers, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come in judgment, the King chose certain out of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to examine the matter, and gave them full Authority so to do. Whereupou they were carried to *Paris*, and constrained to make answer, but they would confess nothing.

The Maior complaineth to the King of the Friers.

Then they were sent again to Prison, and kept apart, one from another; and the Novice was kept in *Fumeus* House a Senatour, and being oftentimes examined, he would confess nothing, fearing left he should after be murthered of them for slandering their Order. But when the Judges promised him that he should have no harm, and should come no more in the Friers hands, he declared to them the whole matter in order, and being brought before the others, he avouched the same. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken with the deed, yet refused they their Judges, and bragged of their priviledges: but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried again to *Orleance*, and committed to Prison, and afterwards brought openly to the Cathedral Church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed, and there should make open confession of their wickedness.

The Friers condemned to Prison and to punishment.

But even at the same time chanced a persecution against the *Lutherans*, which was the cause that this Sentence, albeit it was too gentle for so great offence, was not put in execution. For because the Name of the *Lutherans* was most odious, they feared left the punishment of these men should not have been so much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the Order: and many thought that whatsoever should be done to them, it would be to the *Lutherans* a pleasant spectacle, and cause them much to rejoyce.

The Priests escaped, and the Easter-ceu punishment.

This Order of the *Franciscans* were esteemed of the common people very holy; so that what time they were carried out of *Paris*, certain Women moved with pitty followed them unto the Gate of the University, with many tears and sighs.

After they came to *Orleance*, and were bestowed in several Prisons, they began to boast again of their liberties and priviledges: and at length, after long Imprisonment, they were discharged and set at liberty without any further punishment. Had not these persecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the King had determined, as it was certainly reported, to pluck down their House, and make it even with the ground. *Ex Joan. Sleid. lib.* 9.

Persecution for the Gospel before M. Luther time.

But to leave the memory of this Idolatrous Generation, not worthy any further to be named, let us occupy the time with some better matter, in remembring the Story of a good and constant Martyr of the Lord before overpast, who suffered in *Kent* for the Word of God before *Luthers* time, as here in Story followeth.

John Brown *a Blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus burned at* Ashford *by Archbishop* Warham, *and Doctor* Fisher *Bishop of* Rochester, *about the second year of King* Henry *the eighth. Anno* 1511.

Persecuters.
Wil. Warh. Archb. of *Canterbury.*

THe first occasion of the trouble of this *John Brown*, the blessed Servant of God, was by a certain Priest; who passing down to *Graves-end* in the common Barge (where the said *John Brown* was amongst divers other passengers more) and disdaining that he so saucily should sit so near unto him in the Barge (who belike seemed not much to passe upon the Priest) began to swell in stomack against him. At length bursting forth in his Priestly voyce and disdainful Countenance, he asked him in this manner, Doest thou know, said he, whom I am? Thou sittest too near me, and sittest on my Clothes. No Sir, said the other, I know not what you are. I tell thee, quoth he, I am a Priest. What Sir, are you a Parson or Vicar, or some Ladies Chaplain? No (quoth he again) I am a Soul Priest, I sing for a Soul. Do you so Sir, said the other, that is well done. I pray you Sir, said he, where find you the Soul when you go to Mass? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. I pray you, where do you leave it, Sir, when the Mass is done? I cannot tell thee, said the Priest. Neither can you tell where to find it when you go to Mass, nor where you leave it when the Mass is done, how can you then save the Soul, said he? Go thy ways, said the Priest, I perceive thou art an Heretick, and I will be even with thee.

Talk between John Brown and a proud Priest in Gravesend and Barge.

Walter More, Wil. More, Chiften and Bier, persecuters.

John Brown suddenly taken and carried away.

So at the landing, the Priest taking with him *Walter More* and *William More* two Gentlemen and Brethren, rode straightways to the Archbishop, who at that time was *William Warham*. Whereupon the said *John Brown*, within three days after, was sent for by the Archbishop. His bringers up were *Chiften* of *Wye* Baily *Errant*, and one *Bear* of *Wisborough*, with two of the Bishops Servants. Who, with certain other being appointed for the same, came suddenly into his House upon him, the same day when his Wife was Churched, as he was bringing in a Mess of Pottage to the boord serving his guest: and so laying hands upon him, they set him upon his own Horse, and binding his feet under the Horses Belly, carried him away to *Canterbury*, neither he nor his Wife nor any of his friends knowing whether he went, nor whither he should: and there continuing the space of fourty days, from *Low-Sunday* till the *Friday* before *Whitsunday*, through the cruel handling of the said Archbishop and the Bishop of *Rochester* Doctor *Fisher*, he was so pitiously intreated, that his bare feet were set upon the hot burning Coals, to make him deny his Faith; which notwithstanding he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued in the Lords quarrel unremouable. At length after all this cruelty sustained, his Wife yet not knowing where he was become, on *Friday* before *Whitsunday* he was sent to *Ashford* where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

His bare feet set upon the hot Coals to make him deny the truth.

Brown brought to Ashford to be burned.

Brown set in the Stocks at Ashford.

In the mean time, as he was brought to the Town over night, there to be set in the Stocks, it happened as God would, that a young Maid of his House coming by, and seeing her Master, ran home and told her Mistress.

Then she coming to him, and finding him in the Stocks appointed to be burned the next morning, sat by him all the night long. To whom he then declared the whole Story or rather Tragedy how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the Bones, by the two Bishops aforesaid, that he could not set them upon the ground, (he thanked God therefore) and all to make me, said he, to deny my Lord, which I will never do, for if I should deny him, said he, in this World, he would deny me hereafter. And therefore I pray thee, said he, good *Elizabeth*, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy Children vertuously in the fear of God.

And so the next day, which was on *Whitson-Even*, this Godly Martyr was burned, where he standing at the Stake said this Prayer which followeth, holding up his hands.

The Prayer of John Brown *at his death.*

The Prayer of Jo. Brown at his death.

O Lord I yield me to thy Grace.
Grant me mercy for my trespass,
Let never the Fiend my Soul chase.
Lord I will bow and thou shalt beat:
Let never my Soul come in Hell heat.

Into thy hand I commend my Spirit, thou hast redeemed me O Lord of thy truth.

And so this blessed Martyr ended his life in peace, *Ann.* 1511.

The Story of Jo. Brown.

This Story the said *Elizabeth Brown* his Wife did oft times repeat to *Alice* her Daughter, who dwelling yet in the Parish of *S. Pulchers*, testified the narration hereof unto me and certain other, upon whose credible information I have recorded the same.

Witness to this Story.

Furthermore, it is to be noted, that the said *John Brown* bare a faggot seven years before this, in the days of King *Henry* the seventh. Whose Son also Named *Richard* escaped burning by the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Rich. Brown

Amongst other Injunctions and Letters of King *Henry* the eighth, written and set forth for reformation of Religion, he wrote one Letter to *Edmund Boner*, for abolishing of Images, Pilgrimages, Shrines, and other Monuments of Idolatry. Which letter being before expressed, we should also have annexed to the same the Letter or Mandate of *Boner*, directed in Latin to *Richard Cloney* his Sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof. Which Letter because we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here in this vacant space to supply. The Letter written to *Cloney* in Latin thus beginneth.

Boners *Letter to* Cloney *Keeper of the Cole-House, for the abolishing of Images.*

This Cloney could neither understand the Latin, nor yet scarce read in English, and yet here he is called literatus.

EDmundus permissione Divina Lond. Episc. Dilecto nobis in Christo Richardo Cloney literato, Apparitori nostro generali salut. grat. & benedictionem. Cum nos 13. die mensis instantis Octob. circa noctem, literas serenissimi, &c.

The same in English.

FOrsomuch as the thirteenth day of this present, we have received the Letters of our Sovereign Lord, by the Grace of God King of England, &c. to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his Majesty, by us to be executed in tenour of words which here I send unto you: We therefore willing and desiring according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in Execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenour hereof, in the Kings behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you assuredly approved, that you incontinent upon the receit hereof, do effectually warn all and singular Parsons, Vicars of this City of London, and of all our Diocess, that they immediately upon the sight and intimation of this present Articles and interrogatories here under written, do cause diligent and effectual inquisition thereof to be made, to wit:

He had Boner none to do these weighty things in the Cole-House.

Whether there be used and continued any Superstition, Hypocrisie, or Abuse within any their Parishes or Cures, contrary to any Ordinance, Injunction, or Commandment given and set forth by the Kings Majesty, or by his Authority.

Item, Whether they have in their Churches, or within their Parishes, any shrines, coverings of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and bones resorted and offered unto, and other monuments and things wherewith the people have been illuded, or any offering or setting up of lights or candles, other than be permitted by the Kings Majesties Injunctions, or whether the said Injunctions be duely observed and kept in their Parishes or Cures, or else transgressed and broken, and in what part.

And further, after the said Inquisition thus by them and every of them respectively being made, that you do certifie us, or our Vicar General, what is done in the premisses, upon the Even of Simon and Jude, or thereabout, under the peril thereof following.

Dat. 14. *die Oct. Anno* 1541. *& nostra.* translat. 2.

The end of the Eighth Book.

{KING Edw.6}

THE NINTH BOOK,

CONTAINING

The Acts and things done in the Reign of King EDWARD *the Sixth.*

King Edward delivering the Bible to the Prelates.

{Anno 1547.}

The Reign and time of King Edward.

NExt after the death of *King* Henry succeeded King *Edward* his Son, being of the age of nine years. He began his reign the eight and twentieth day of *January*, and reigned six years and eight months, and eight days, and deceased, *Anno* 1553. the sixth day of *July*.

Of whose excellent vertues and singular graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet because the renowned fame of such a worthy Prince, shall not utterly pass our Story without some grateful remembrance, I thought in few words to touch some little portion of his praise taken out of the great heaps of matter, which might be inferred. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long: and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkind. If Kings and Princes, which have wisely and vertuously governed, have found in all ages Writers to solemnize and celebrate their Acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we *English* men bound not to forget our duty to King *Edward*? a Prince although but tender in years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in wit and all princely Ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so again I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

Commendation of King Edward.

And here to use the example of *Plutarch* in comparing Kings and Rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble

Anno 1547. Comparision between King *Josias* and King *Edward*.

King *Edward*, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good *Josias*. For as the one began his Reign at eight years of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in Gods cause much discrepant. For as mild *Josias* pluckt down the high Altars, cut down the Groves, and destroyed all Monuments of Idolatry in the Temple; the like corruptions, drosse and deformities of Popish Idolatry, crept into the Church of Christ of long time, this Evangelical *Josias* King *Edward* removed, and purged the true Temple of the Lord: *Josias* restored the true worship and service of God in *Jerusalem*, and destroyed the Idolatrous Priests: King *Edward* in *England*, likewise abolishing Idolatrous Masses and false invocation, reduced again Religion to a right sincerity, and more would have brought to perfection if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as *Josias* did, the Idolatrous Sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

K. *Josias* and K. *Edward* only differ in continuance of reign.

Moreover, in King *Josias* days the holy Scripture and Book of Gods Word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King *Edward* the like with the self same Book of Gods blessed Word, and with other wholesome Books of Christian Doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his Fathers days by sharp Laws and severe Punishments here in *England*? Briefly in all points and respects, between him and this our godly King no odds is to be found, but only in length of time and reign. Who if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of *Josias* Reign; proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have insued to this Church and Realm. But the manifold iniquities of *English*-men deserved another Plague as after fell amongst us; as in sequel of the Story hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

In the mean time, to procerd in the excellent vertues of this Christian young *Josias* (as we have begun) although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full descripion of all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of the Noble nature and Princely qualities of this King, whereby the Reader may esteem with himself what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

K. Edward beloved of his Subjects.

And first to begin with that which is the chiefest property of all other extern things in a Prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his Subjects; such were the hearts of all *English* people toward this King inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came Prince in this Realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his Subjects; but especially of the good and learned fort, and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable by reason of his rare towardnesse and hope both of vertue and learning, which in him appeared above the capacity of his years. And as he was intirely of his Subjects beloved, so with no less good will he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favoured the life of Man; as once appeared in a certain dissertation of his had with Master *Cheek* in favouring the life of Hereticks; in so much that when *Joan Butcher* should be burned, all the Council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Doctor *Cranmer* to perswade with him, and yet neither could he with much labour induce the King so to do, saying; What my Lord? Will ye have me to send her quick to the Divel in her error? So that Doctor *Cranmer* himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the King to put to his hand, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon *Cranmer* before God. There wanted in him no promptnesse of wit, gravity of sentence, ripenesse of judgment. Favour and love of Religion was in him from his Childhood; Such an Organ given of God to the Church of *England* he was, as *England* had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies, and other great vertues in him, add moreover skill and knowledge of tongues and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born than brought up.

The meek nature of K. *Edward*.

K. *Edward* well skilled in the Tongues.

Moreover, there wanted not in him to this felicity of wit and dexterity of nature, like happinesse of institution of good Instructors. Neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him: insomuch that in the middst of all his play and recreation he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study; using the same with much intention, till time called him again from his Book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his hours he did so profit, that Doctor *Cranmer*, the Archbishop then of *Canterbury*, beholding his towardnesse, his readinesse in both Tongues in translating from Greek to Latin, form Latin to Greek again, in declaiming with his School-fellows without help of his Teachers, and that *ex tempore*, would weep for joy, declaring to Doctor *Cox* his School master, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

The readinesse of King *Edward* to his Book.

Doctor *Cox* K. *Edwards* School-master.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did procced from him, and how he would somtimes, in a matter discoursed by his Councill, add thereunto of his own moe reasons and causes touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seem notorious and admirable, that he in these immature years could tell and recite all the Ports, Havens, and Creeks, not within his own Realm only, but also in *Scotland*, and likewise in *France*, what coming in there was, how the Tide served in every Haven or Creek; moreover, what burthen and what wind served the coming into the Haven.

K. *Edward* knew the names and religion of all his Neighbours.

Also of all his Justices, Magistrates, Gentlemen that bare any authority within his Realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation what it was. Few Sermons or none in his Court, especially in the Lord Protectors time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would excerp them, or note them with his own hand.

The singuler constancy of King *Edward* in maintaining true religion.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all Men, for the maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarrel of Christs holy Gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancy therein, by this one example following, amongst many other, may notably appear.

In the days of this King *Edward* the Sixth, *Carolus* the Emperor made requeſt to the said King and his Councel, to permit Lady *Mary* (who after succeeded in the Crown) to have Mass in her House without prejudice of the Law. And the Council on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent *Cranmer* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Ridley* then Bishop of *London*, to entreat the King for the same. Who coming to his Grace, alledged their reasons and perswasions for the accomplishing thereof. So the King hearing what they could say, replied his answer again out of the Scriptures, so groundedly, gravely, and full, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his Majesty, laboured politickly in another sort, and alledged what dangers the denying thereof might bring to his Grace, what breach of amity of the Emperors part, what troubles, what unkindnesse, and what occasions sundry ways it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the King answered, willing them to content themselves, for he would (he said) spend his life and all he had, rather than to agree and grant to that he knew certainly to be against the Truth. The which when the Bishops heard, notwithstanding they urged him still to grant, and would by no means have his Nay: Then the good King seeing their importunate suits that needs they would have his Majesty to consent thereto, in the end his tender heart burſting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, he desired them to be content. Whereat the Bishops themselves, seeing the Kings zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his Grace; and coming from him, the Archbishop took Master *Cheek* his Schoolmaster by the hand, and said, Ah, Master *Cheek*, you must be glad

The zealous heart of K. *Edward*.

KING *Edw.6*

The Lady *Maries* mass stayed by the tears of K. *Edward*.

glad all the days of our life that you have such a Scholar, for he hath more Divinity in his little Finger, than all we have in all our Bodies. Thus the Lady *Maries* Mass for that time was stayed.

K. *Edward* skilful in the Exchange.

Over and besides these Heavenly graces and vertues, most chiefly to be required in all faithful and Christian Magistrates which have governance of Christs Flock, neither was he also unprovided of such outward gifts and knowledge as appertain to the governance of his Realm politick. Insomuch that neither he was unexpert or ignorant of the Exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the Sea, but was as skilful in the practises thereof, and could say as much therein, as chiefest Doers in his affairs. Likewise in the entertaining of Embassadors, to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their Oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender years by himself, which many Princes at their mature age feldom are wont to do but by other. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to Princely affairs, so had he a Chest severally to himself for every year, for the keeping of such records and matters as past and were concluded by the Council. Of whom also he would require a reason and cause of every thing that should pass their judgments. And of this Chest he would evermore keep the Key about him. His notes also he cyphered in Greek Letters, to the end that those that waited upon him should not read nor know what he had written.

K. *Edwards* chest for keeping of acts and doing of the Council.

He had moreover great respect to Justice, and to the dispatch of poor mens Sutes, and would appoint hours and times with Master *Cox*, then Master of his Requests, how and by what order they might be sped in their causes without long delay and attendance, and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What *Hieronymus Cardanus* saith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberal Sciences, I thought here to expresse in his own words, both in Latin and English, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his own experiment, and upon the present talk which he had with the King himself. The words of *Cardanus* first in Latin be these.

Hier. Card. de Genituris.

De Hieron. Cardan. lib. 1. de Genitur.

A Derant enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas ad-huc puer callebat, Anglicam natalem, Latinam, Gallicam, non expers (ut audio) Græcæ, Italicæ, & Hispanicæ, & forsan aliarum. Propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exactè tenebat, & ad omnia docilis erat. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis Philosophiæ principia, non musica. Humanitas mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas Regiæ majestatis, indoles tanto principe digna. In universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii, & tantæ expectationis puer educabatur. Non hæc Rhetorice exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora.

Decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latine non minus quam ego polite & prompte loquebatur) quid continent libri tui de rerum veritate? hos enim nomini Majestatis suæ dedicaveram. Tum ego Cometarum primum causam diu frustra quæsitam in primo capite ostendo. Quenam, inquit ille? Concursus, ego ait, luminis erraticorum syderum. At Rex, Quomodo, cum diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur eorum motu. At ego, movetur equidem, sed longe celerius illis ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in Chrystallo & Sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, & quonam pacto absque subjecto illud fieri potest, triste enim paries subjectum est? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accensæ medium quoddam lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaque ex ungue Leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem atque suavitatem morum. Prius caperat favere artibus quam noscere, & noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quem non solum Anglia, fed orbis erepium immature deflere debet. O quam bene dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis est ætas & rara senectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Ubi gravitas Regia requiretur, senem videbis; ut blandus erat, & comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atque in his patrem æmulabatur, &c.

Hæc Cardanus.

The same in English.

The words of Cardanus in the commendation of King *Edward*.

THere was in him a towardly disposition and pregnancy apt to all human literature; as who being yet a Child, had the knowledge of divers Tongues, first of the English his own natural Tongue, of the Latin also and of the *French*; neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish Tongues, and of other Languages peradventure moe. In his own, in the French, and in the Latin Tongue singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all other. Neither was he ignorant in Logick, in the principles of natural Philosophy, or in Mutick. There was in him lacking neither humanity, the Image of our mortality, a Princely gravity and majesty, nor any kind of towardnesse beseeming a noble King. Briefly, it may seem a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardnesse that appeared in him being yet but a Child. This I speak not rhetorically, to amplifie things, or to make them more than truth is, yea the truth is more than I do utter.

The cause of Comets.

Being yet but fifteen year of age, he asked of me in Latin (in which Tongue he uttered his mind no less readily and eloquently than I could do my self) what my Books which I had dedicated unto him, *De varietate rerum*, do contain; I said that in the first Chapter was shewed the cause of Comets, or blazing Stars, which hath been long fought for, and yet hitherto to learce fully found. What cause, said he, is that? The concourse or meeting, said I, of the Light and wandring Planets and Stars. To this the King thus replied again: Forsomuch, said he, as the motion of the Stars keepeth not one course, but is divers and variable by continual alteration, how is it then that the cause of these Comets either doth not quickly vade and vanish, or that the Comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course and motion with the said Stars and Planets? Whereunto I answered, that the Comet hath his course and moving, but much more swifter than they, because of the diversity of aspect, as we see in Chrystal, and in the Sun when the form of the Rainbow rebounderh on the Wall. For a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then said the King, and how can that be, having no subject: for of the Rainbow the Wall is the subject? Like, said I, as in *Lactea via*, or in reflection of lights, as where many Candles be lighted and set near together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white lightlomness to appear, &c.

Lactea via is a white and bright part of the Firmament, like a long white cauſway or way appearing in the night among the thick Stars.

And so by this little trial a great guess may be given what was in this King. In whom no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and Learned Men, both for the ingenious forwardnesse and amiable sweetnesse which in his conditions appeared. First he began to love and favour liberal Arts and Sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them, whose mortal condition and sudden decease and decay in those tender and unripe years, not only *England*, but all the world hath cause to lament. O how truly is it said of the Poet,

Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A shew or sight only of excellency he could give us; example he could not give. Where a Kingly Majesty required gravity, there you should have seen him a sage and an old man, and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well upon the Lute, he had also to do in handling of weighty affairs of the Realm. He was liberal and bountiful in heart, and therein he imitated his Father, &c.

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebitis orbe,
Mortales; vester corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & juvenum flos, spesq; bonorum,
Deliciæ sceli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis dolèrq; Minervæ
Flosculus, heu misero! concidit ante diem.
Te tumulo dabimus musæ, supremaque flentes
Funera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.

Ex Hier. Cardano.

Common Epitaphium Cardani, in obitum Reg. Edwardi.

Thus after the godly disposition and properties of this King briefly in this wise declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle something to describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the States, as well Politick as especially Ecclesiastick. Who after the decease of his Father coming unto the Crown, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sixteen Governours. Amongst whom, especially the Lord *Edward Semer* Duke of *Somerset* his Uncle was assigned and joyned to him as Protector and Overseer of him and of the Commonwealth: a Man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity, as also for his noble vertues, and especially for his favour to Gods Word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the indeavour and industry of which Man, first that monstrous *Hydra* with six Heads, the six Articles I mean (which ceedings of *Winchester* began to decay, who, storming at the same matter, wrote to the Lord Protector in the cause thereof, as by the Letters is to be seen.

The Lord *Edward Semer* made Lord Protector.

Commendation of the Lord Protector.

The holy Scriptures he restored to the mother Tongue, Masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore, after softer beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the Churches. Then such, as before were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their Country. To be short, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a Stage new players coming in, the old being thrust out. For the most part the Bishops of Churches and Dioceses were changed. Such as had been dumb Prelates before, were compelled to give place to other then, that would preach and take pains.

Reformation by King *Edward.*

Besides other also, out of foreign Countries men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and received, among whom was *Peter* Martyr, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Phagius*. Of whom the first taught at *Oxford*, the other two professed at *Cambridge*, and that with no small commendation of the whole University. Of the old Bishops some were committed to one ward, some to another. *Bonner* Bishop of *London* was committed to the Marshalsey, and efsoons for his contempt and misdemeanour deposed from his Bishoprick, as in further process followeth to be seen. *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, with *Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme*, was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his *Christmas* three years together, more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to have meant a further Plague to this Realm by that man.

{ Anno 1547. Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius.

Edm. Bonner Bishop of London committed to the Marshalsey.

Gardiner and Tonstal committed to the Tower.

But these meek and gentle times of King *Edward*, under the government of this Noble Protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, that amongst the whole number of the Popish fort, of whom some privily did steal out of the Realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries, yet of all that multitude there was not one man that lost his life. In sum, during the whole time of the six years of this King, much tranquillity, and as it were a breathing time was granted to the whole Church of *England*: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting mens minds, than any time of persecuting or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in *Smithfield* nor any other quarter of this Realm, any was heard to suffer for any matter of Religion, either Papist or Protestant, either for one opinion or other, except only two, one an Englishwoman, called *Joan of Kent*, and the other a Dutchman, named *George*, who died for certain Articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

{ KING Edw. 6 }

Besides these two, there was none else in all King *Edwards* Reign, that died in any cause of Religion, but one *Thomas Dobbe*, who in the beginning of this Kings Reign was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the Idolatry of the Mass, and in the same prison died; as in the Story here insueth to be seen.

Tho. Dobbe imprisoned, and in prison died.

This *Thomas Dobbe*, being a Student and a Master of Art in *Cambridge*, was brought up in the College called Saint *Johns* College, and Fellow of the same, where he increased in the study of good Letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeal toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to no man, of much like sort and condition as in Doves, which without all bitterness of Gall are more apt to receive injury than to work wrong at any. At length this godly Man, intending with himself and addicting his mind to the Christian state of Matrimony, resorted to a certain Maiden not far off where he dwelt. For the which cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused by three of that College, whose names were *Hutchinson*, *Pindare*, and *Tayler*, who with their malicious handling, scornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the vertuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the College. Who there having no rest nor quietness, by reason of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place wherein to settle himself. Upon the occasion whereof coming up unto *London*, it chanced him to pass through *Pauls* Church, where it happened that at the *South* side of the Church at the same time there was a Priest at Mass, more busie than well occupied, being at the elevation as he passed by. The young Man repleate with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring that so devoutly which the Priest lifted up, was not able to forbear, but opening his mouth and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the visible Bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c. with such other words unoe of Christian information. For which cause straightway he was apprehended by the Maior, and afterward accused to the Bishop of *Canterbury*, and committed to the Counter then in *Breadstreet*, where he not long continued, but falling into a sickness, how or whereupon I cannot tell, shortly upon the same changed this mortal life. Whose Pardon notwithstanding was obtained of the Lord Protector, and should have been brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning *Thomas Dobbe* and other.

Doves as Philosophers do write, naturally have no Gall.

Over and besides, I find, that in the first year of the Reign of King *Edward*, which was *Anno* 1547, there was one *John Hume*, Servant to Master *Lewnax* of *Wrisel* apprehended, accused, and sent up to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by the said Master *Lewnax* his Master and *Margaret Lewnax* his Mistress, for these Articles.

1. *First, for denying the Sacrament (as it was then called of the Altar) to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.*
2. *For saying that he would never wail his Bonet unto it, to be burned therefore.*
3. *For saying that if he should hear Mass, he should be burned.*

For this was he sent up by his Master and Mistress aforesaid, with special Letters unto the Archbishop, requiring him severely to be punished by the Law for the same. But because I find no execution following thereupon, I therefore pass over this story of him.

These things premised, when this vertuous and godly young Prince (indued as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably stablished in his Kingdom, and had a Council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in Gods cause, especially his Uncle the Duke of *Somerset*, he then most earnestly likewise desired, as well the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his sincere Religion, as also the utter suppression and extirpation of all Idolatry, superstition, hypocrisie, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his Realms and Dominions: and therefore following, as is before expressed, the good example of King *Josias*, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of Religion in the Church of *England*.

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And forsomuch as at his first entry (notwithstanding his Fathers good beginning in abolishing the usurped power of Antichrist) he yet found most of his Laws greatly repugning against this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed by the advise of his said wise and honourable Council, and of his own regal power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by the consent of the whole estate of Parliament he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Order taken by K. Edward for reforming of Religion.

Whereupon intending first a general Visitation over all the Bishopricks within his Realm, (thereby as well to understand, as also to address the abuses in the same) he chose out certain wise, learned, discreet and worthipful Personages to be his Commissioners in that behalf, and so dividing them into several Companies, assigned unto them several Dioceses to be visited; appointing likewise unto every Company one or two godly learned Preachers, which at every Session should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true Doctrine of the Gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to the same, and also earnestly dehort them from their old superstition and wonted Idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their Commission, there were delivered unto them certain Injunctions and Ecclesiastical Orders drawn out by the Kings learned Council, the which they should both inquire of, and also command in his Majesties behalf to be thenceforth observed of every person, to whom they did severally appertain within their sundry Circuits.

Learned preachers appointed by King *Edward.*

Ecclesiastical persons must preach against the Popes usurped power.

In the which amongst other things, it was first injoyned, that all Ecclesiastical persons should themselves observe, and cause to be observed of other, all such Statutes as were made for the abolishing of the Bishop of *Romes* usurped power, and establishing of the Kings supreme Authority, and that they should every one, four times in the year at the least, in their publick Sermons declare unto the people, that the one, being most arrogantly usurped against the Word of God, was now justly taken away, and the other (according to the very true meaning of the same word) was of most loyal duty only to be obeyed of all his Graces subjects.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

And again, that every the foresaid Ecclesiastical person, having Cure, should preach, or cause to be preached within their several Cures, one Sermon every quarter of the year. In the which they should sincerely set forth the Word of God, and exhort the people unto the works of Faith and mercy prescribed in the same word, and not unto works devised by mans fantasie, as going on Pilgrimages and other like Idolatrous Superstitions: the which they should also to the uttermost of their powers reprove and speak against, declaring that all grace and goodness ought only to be fought for at Gods hand (as the alone giver thereof) and not at any other creature: And that they should not only forthwith take down and destroy all such Images as had been heretofore abused by Pilgrimage or offerings, within their said Cures; but also should not thenceforth suffer any Lights or other Idolatrous oblation to be made or set up before any other Image than was yet suffered in the Church.

Difference between works commanded of God, and works devised of men.

Images abused with pilgrimage to be destroyed.

{ Anno 1547. }

Also that every Holy-day (having no Sermon in their Church) they should immediately after the Gospel distinctly read in the Pulpit the Lords Prayer, the Belief and the Ten Commandments of Almighty God in the English Tongue; exhorting the people not only to learn them their selves, but also to teach them to their Children and Families, and also should charge all Parents and Governors of Houlholds, to bring up their youth in some good exercise or occupation, whereby they might afterwards serve the Commonwealth, and not run about like Vagabonds and idle Loyterers, and thereby incur the danger of the Laws.

The Ten Commandments and the Lords Prayer to English, to be read.

Parents and Masters charged in training up of their Children.

And furthermore, that the said persons, having Cure, should see the holy Sacraments of Christ reverently ministred within their Cures, and that if any of them (by special licence or other cases expressed in the Statutes of this Realm) should be at any time absent from their Benefices, that then they should leave in their rooms some godly, learned, and discreet Curate, that were able to instruct the people in all truth and godliness, not seeking themselves, but rather the profit of their Flock.

Sacraments to be reverently ministred.

The Bible in English of the largest Volume to be set up in every Church with the Paraphrases of *Erasmus*.

And likewise, that they should see provided and set up in some most convenient and open place of every their several Churches, one great Bible in English, and one Book of the Paraphrases of *Erasmus* upon the Gospels, both in English, that the people might reverently, without any argument or contention, read and hear the same at such times as they listed, and not to be inhibited therefrom by the Parson and Curate, but rather to be the more encouraged and provoked thereto,

Ecclesiastical persons not to haunt Taverns or play at unlawful games.

And that the said Parsons and Curates should not at any time (but for necessary causes) haunt any Tavern or Alehouse, neither should spend their time idlely in unlawful Games, but at all their convenient leisures should give themselves to the reading or hearing of the holy Scriptures.

None to preach but sufficiently licenced.

Moreover, that in the time of Confession every *Lent* they should examine their Parishioners, whether they could say the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Articles of the Christian Faith: and that if they could not, they should then reprove them, declaring further unto them, that they ought not to presume to come unto the Lords Table, without the true knowledge thereof, and earnest desire to fulfil the same.

That all hinderers of Gods word, and favourers of the contrary proceedings should be detected.

Also that they should not admit any Man to preach within their Cures, but such as were lawfully licensed thereunto; and that they having at any time before extolled and praised any Idolatrous Pilgrimage, or other superstition, should now openly recant the same before the people.

Ecclesiastical and beneficed persons, what they must give to the poor.

And if there were any open hinderer or disturber of the reading or preaching of the Word of God within their Parishes, that then they should forthwith detect the same unto the Kings Council, or unto some Justice of Peace to them next inhabiting.

Every Benefice of 100 pound, to find a Scholar at the University.

And further, that learning and knowledge might be the better maintained, it was also ordained herein, that every Beneficed person that might yearly dispend twenty pounds or upward, and not resident upon their Cures, should pay, towards the relief of the Poor within their Parish every year, the fortieth part of their Fruits and profits: and likewise that every such as might dispend one hundred pounds yearly, or more, should for every hundred pound give a competent exhibition to some poor Scholar within one of the Universities of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or else in some other Grammar school of the Realm.

Certain things to be provided for of the Churchmen.

And also that every Priest, being under the degree of a Bachelor of Divinity, should have of his own one New Testament in English and Latin, with the Paraphrases of *Erasmus* upon the same, and should diligently read and study thereupon, and should collect and keep in memory all such comfortable places of the Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons, that they might thereby comfort their Flock in all danger of death, despair, or trouble of conscience: and that therefore every Bishop in their Visitations should from time to time try and examine them how they had profited in these their studies.

The Gospe and Epistle to be read in the hearing of the people.

And although the Mass was then still by the Law retained, yet was it enjoyned, that at every high Mass the sayer or singer thereof should openly and distinctly read the Gospel and the Epistle in English, in the Pulpit, or in some other convenient place that the people might hear the same. And in like place and manner should read every Holyday and Sunday at *Mattins* one Chapter of the *New Testament* in English, omitting therefore three of their nine Latin Lessons, with there Responds; and at Evensong likewise, immediately after *Magnificat*, one Chapter of the *Old Testament* instead of their wonted Responds and memories.

Procession laid down.

Furthermore, because of the vain contentions that often fall among the people for going on Procession, it was ordained, that thenceforth the Priests and Clerks should kneel in the middst of the Church, and there distinctly

fing or read the Letany in Engliſh ſet forth by the authority of King *Henry* the Eighth, and that no perſon ſhould depart the Church in the time of reading the Scripture or the Letany, or during the time of any Sermon, without juſt and urgent cauſe.

Likewiſe that the people ſhould ſpend the Holydays in hearing the Word of God, in private and publick Prayers, in knowledging their offences unto God and amendment of the ſame, in reconciling themſelves charitably to their Neighbours where diſpleaſure hath been, in often receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, in viſiting the poor and ſick, and in all ſober and godly converſation; and not in vanity, Idleneſs, or drunkenneſs, neither yet in any bodily labour, otherwiſe than in the time of Harveſt, to ſave the Fruits of the Earth, if neceſſity ſo require; and that no Curate ſhould admit unto the receiving of the holy Communion any perſon who had maliciouſly and openly contended with his Neighbours, unleſs the ſame did firſt alſo openly reconcile himſelf again, and remit all rancor and malice whatſoever.

The true uſing of the holydays.

Diligent preparation to be had before the coming to the Communion.

Moreover it was ordained that every Dean, Archdeacon, Maſter of Collegiate Churches or Hoſpitals, and Prebendaries (being Prieſts) ſhould himſelf perſonally preach twice every year at leaſt, in ſome ſuch place where he had juriſdiction and living; and that they and all other Curates ſhould teach the people, that no man of any private affection ought maliciouſly to violate any Ceremony in the Church, then not abrogated by the Kings authority; ſo likewiſe they ought not on the other ſide to uſe them ſuperſtitiouſly or idolatrouſly, in attributing to them remiſſion of ſins, driving away of evil Spirits, and other ſuch like dreams and fantaſies of Men, or elſe in putting any confidence of ſalvation or health in them. And further that they ſhould utterly take away and deſtroy all Shrines and Monuments of fained Miracles, Pilgrimages, and other Idolatrous ſuperſtition, as well in their Churches, as within their private Houſes.

A godly charge given to every miniſter to preach perſonally twice at leaſt in the year, and what to preach.

All Monuments of Idolatry to be taken away out of Churches, Houſes, and Whatſoever.

Alſo that they ſhould ſee provided within their Churches a ſtrong and fit Cheſt for the ſafe keeping of the peoples benevolence given towards the relief of the poor, and that the ſaid Curates ſhould earneſtly exhort and move their Pariſhioners (eſpecially at the making of their Teſtaments) that as they had been theretofore willing to beſtow much of their ſubſtance upon vain, ſuperſtitious and blind devotions contrary to Gods Word, ſo now they would be much more ready to give ſome Portion thereof unto their poor and needy Brethren, knowing the ſame to be not only commanded in the Word of God, but alſo promiſed to be rewarded. And for the better relief of the Poor, it was alſo appointed that all money and profits riſing upon Fraternities, Guids, Stocks, of Churches, or given to the ending of Idolatrous Lights, ſhould be converted for that preſent unto the ſame uſe. Laſt of all, for the want of Learned Curates and other good Preachers, it was enjoyned that the Curates (having no Sermon) ſhould every *Sunday* read unto the people in their Churches one of the Homilies which ſhould be ſhortly ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe by the Kings authority; and that when any Homily or Sermon ſhould be preached or read, then the Prime and Hours ſhould be omitted.

A Cheſt to be provided upon publick charge to receive the alms of the poor, and the Curates to call upon their Pariſhioners to give to the ſame Cheſt.

Homilies to be read every Sunday when there is no Sermon.

There were alſo divers other Articles in the ſame Injunctions appointed for Coniniels and due order in the Churches; as for repaing of Chancels, and Prieſts Houſes; for keeping of a Regiſter Book of Weddings, Chriſtnings and Burials, for reading of theſe Injunctions every quarter, for due paying of Tithes, for forbidding of any other alteration of Service in the Church, or Faſting days, for making of comly Pulpits for the Preachers, for avoiding of Symony in buying and ſelling of Benefices, for the charitable uſing of Prieſts, for praying only upon the Engliſh and Latin Primers ſet forth by King *Henry* the Eighth, for the teaching of his Grammar in the common Schools. And laſtly, that the Chantry Prieſts ſhould teach young Children either to Write and Read, or elſe ſome other good and profitable exerciſes; as it doth more fully and amply appear in the ſame Injunctions at large ſet forth in the 684*th Page* of the firſt Book of the Acts and Monuments of the Church heretofore Imprinted.

Read the former Edition of the Book of Acts and Monuments. Pag. 684.

Beſides theſe general Injunctions for the whole Eſtate of the Realm, there were alſo certain others particularly appointed for the Biſhops only, which being delivered unto the Commiſſioners were likewiſe at their Viſitations committed unto the ſaid Biſhops with charge to be inviolably obſerved and kept upon pain of the Kings Majeſties diſpleaſure; the effect whereof is as in manner followeth.

{KING Edw. 6}

{Anno 1547. Injunctions given to the Biſhops.}

Firſt that they ſhould, to the uttermoſt of their wit and underſtanding, fee and cauſe all and every ſingular the Kings Injunctions theretofore given, or after to be given from time to time, in and through their Diocеſs, duly, faithfully, and truly to be kept, obſerved, and accompliſhed, and that they ſhould perſonally Preach within their Diocеſs, every quarter of a year once at the leaſt, that is to ſay, once in their Cathedral Churches, and thrice in other ſeveral places of their Diocеſſes, whereas they ſhould ſee it moſt convenient and neceſſary, except they had a reaſonable excuſe to the contrary. Likewiſe, that they ſhould not retain in their ſervice or houſhold any Chaplain, but ſuch as were Learned, or able to Preach the Word of God, and thoſe they ſhould alſo cauſe to exerciſe the ſame.

Moreover, that they ſhould not give Orders to any perſon, but ſuch as were learned in holy Scripture; neither ſhould deny them that were learned in the ſame, being of honeſt converſation and living. And laſtly, that they ſhould not at any time or place Preach or ſet forth unto the people any Doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and intent contained and ſet forth in the Kings Highneſs Homilies, neither yet ſhould admit or give licence to any to Preach within their Diocеſs, but to ſuch as they ſhould know (or at leaſt aſſuredly truſt) would do the ſame. And if at any time by hearing, or by report proved, they ſhould perceive the contrary, they ſhould then incontinent not only inhibit that perſon ſo offending, but alſo puniſh him and revoke their licence.

Now during the time that the Commiſſioners were occupied abroad in their Circuits about the ſpeedy and diligent execution of theſe godly and zealous Orders and Decrees of the King and his Council, his Majeſty (with the adviſe of the ſame) yet ſtill deſiring a further reformation as well in this caſe of Religion, as alſo in ſome others of his civil Government, appointed a Parliament of the three Eſtates of his Realm to be ſummoned againſt the fourth day of *November*, in the firſt year of his Reign, and the year of our Lord one thouſand five hundred forty and ſeven, which continued unto the twenty fourth day of *December* then next following. In the which Seſſion, foraſmuch as his Highneſs minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and eſpecially in the true Faith and Religion of God, and therewithal alſo duly weighed the great danger that his loving Subjects were in for conteſting the Goſpel of Chriſt, through many and divers cruel Statutes made by ſundry his Predeceſſors againſt the ſame, (which being ſtill left in force might both cauſe the obſtinate to contemn his Graces godly proceedings, and alſo the weak to be fearful of their Chriſtianlike Profeſſion) he therefore cauſed it among other things by the authority of the ſame Parliament to be Inacted, That all Acts of Parliament and Statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning Religion or opinions, that is to ſay, as well the Statute made in the firſt year of the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, and the Statute made in the ſecond year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Fifth, and the Statute made in the five and twentieth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, concerning puniſhment and reformation of Heretick and Lollards, and every proviſion therein contained, and the Statutes made for the aboliſhment of diverſity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian Religion, commonly called the ſix Articles, made in the one and thirtieth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, and alſo the Statute made in the Parliament begun the ſixteenth day of *January* in the three and thirtieth year of the Reign of the ſaid King *Henry* the Eighth, and after Prorogued unto the one and twentieth day of *January* in the four and thirtieth year of his ſaid Reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wiſe concerning Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* in Engliſh, and the printing, uttering, ſelling, giving, or delivering of Books or writings, and retaining of Engliſh books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the

A Parliament called in the firſt year of K. Edward.

The Communion under both kinds.

Stat. An 1. R. Edw. 6. cap. 12.

The Statute made An. 1. Reg. Rich. 2. an. Reg. Hen. 5. An. 25. Reg. Hen. 8. from An. 21. Hen. 8. An. 24 Hen. 8. An. 25 Hen. 8. repealed.

Note, for the Statute An. 2. Reg. Hen. 4. cap. 15. becauſe that Statute was repealed by a Statute made, An. 1. R. 5. therefore the ſame is here omitted.

The bloody Statute of the 6 Articles repealed.

Candles not to be born on Candlemas-day. Aſhes forbidden on Aſh-Wednesday.

{KING Edw. 6} the Scriptures, or in any wiſe touching, mentioning or concerning any of the ſaid matters; and alſo one other Statute made in the five and thirtieth year of the Reign of the ſaid King *Henry* the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the Statute of the ſix Articles, all and every other Act or Acts of Parliament, concerning Doctrine or matters of Religion, and all and every Branch, Article, Sentence, Matter, Pains, or Forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wiſe declared in any of the ſame Acts and Statutes, ſhould from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect.

By occaſion whereof, as well all ſuch his godly Subjects, as were then ſtill abiding within the Realm, had free liberty publickly to profeſs the Goſpel; as alſo many learned and zealous Preachers, before baniſhed, were now both licenſed freely to return home again, and alſo incouraged boldly and faithfully to travel in their Function and Calling, ſo that God was much glorified, and the people in many places greatly edified.

Moreover, in the ſame Seſſion his Majeſty with the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the ſame Parliament aſſembled, throughly underſtanding by the judgment of the beſt Learned, that it was more agreeable unto the firſt Inſtitution of the Sacrament of the moſt precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, and alſo more conformable to the common uſe and practiſe both of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church, by the ſpace of five hundred years and more after Chriſts Aſcenſion, that the ſaid holy Sacrament ſhould be miniſtred unto all Chriſtian people under both the kinds of Bread and Wine, than under the form of Bread only; and alſo that it was more agreeable unto the ſaid firſt Inſtitution of Chriſt, and the uſage of the Apoſtles and Primitive Church, that the people being preſent ſhould receive the ſame with the Prieſt, than that the Prieſt ſhould receive it alone; did by their Authority moreover enact, that the ſaid holy Sacrament ſhould be from thenceforth commonly delivered and miniſtred unto the people, throughout the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and other the Kings Dominions, under both the kinds of Bread and of Wine, except neceſſity otherwiſe required: and alſo that the Prieſt, that ſhould miniſter the ſame, ſhould at the leaſt one day before exhort all perſons which ſhould be preſent, likewiſe to reſort and prepare themſelves to receive the ſame. And at the day prefixed, after ſome godly Exhortation made by the Miniſter, wherein ſhould be further expreſſed the benefit and comfort promiſed to them which worthily receive this holy Sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God threatned to them which preſume to receive the ſame unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conſcience before he ſhould come thereunto; the ſaid Miniſter ſhould not without a lawful cauſe deny the ſame to any perſon that would devoutly and humbly deſire it; any Law, Statute, Ordinance, or Cuſtom contrary thereunto in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

The aſſembly of Biſhops and others at Windſor.

After which moſt godly conſent of the Parliament, the King being no leſs deſirous to have the form of Adminiſtration of the Sacrament truly reduced to the right Rule of the Scriptures and firſt uſe of the Primitive Church, than he was to eſtabliſh the ſame by the Authority of his own Regal Laws, appointed certain of the moſt grave and beſt learned Biſhops, and other of his Realm, to aſſemble together at his Caſtle of *Windſor*, there to argue and intreat upon this matter, and conclude upon and ſet forth one perfect and uniform Order according to the rule and uſe aforeſaid.

And in the mean time while that the Learned were thus occupied about their Conferences, the Lord Protector and the reſt of the Kings Council, further remembring that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practiſed many ſuperſtitious Abuſes and blaſphemous Ceremonies againſt the Glory of God, and truth of his Word (determining the utter aboliſhing thereof) directed their Letters unto the godly and reverend Father *Thomas Cranmer*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitan of *England*, requiring him that upon the receit thereof he ſhould will every Biſhop within his Province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the Curates of their Diocеſſes, That neither Candles ſhould be any more born upon *Candlemas-day*, neither yet Aſhes uſed in *Lent*, nor Palms upon *Palm-Sunday*.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop, zealouſly favouring the good and Chriſtian-like purpoſe of the King and his Council, did immediately in that behalf write unto all the reſt of the Biſhops of that Province, and amongſt them unto *Edmund Bonner* then Biſhop of *London*. Of whoſe rebellious and obſtinate contumacy for that we have hereafter more to ſay, I thought not to ſtand now long thereupon, but only by the way ſomewhat to note his former diſſimulation and cloked hypocriſie, in that he outwardly at the firſt conſented as well unto this, as alſo unto all other the Kings proceedings, but whether for fear or for any other ſubtil fetch I know not, howbeit moſt like it is, rather for one of them or both, than for any true love. And therefore receiving the Archbiſhops Letters, as one of them ſeeming to allow the contents thereof, he did preſently write unto the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give ſuch knowledge thereof in their Diocеſſes, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by theſe his own Letters here inſerted, which here do follow.

Ed. Bonner.

A Letter miſſive of *Edmund Bonner*, ſent to the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, with the tenor of the Archbiſhops Letter for aboliſhing of Candles, Aſhes, Palms, and other Ceremonies.

Bonners Letter for the aboliſhing of Palms, &c.

{Ann. 1548}

Maſter very good Lord, after moſt hearty Commendations, theſe be to adverтiſe your good Lordſhip, That my Lord of Canterburies *Grace this preſent 28th day of* January *ſent unto me his Letters miſſive, containing this in effect, That my Lord Protectors Grace, with the adviſe of other the Kings Majeſties moſt honourable Council, for certain Conſiderations them moving, are fully reſolved that no Candles ſhall be born upon* Candlemas-day, *nor alſo from henceforth Aſhes or Palms uſed any longer: requiring me thereupon by his ſaid Letters, to cauſe admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordſhip and other Biſhops with cerelity accordingly. In conſideration whereof I do ſend at this preſent theſe Letters unto your ſaid Lordſhip, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertiſement thereof within your Diocеſs as apperтaineth. Thus I commit your good Lordſhip to Almighty God, as well to ſave as your good heart can beſt deſire.*

Written in haſte at my houſe in *London*, the ſaid twenty eighth day of *January*, 1548.

Your good Lordſhips to command,

Edmund Bonner.

Now about that preſent time credible and certain Report was made unto the Lords of the Council, that great contention and ſtrife did daily ariſe among the common people in divers parts of this Realm, for the pulling down and taking away of ſuch Images out of the Churches, as had been Idolatrouſly abuſed by Pilgrimages, Offerings, or otherwiſe (according to the tenor of one of the Injunctions given by the King in his late Viſitation) ſome affirming that that Image was abuſed, others that this, and moſt that neither of them both; ſo that if ſpeedy remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one adviſe thinking it beſt (of good experience) for avoiding of all diſcord and tumult, that all manner of Images ſhould be clean taken out of all Churches, and none ſuffered to remain, did thereupon again write their Letters unto the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, requiring his ready Aid therein, in manner following.

Contention amongſt the people for Images.

Another Letter of the Council ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the aboliſhing of Images.

Letters from the Council to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for aboliſhing of Images.

After our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordſhip: Where now of late in the Kings Majeſties Viſitations, among other godly Injunctions commanded to be generally obſerved through all parts of this his Highneſs Realm,

Realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such Images as had at any time been abused with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Censings, albeit that this said Injunction hath in many parts of this Realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much strife and contention hath risen and daily riseth, and more and more encreaseth about the execution of the same; some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would by their good will retain all such Images still, although they have been most manifestly abused. And in some places also the Images, which by the said Injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again: And almost in every place is contention for Images, whether they have been abused or not. And while these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that Image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parts have in some places been taken in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this Realm is any sure quietness, but where all Images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the Realm for this matter, may be clearly taken, and that the lively Image of Christ should not contend for the dead Images, which be things not necessary, and without the which the Churches of Christ continued most godly many years: we have thought good to signifie unto you, that his Highness pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order that all the Images remaining in any Church or Chappel within your Diocese, be removed and taken away, but also by your Letters signifie unto the rest of the Bishops within your Province, that his Highness pleasure, for the like Order to be given by them and every of them within their several Dioceses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said Bishops to use such foresight as the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship heartily well.

From *Somerset* place the eleventh of *February*, 1541.

Your Lordships assured loving friends,

Edward Somerset,
Henry Arundel,
Anth. Wingfield,
John Russel,
Thomas Semer,
William Paget.

The Archbishop writeth to Bonner.

When the Archbishop had received these Letters, he forthwith directed his Precept unto *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, requiring, and in the Kings Majesties Name commanding him, That with all speed he should as well give in charge unto the rest of the Bishops within the Province of *Canterbury*, to look immediately without delay unto the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the said Letter through all places of their Dioceses; as also that he himself should do the like within his own City and Diocese of *London*. Whereupon he seeming then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by vertue of the said Precept) did send out his *Mandatum* as well unto the rest of the Bishops, as also again unto the Bishop of *Westminster*, in form following.

The Letter of *Edmund Bonner* sent with the Archbishops Mandate, to the Bishop of *Westminster*, for abolishing of Images.

Bonners Letter to the Bishop of Westminster for abolishing of Images.

EDmundus *permissione Divina* London. *Episcopus per illustrissimum in Christo Principem & Dominum nostrum, Dominum* Edwardum *sextum, Dei gratia*, Angliæ, Franciæ, *&* Hiberniæ *Regem, fidei Defensorem, &* in terra *Ecclesiæ* Anglicanæ *&* Hiberniæ *supremum caput, sufficienter & legitime authorisatus, Reverendo in Christo confratri nostro Domino* Thomæ *eadem permissione* West. *Episc. salutem & fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas reverendissimi in Christo patris & Domini* D. Tho. *permissione divina* Cantuar. *Archiepiscopi, totius* Angliæ *Primatis, & Metropolitani, tenorem literarum missarum clarissimorum & prudentissimorum Dominorum de privatis consiliis dicti illustr. Dom. Regis in se continen. nuper cum ea qua decuit reverentia humiliter receimus exequend. in hæc verba,* Thomas *permissione divina* Cantuar. &c. And then making a full recital as well of the Archbishops Precept, as also of the Councils Letters above specified, he concluded with these words, *Quocirca nos* Edmund. *Episcop. antedictus, literis præditis pro nostro officio obtemperare, uti decet, summopere cupientes, vestræ fraternitati tam ex parte dicti excellentissimi Domini nostri Regis, ac præfatorum clarissimorum Dominorum de privatis suis consiliis, quam prædicti Reverend. Patris Domini* Cantuar. *Archiepiscopi, tenore præsentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus attentis & per vos diligenter consideratis literarum hujusmodi tenoribus, eos in omnibus & per omnia, juxta vim, formam, & effectum earundem, cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommoda, per totam Dioces. vestram* West. *debite & effectualiter exequi faciatis & procuretis.*

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Datum in ædibus nostris *London.* vicesimo die *Febr. Anno Dom.* 1548. Et Regni dicti illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis, Anno secundo.

Now by the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men which the King had appointed (as ye have heard before) to assemble together for the true and right manner of administring the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first usage of the Primitive Church, after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate advises, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniform Order of receiving the same, not much differing from the manner at this present used and authorised within this Realm and Church of *England*, commonly called *The Communion*. Which agreement being by them exhibited unto the King, and of him most gladly accepted, was the procurement publickly imprinted, and by his Majesties Council particularly divided and sent unto every Bishop of the Realm, requiring and commanding them by their Letters on the Kings Majesties behalf, that both they in their own persons should forthwith have diligent and careful respect to the due execution thereof, and also should with all diligence cause the Books which they then sent them, to be delivered unto every Parson, Vicar, and Curate within their Dioces, that they likewise might well and sufficiently advise themselves for the better distribution of the same *Communion* (according to the tenor of the said Book) against the Feast of *Easter* then next insuing, as more fully appeareth by these their Letters here following.

An uniform Order of the Communion.

Letters missive from the Council, to the Bishops of the Realm, concerning the Communion to be ministred in both kinds.

AFter our most hearty Commendations unto your Lordship, where in the Parliament late holden at Westminster, *it was amongst other things most godly established, that according to the first institution and use of the Primitive Church, the most holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of Bread and Wine, according to the effect whereof the Kings Majesty minding, with the advice and consent of the Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Counsel, to have the said Statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the Word of God (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving Subjects, to their comforts and wealth) hath caused sundry of his Majesties most grave and well-learned Prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter: who, after long conference together, have with deliberate advise finally agreed upon such an Order to be used in all places of the Kings Majesties Dominions in the distribution of the said most holy Sacrament, as may appear to you by the Book thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Albeit knowing your Lordships knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest*

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The Communion in both kinds to be ministred.

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earnest good will and zeal to the setting forth of all things, according to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will of your own good will, and upon respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly Order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the Authority of the Kings Majesty: yet remembring the crafty practice of the Devil, who ceases not by his Members, to work by all ways and means, the hinderance of all godliness; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the Curates of the Realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not be so ready to set forth the same, as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties requires, we have thought good to pray and require your Lordship, and nevertheless, in the Kings Majesties our most dread Lords Name, to command you to have an earnest diligence and careful respect both in your own Person, and by all your Officers and Ministers also, to cause these Books to be delivered to every Parson, Vicar, and Curate within your Diocese, with such diligence as they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy Communion, according to the Order of this Book, before this Easter time, and that they may by your good means, be well directed to use such good, gentle and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned Parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be, praying you to consider, that this Order is set forth, to the intent there should be in all parts of the Realm, and among all men one uniform manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your Vocation; so do we effsoons require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the Kings Majesties pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily farewel. From Westminster *the thirteenth of* March, 1548.

Your Lordships loving Friends,

Tho. Canterbury,
R. Rich,
William Saint John,
John Russell,
Henry Arundel,
Anthony Wingfield,
William Peter,
Edward North,
Edward Wootton.

By means as well of this Letter, and the godly Order of the Learned, as also of the Statute and Act of Parliament before mentioned, made for the stablishing thereof, all private blasphemous Masses were now by just Authority fully abolished throughout this Realm of *England*, and the right use of the Sacrament of the most precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ truly restored in stead of the same. But nevertheless, as at no time any thing can be so well done of the godly, but that the wicked will find some means subtilly to deface the same: so likewise at this present, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling frowardness of many the inferior Priests and Ministers of the Cathedral, and other Churches of this Realm, there did arise a marvelous Schism and variety of fashions in celebrating the *Common Service* and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. For some, zealously allowing the Kings proceedings, did gladly follow the Order therein and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their old wonted Popery.

Privy hinderers of the Gospel.

Division amongst the Priests about the Kings proceedings.

Whereof the King and his Council having good Intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therewithall loth at the first to use any great severity towards his Subjects, but rather desirous by some quiet and godly Order to bring them to some Conformity, did by their prudent advices again appoint the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with certain of the best learned and discreet Bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premisses: and thereupon, having as well an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian Religion taught by the holy Scriptures, as also to the Usages of the Primitive Church, to draw and make one convenient and meet Order, Rite, and fashion of *Common Prayer*, and Administration of the Sacraments, to be had and used within this his Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the same. Who after most godly and learned Conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement did conclude, set forth, and deliver unto the Kings Highness, a Book in *English*, intituled, *A Book of the Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England.* The which his Highness receiving, with great comfort and quietness of mind, did forthwith exhibit unto the Lords and Commons of the Parliament then assembled at *Westminster*, about the fourth of *November*, in the second year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord, 1548. and continuing unto the fourteenth day of *March*, then next ensuing.

One uniform Order of Common-Prayer.

A Parliament assembled the second year of King Edward.

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Whereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of the said Parliament assembled, well and throughly considering, as well the most godly travel of the Kings Highness, of the Lord Protector, and other of his Majesties Council, in gathering together the said Archbishop, Bishops, and other learned men, as the godly Prayers, Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies in the said Book mentioned, with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the same Book; as also the Honour of God, and great quietness, which by the Grace of God should ensue upon that one and uniform Rite and Order in such Common Prayer, Rites, and extern Ceremonies to be used throughout *England*, *Wales*, *Calice*, and the *Marches* of the same, did first give unto his Highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his Majesty with the assent of the Lords and Commons in that Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That not only all and singular person and persons that had hitherto offended concerning the premisses others than such as were then remaining in Ward in the *Tower* of *London*, or in the *Fleet*) might be pardoned thereof, but also that all and singular Ministers in any Cathedral or Parish-Churches or other places within the Realm of *England*, *Wales*, *Calice*, and the *Marches* of the same, or other the Kings Dominions, should from and after the Feast of *Penteccst* next coming, be bound and use the Mattins, Evensong, Celebration of each of the to say Lords Supper, and Administration of the Sacraments, and all other common and open Prayer, in such order and form as was mentioned in the said Book, and none other or otherwise. And albeit that they were so godly and good, that they gave occasion unto every honest and comformable man most willingly to imbrace them; yet left any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturb so godly an order and quiet in this Realm, should go unpunished; they further requested, That it might be ordained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any manner of Parson, Vicar, or whatsoever other Minister that ought or should say or sing *Common-Prayer*, mentioned in the said Book, or minister the Sacraments, should after the said Feast of *Penteccst*, then next coming, refuse to use the said *Common-Prayer*, or to minister the Sacraments in such Cathedral or Parish-Churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the said Book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other Rite, Ceremony, Order, form or manner of Mass, openly or privily, or Mattins, Evensong, Administration of the Sacraments, or other open Prayer than was mentioned, and set forth in the said Book; or should preach, declare, or speak any thing in the derogation or depraving of the said Book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the Laws of this Realm by Verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, should lose and forfeit, unto the Kings Highness his Heirs and Successors, for his first offence one whole years profit of such one of his Benefices or Spiritual Promotions, as it should please the Kings Highness to assign and appoint;

Stat. Ann. 2. Reg. Edw. cap. 1.

Petition of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament to the King.

appoint; and alſo for the ſame offence ſhould ſuffer imprisonment by the ſpace of ſix months without Bail or Mainprize. But if any ſuch perſon, after his firſt conviction, ſhould eft-ſoons offend again, and be thereof in form aforeſaid lawfully convicted, then he ſhould for his ſecond offence ſuffer imprisonment by the ſpace of one whole year, and ſhould alſo be deprived, *Ipſo facto*, of all his Spiritual Promotions for ever, ſo that it ſhould be lawful for the Patrons and Donors thereof to give the ſame again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the ſaid party ſo offending were dead. And if any the ſaid perſon or perſons ſhould again the third time offend, and be thereof in form aforeſaid lawfully convicted, then he ſhould for the ſame third offence ſuffer imprisonment during his life. If any ſuch perſon or perſons aforeſaid, ſo offending, had not any Benefice or Spiritual Promotion, that then he ſhould for his firſt offence ſuffer imprisonment by the ſpace of ſix months without Bail or Mainprize, and for his ſecond offence, imprisonment during his life. Which requeſt, or rather actual agreement of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament, being once underſtood of the King, was alſo ſoon ratified and confirmed by his regal conſent and Authority, and thereupon the ſaid Book of *Common-Prayer* was preſently imprinted, and commanded to be exerciſed throughout the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the ſaid Statute.

{Anno 1548. Penalty.

Moreover in the ſame Seſſion of the ſaid Parliament it was enacted and eſtabliſhed by the Authority thereof, That for as much as great, horrible, and not to be rehearſed inconveniences had from time to time riſen amongſt the Prieſts, Miniſters, and other Officers of the Clergy, through their compelled Chaſtity, and by ſuch Laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful uſe of Marriage, that therefore all and every Law and Laws poſitive, Canons, Conſtitutions, and Ordinances theretofore made by the Authority of Man only, which did prohibit or forbid Marriage to any Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual Perſon or Perſons, of what eſtate, condition or degree ſoever they were, or by what name or names they were called, which by Gods Law may lawfully marry, in all and every Article, Branch and Sentence concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the Perſons aforeſaid, ſhould be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of Forfeitures, Pains, Penalties, Crimes or Actions which were in the ſaid Laws contained, and of the ſame did follow, concerning the prohibition of the Marriage of the ſaid Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, ſhould be thenceforth alſo clearly and utterly void, fruſtrate and of none effect. By occaſion whereof, it was thence after right lawful for any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, not having the gift of Chaſtity, moſt godly to live in the pure and holy eſtate of Matrimony according to the Laws and Word of God.

Laws and Conſtitutions againſt Prieſts Marriage declared.

Marriage of Prieſts ſet free.

But if the firſt Injunctions, Statutes, and Decrees of the Prince were of many but ſlenderly regarded, with much leſs good affection were theſe (eſpecially the Book of *Common-Prayer*) of divers now received; yea, and that of ſome of them, which had always before in outward ſhew willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth moſt plainly (amongſt others) by *Bonner* the Biſhop of *London*. Who although, by his former Letters, and other Mandates, he ſeemed hitherto to favour all the Kings proceedings; yet did he at that preſent notwithſtanding both the firſt Statute for the eſtabliſhing of the Communion, and the abolithing of all private Maſſes, and alſo this Statute of the ratifying and confirming of the Book of *Common-Prayer*) ſtill ſuffer ſundry Idolatrous private Maſſes of peculiar names (as the Apoſtles Maſs, the Lady Maſs, and ſuch like) to be daily ſolemnly ſung within certain peculiar Chappels of the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, cloking them with the names of the Apoſtles Communion, and our Ladies Communion, not once finding any fault therewith, until ſuch time as the Lords of the Council, having intelligence thereof, were fain by their Letters to command and charge him to look better thereunto. And then being therewith ſomewhat pricked forwards (perhaps by fear) he was content to direct his Letters unto the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral Church of *Paul*, thereby requeſting them forthwith to take ſuch order therein, as in the tenor of the Councils ſaid Letters, therewithall ſent unto them, did import. Both which Letters I have, for the more credit, here following inſerted.

Ed. Bonner Biſhop of London.

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A Letter directed from the Kings Council to *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, for abrogating of private Maſſes; namely, the Apoſtles Maſs, within the Church of Saint *Paul*, uſed under the Name of the Apoſtles Communion.

Another Letter to Bonner for abrogating private Maſſes. The Apoſtles Maſs put down in Paul's.

After hearty Commendations: having very credible notice that within that your Cathedral Church there be as yet the Apoſtles Maſs, and our Ladies Maſs, and other Maſſes of ſuch peculiar Names, under the defence and comination of our Ladies Communion, and the Apoſtles Communion, uſed in private Chappels and other remote places of the ſame, and not in the Chancel, contrary unto the Kings Majeſties proceedings, the ſame being for the miſuſe diſpleaſing to God; for the place Pauls, in example not tolerable; for the fondneſs of the name, a ſcorn to the reverence of the Communion of the Lords Body and Blood: we for the augmentation of Gods Honour and Glory, and the Conſonance of his Majeſties Laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that from henceforth no ſuch Maſſes in this manner be in your Church any longer uſed, but that the holy bleſſed Communion, according to the Act of Parliament, be miniſtred at the high Altar of the Church, and in no other places of the ſame, and only at ſuch time as your high Maſſes were wont to be uſed, except ſome number of people deſire for their neceſſary buſineſs to have a Communion in the morning, and yet the ſame to be executed in the Chancel at the high Altar, as is is appointed in the Book of the publick Service, without cautele or diſgreſſion from the common Order. And herein you ſhall not only ſatisfie our expectation of your Conformity in all lawful things, but alſo avoid the murmur of ſundry that be therewith juſtly offended. And ſo we bid your Lordſhip heartily farewel. From Richmond *the* 24th *of* June, Anno 1549.

Your loving Friends,

Edward Somerſet,
William Saint John.
Edmund Montague,
R. Rich. Chancellour,
Francis Shrewsbury,
William Cecil.

To my right Worſhipful Friends, and moſt loving good Brethren, Maſter Dean of *Pauls*, with all the Canons, Reſidentiaries, Prebendaries, Subdeans, and Miniſters of the ſame, and every of them with ſpeed.

Bonner, Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Paul's.

Right Worſhipful, with moſt hearty Commendations. So it is, this Wedneſday *the* 26th *of* June, *going to dinner, I received Letters from the Kings Council by a Purſevant, and the ſame I do ſend now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruſe them well and proceed accordingly; praying you in caſe all be not preſent, yet thoſe that be now reſident and ſupplying the places, may in their abſence call the Company together of the Church, and make declaration hereof unto them: Thus committing you to God, right well to fare. Written with ſpeed this ſix and twentieth of* June, *at one of the Clock.*

Your loving Brother, *Ed. London.*

An Exhortation of Admonition unto the Juſtices of Peace.

Over and beſides all this, the Lord Protector, with the reſidue of the Kings Privy and Learned Council aſſembling together in the *Star-Chamber* about the ſame matter; that is, for the advancement and ſetting forward of the Kings ſo godly proceedings, called before them all the Juſtices of Peace, where was uttered unto them by the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor, an eloquent and learned Admonition, the tenour whereof enſueth.

It

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IT hath been uſed and accuſtomed before this time, to call at certain times the Juſtices of Peace before the Kings Majeſties Council, to give unto them admonition or warning, diligently (as is their duty) to look to the obſerving of ſuch things as be committed to their charges, according to the truſt which the Kings Majeſty hath in them. Howbeit, now at this time we call you before us, not only of cuſtom, but rather of neceſſity. For hearing daily, and perceiving of neceſſity, as we do, the great negligence, and the little heed which is taken and given to the obſerving of the good and wholſome Laws and Orders in this Realm, whereupon much diſorder doth daily enſue, and the Kings Majeſties Proclamations and Orders taken by the Council (as we are advertiſed) not executed, the people are brought to Diſobedience, and in a manner all his Majeſties ſtudy and ours, in ſetting a good and moſt godly ſtay, to the honour of God and the quiet of the Realm, is ſpent in vain, and come to nothing: The which as we have great hope and truſt not to be altogether ſo, yet ſo much as it is, and ſo much as it lacketh of the keeping of the Realm in a moſt godly order and ſtay, we muſt needs impute and lay the fault thereof in you which are the Juſtices of Peace in every Shire, to whom we are wont to direct our Writings, and to whoſe truſt and charge the Kings Majeſty hath committed the execution of all his Proclamations, of his Acts of Parliament, and of his Laws.

Orders taken by Juſtices.

Juſtices ſlack in ſtirring of Religion.

We are informed that many of you are ſo negligent and ſlack herein, that it doth appear you do look rather, as it were, through your Fingers, than diligently ſee to the execution of the ſaid Laws and Proclamations. For if you would, according to your duties, to your Oath, to the truſt which the Kings Majeſty hath in you, give your diligence and care toward the execution of the ſame moſt godly Statutes and Injunctions, there ſhould no diſobedience, nor diſorder, nor evil rule be begun or riſe in any part of the Realm, but it ſhould by and by be repreſſed, kept down and reformed. But it is feared, and the thing it ſelf giveth occaſion thereto, that divers of you do not only not ſet forth, but rather hinder, ſo much as lieth in you, the Kings Majeſties proceedings, and are content that there ſhould ariſe ſome diſobedience, and that men ſhould repine againſt godly Orders ſet forth by his Majeſty, you do ſo ſlackly look to the execution of the ſame, ſo that in ſome Shires, which be further off, it may appear that the people have never heard of divers of his Majeſties Proclamations, or if they have heard, you are content to wink at it, and to neglect it, ſo that it is all one as though it were never commanded. But if you do conſider and remember your duties firſt to Almighty God, and then to the Kings Majeſty, the wealth of the whole Realm, and the ſafeguard of your own ſelves, you muſt needs ſee, that except ſuch Orders as the Kings Majeſty hath ſet, and hereafter ſhall appoint, be kept, neither can the Realm be defended, if the Enemy ſhould invade, nor can it in peace ſtand, but upon the contempt of good and wholſome Laws all diſorder and inconveniences will come, the people will be wild and ſavage, and no man ſure of his own.

Provision againſt foreign Power.

The fruit of Obedience in a Realm.

If at any time there was occaſion and cauſe to be circumſpect and diligent about the ſame, there was never more time than now. How we ſtand in *Scotland* you know, and that there foreign Power maketh great preparation to aid them, and indeed doth come to their Aid; whereof we are ſurely informed and certified. Wherefore if there ſhould not be good Order and Obedience kept in the Realm, the Realm were like utterly to be deſtroyed. Never foreign Power could yet hurt, or in any part prevail in this Realm, but by diſobedience and miſorder within our ſelves. That is the way wherewith God will plague us, if he mind to puniſh us. And ſo long as we do agree among our ſelves, and be obedient to our Prince, and to his godly Orders and Laws, we may be ſure that God is with us, and that foreign Powers ſhall not prevail againſt us, nor hurt us.

Provision againſt perjury and Conſpiracy and Rebellion.

Wherefore once again, and ſtill we muſt and do lay this Charge upon you that are the better of the Shire, and Juſtices of Peace, that with ſo convenient ſpeed as you can, you do repair down into your Countries, and you ſhall give warning to the Gentlemen of the Shire, which have not neceſſary buſineſs here, that they repair down each man to his Country, and there both you and they, who be reckoned the ſtay of every Shire, to ſee good Order and Rule kept: You, that your Seſſions of Goal-delivery and Quarter-Seſſions be well kept, and therein your meetings be ſuch, that Juſtice may be well and truly miniſtred, the Offenders and Malefactors puniſhed according to the Laws of this Realm without any fear of any man, or that for favour you ſhould ſuffer thoſe to eſcape, which with their evil example might bring other to the like miſhap, and that all Vagabonds and lewd and light Tale-tellers, and ſeditious Hearers of falſe News of the Kings Majeſty, or of his Council, or ſuch as will Preach without Licence, be immediately by you repreſt and puniſhed.

The ſingular zeal of King Edward and his Uncle, in reforming Religion.

What zealous care was in this young King, and in the Lord Protector his Uncle, concerning Reformation of Chriſts Church, and ſincere Religion, by theſe Injunctions, Letters, Precepts, and Exhortations, as well to the Biſhops, as to the Juſtices of the Realm above premiſed, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not ſo much the careful diligence of the King and his learned Council; as the lingring ſlackneſs and drawing back, on the other ſide, of divers the ſaid Juſtices and Lawyers, but eſpecially of Biſhops, and old Popiſh Curates, by whoſe cloked contempt, wilful winking, and ſtubborn diſobedience, the Book of the *Common-Prayer* was, long after the publiſhing thereof, either not known at all or elſe very irreverently uſed through many places of the Realm. Which when the King by complaint of divers perfectly underſtood, being not a little agrieved to ſee the godly agreement of the Learned, the willing conſent of the Parliament, and his Graces own zealous deſire to take ſo ſmall effect among his Subjects; he decreed preſently, with the advice of his whole Council, again to write unto all the Biſhops of his Realm, for ſpeedy and diligent redreſs therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themſelves ſhould thenceforth have a more ſpecial regard to the due execution of the premiſſes, as alſo that all others, within their ſeveral Precincts and Juriſdictions, ſhould by their good Inſtructions and willing Example be the more oftner, and with better devotion, moved to uſe and frequent the ſame. As further appareth by the Contents of this Letter here inſuing.

The ſlackneſs of Curates in further-ing the Kings proceedings.

Another

Another Letter directed by the King, and his Council, to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting out of the *Service-Book* within his Dioces.

Another Letter to Bonner Bishop of London.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well: and whereas after great and serious debating and long Conference of the Bishops and other grave and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one uniform order for Common-Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments hath been, and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the Nobility and Commons of the late Session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the Bishops in the same Parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our Realm in their Synods and Convocations Provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travel then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of things mentioned in the said Book, whereby the true Service and Honour of Almighty God, and the right administration of the Sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the Primitive Church, much Idolatry, vain Superstition, and great and slanderous Abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand by the complaints of many, that our said Book so much travelled for, and also sincerely set forth (as is aforesaid) remaineth in many places of this our Realm, either not known at all, or not used, or at the least if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your Vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to due respect to this and such like matters; so considering that, by these and such like occasions, our loving Subjects remain yet still in their blindness, and superstitious Errors, and in some places in as irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembring withall, what amongst other Cures committed to our Princely Charge, we think this the greatest, to see the Glory and true Service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose Clemency we acknowledge our selves to have all that we have, we could not but by advice and consent of our dearest Uncle, Edward Duke of Somerset, Governour of our Person, and Protector of our Realm, Dominions and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy-Council, admonish you of the premisses. Wherein, as it had been your Office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your Dioces, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straightly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the reduce of these things, so as the Curates may do their duties more often and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned often and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned by the good advices and examples of your self, your Chancellor, Archdeacons, and other inferior Ministers, to come with more diligence and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be Partakers of the most holy Communion. Wherein shewing your self diligent, and giving good example in your own Person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good Service: and on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our Letters and Commandment notwithstanding) hear oft-soons complaint, and find the like fault in your Dioces, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that insueth thereof, unto you, and consequently be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we would be sorry. And therefore we do oft-soons charge and command you, upon your Allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our Pleasure.

The Kings Book neglected.

5 Ann. 1549 Bonner negligence noted.

Given under our Signet at our Manor of *Richmond*, the three and twentieth day of *July*, the third year of our Reign, 1549.

The Bishop of *London*, amongst the rest of the Bishops, receiving these Letters, did (as always before) in outward shew willingly accept the same; and therefore immediately with the said Letters directed this his Precept unto the Dean and Chapter of his Cathedral-Church of *Pauls*, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

{KING Edw.6.}

A Letter of *Bonner*, to the Dean and Chapter of *Pauls*.

A Letter of Bonner to the Dean of Pauls.

EDmund *by the Grace of God, &c. To my welbeloved Brethren the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral-Church of St.* Paul *in* London, *and to the other Ministers there and every of them do send greeting. And where it is so, that of late I have received the said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and according to my most bounden duty am right well willing, and desiring that the said Letters should be in all Points duly executed and observed according to the tenour and purport of the same, as appertaineth: These therefore are to require, and also straightly to charge you and every of you on his Majesties behalf, &c. that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular Parsons, Vicars, and Curates of your Jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly; furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you to make Certificate herein to me, my Chancellor or other my Officers in this behalf, with such convenient Celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the Persons and Names of all such, as from henceforth shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premisses, or any of them.*

Given at my House at *Fulham*, the 26th of *July*, in the year of our Lord, 1549. and in the third year of our said Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesties Reign.

Moreover, forsomuch as the King at that instant hearing the muttering of certain Rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said the Lord willing hereafter) and also being credibly informed by divers, that through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administring the Sacraments, and careless contempt of *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, not only many of the people within the City of *London*, and other places of his Dioces, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the *Divine-Service* then stablished and set forth by the Authority of Parliament, but also that divers other, utterly despising the same, did in secret places of his Dioces often frequent the Popish Mass, and other foreign Rites not allowed by the Laws of this Realm, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doublenes) to appoint the Lord Protector and the rest of his Privy-Council to call the said Bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet Judgments to deal with him for the same.

Slackness of Bonner in furthering good proceedings.

Popish Mass privily frequented in places against the Law.

Whereupon the eleventh day of *August*, *Anno* 1549. they sent a Messenger for him, and upon his appearance made first Declaration of such Informations and Articles as plaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp Admonitions and Reproofs for his evil Demeanors in the premisses, they delivered unto him from the King (for his better Reformation and Amendment) certain private Injunctions to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said Injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at *Pauls* Cross the *Sunday* three weeks then next ensuing (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour so required,) they further delivered unto him in writing such Articles to intreat upon in his Sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid. All which Injunctions and Articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth.

{Anno 1549.}

Certain private Injunctions given to Bonner by the Council.

Bonner called before the Council.

Bonner assigned by the Council to preach at Pauls Cross.

Certain

{KING Edw.6.}

Certain private Injunctions and Articles given to *Bonner* by the Council.

Admonition given to Bonner by the Council.

FOr asmuch as we are advertised, that amongst other disorders of our Subjects at this present, there be divers of our City of London, and other places within your Dioces, which being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto common Prayer, and to the holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful with heart and mind to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour; whereof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For where heretofore upon all principal Feasts, and such as were called Majus duplex, you your self were wont to execute in person, now since the time that we by the advice of our whole Parliament have set a most godly and decent order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days, to the contempt of our proceedings and evil example of them. And forsomuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers as well in London, as in other places of your Dioces, do frequent and haunt foreign Rites of Masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our Realm, and do contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray unto his Majesty after such Rites and Ceremonies, as in this Realm are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication is maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said City of London and other places of your Dioces, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of the which things you being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority and care of a Bishop doth appertain: We therefore, to whom the supream care and charge of this Church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle the Lord Protector, and thereof of our Privy Council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and ofsoons peremptorily to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straightly look upon the premisses, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf, upon such pain as by our laws Ecclesiastical and Temporal we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us for quality of the offence reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these Injunctions following:

Bonner negligent in his duty, and of contempt of publick Laws.

Certain private Articles enjoyned to Bonner by the Council. Bonner admonished to preach every Quarter at Pauls Cross.

1. *First ye shall preach at* Pauls *Cross in* London, *in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three Weeks, and in the same Sermon declare and set forth the Articles hereunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting in your Sermon the people to obedience, prayer and godly living; and ye shall be present at every Sermon hereafter made at* Pauls *Cross, if sickness or some other reasonable cause do not let you.*

2. *Secondly, You your self in person shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of* England *a principal Feast, or Majus duplex, and at all such times as the Bishops of* London *your predecessors were wont to celebrate and sing high Mass, now celebrate and execute the Communion at the high Altar in* Pauls, *for the better example of all other, except sickness do let.*

3. *Thirdly, Ye shall your self, according to your duty and the office of a Bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the Common Prayer and Service in the Church, or do not come unto Gods board, and receive the Communion at the least once a year, or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other Right or Service than is appointed by our Book, either of Mattins, Evensong, or Mass in any Church, Chappel, or other private places within your Dioces, and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you and punished, according into the Ecclesiastical Laws, with severe and strait punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your Dioces, according to our said Book, and none other.*

Bonner restrained to execute all principal Feasts contrary to his wonted manner.

4. *Fourthly, Ye shall both by your self and all your Officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done, (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the Ecclesiastical Laws, and the authority given you in that behalf.*

5. *We have heard also complaints, that the Church of* Pauls *and other Churches of* London *are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the Glass, as other buildings and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont, and that divers and many persons in the City of malice deny the payment of their due Tithe to their Curats, whereby the Curats are both injured and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged to do their duty. The which thing also our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.*

Bonner Bishop of London commanded to keep his own house.

6. *And forsomuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in* London, *to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently to the reformation of them, our pleasure is that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the City, See and principal place of your Dioces, and none other where, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us.*

The Rebels in Cornwal and Devonshire.

And thus having brought Bishop *Bonner* home to his own house, there to leave him a while to take his ease in his own lodging, till we return to him again, we will in the mean time make a little intercourse into *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meek and excellent a Prince, having no cause minsitred thereunto; yea, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable Prince in his mercy given to them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace. And where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well: again some be so crooked and so perversly given, that the more courteously they be intreated, the worse they are; and when by honest diligence they lift not to get their living, by publick disturbance of Common-wealths they think to thrive. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, who having so good and vertuous a King, that if they should have sought him as *Diogenes*, they say, did seek for a man with a Candle, a meeker and better Sovereign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but contrary to all order, reason, nature and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious Conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings through the pernicious infligation, first (as it seemeth) of certain *Popish* Priests, who grudging and disdaining against the Injunctions and godly order of Reformation set forward by the King, and specially mourning to see their old *Popish* Church of *Rome* to decay, ceased not by all sinister and subtil means, first under Gods name and the Kings, and under colour of Religion to perswade the people, then to gather sides, and to assemble in companies, to gather Captains, and at last to burst out in rank rebellion. Neither lacked there among the lay fort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischief and mad-nes, as well Gentlemen as other.

Popish Priests first stirrers of this Rebellion.

All wicked-ness hath been ginneth usually first put practices.

Of whom the chief Gentlemen Captains were, *Humfry Arundel* Esquire, Governor of the Mount, *James Rosogan*, *John Rosogan*, *John Pain*, *Thomas Underhil*, *John Soleman*, *William Segar*. Of Priests which were principal stirrers, and some of them Governors of the Camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were *Robert Bochim*, *John Tompson*, *Roger Baret*, *John Wolcock*, *William Asa*, *James Mourton*, *John Barow*, *Richard Benet*, besides a multitude of other *Popish* Priests, which to the same faction was adjoyned. The number of the whole Rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout Traitors.

Captains of the Rebels in Devonshire.

Priests Rebels and Traitors against the King.

Divers commotions in K. Edward's time ſuppreſſed.

These hearing firſt of the commotions which began about the ſame time in other parts to breed, as in *Oxford-ſhire*, *Yorkſhire*, and eſpecially in *Northfolk* and *Suffolk*, began to take therein ſome courage, hoping that they ſhould have well fortified the ſame with quarrel. But afterward perceiving how the miſchievous mutterings and enterpriſes of their conſpiracy did ſuddenly fail, either being prevented by time, or redreſſed by power, or that their cauſe being but only about plucking down of enclo-ſures, and enlarging of Commons divided from theirs, ſo that either they would not or could not joyn their aid together, then began they again to quail,and their courage to abate. Notwithſtanding, for ſo much as they had gone ſo far, that they thought there was no ſhrinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the beſt furtherance of their deſperate purpoſes.

The City of Exeter beſieged by the Rebels.

Their firſt intent was, after they had ſpoiled their own Country moſt miſerably, to invade the City of *Exeter*, and ſo conſequently all other parts of the Realm. But firſt for *Exeter* they gaped, the Gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing having only Gunſhot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from *Exeter*, they fell on ſpoiling and robbing, where or whatſoever they might catch.

Diverſity of Wits amongſt the Rebels.

At length laying their Traiterous heads together, they conſulted upon certain Articles to be ſent up. But herein ſuch diverſity of heads and wits was amongſt them, that for every kind of Brain there was one manner of Article; ſo that there neither appeared any conſent in their diverſity, nor yet any conſtancy in their agreement. Some ſeemed more tolerable. Other altogether unreaſonable. Some would have no juſtice. Some would have no ſtate of Gentlemen. The Prieſts ever harped upon one ſtring, to ring in the Biſhop of *Rome* into *England* again, and to hallow home Cardinal *Pool* their Countryman.

After much ado, and little to the purpoſe, at laſt a few forry Articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the King, with the names of certain ſet thereunto, the Copy whereof here inſueth.

The Articles of the Commons of Devonſhire *and* Cornwal, *ſent to the King; with Anſwer afterward following unto the ſame.*

The Articles of Devonſhire men, to the K. and his Council.

1. Sacrament of Baptiſm.

FIrſt, Foraſmuch as man, except he be born of Water and the Holy Ghoſt, cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, and foraſmuch as the Gates of Heaven be not opened without his bleſſed Sacrament of Baptiſm, therefore we will that our Curats ſhall miniſter this Sacrament at all times of need, as well in the Week-days, as on the Holy-days.

2. Confirmation.

Item, *We will have our children confirmed of the Biſhop, whenſoever we ſhall within the Diocels reſort unto him.*

3. Conſecration of the Lords body.

Item, *Forſomuch as we conſtantly believe, that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration being at Maſs, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is very really the Body and Bloud of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt God and Man, and that no ſubſtance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very ſelf ſame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the Croſs for our redemption; therefore we will have Maſs celebrated as it hath been in times paſt, without any man communicating with the Prieſts, forſomuch as many, rudely preſuming unworthily to receive the ſame, put no difference between the Lords body and other kind of meat, ſome ſaying that it is bread before and after, ſome ſaying, that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abuſed terms.*

4. Reſervation of the Lords body conſecrated.

Item, *We will have in our Churches reſervation.*

Item, *We will have holy Bread and holy Water in remembrance of Chriſt his precious Body and Bloud.*

5. Holy bread, and holy water.

Item, *We will that our Prieſts ſhall ſing, or ſay with an audible voice Gods Service in the Quire of the Pariſh Churches, and not Gods Service to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmas play.*

6. The ſingle life of Prieſts

Item, *Forſomuch as Prieſts be men dedicated to God, for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed Sacraments and preaching Gods Word, we will that they ſhall live chaſt without Marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and choſen Veſſel of God, ſaying unto all honeſt Prieſts,* Be ye followers of me.

Item, *We will that the ſix Articles which our Sovereign Lord King* Henry *the eighth ſet forth in his later days, ſhall be uſed and ſo taken as they were at that time.* {KING Edw. 6.} 7. The 6 Articles to be renewed.

Item, *We pray God ſave King* Edward, *for we be his, both body and Goods.*

A Meſſage ſent by the Kings Majeſty, to certain of his People aſſembled in Devonſhire.

ALthough knowledge hath been given to us and our deareſt Uncle *Edward* Duke of *Somerſet*, Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and to the reſt of our Privy Council, of divers aſſemblies made by you, which ought of duty to be our loving Subjects, againſt all order, law, and otherwiſe than ever any loving and kind Subjects have attempted againſt their natural and Liege Sovereign Lord; yet we have thought it meet at this very firſt time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might juſtly do, but to uſe you as our Subjects, thinking that the Devil hath not that power in you, to make you of natural born *Engliſhmen*, ſo ſuddenly become enemies to your own native Country; or, of our Subjects to make you Traitors; or under pretence to relieve your ſelves, to deſtroy your ſelvess, your Wives, Children, Lands, Houſes, and all other commodities of this your life. This we ſay, we truſt that although ye be by ignorance ſeduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obſtinate. And though ſome amongſt you (as ever there is ſome Cockle amongſt good Corn) forget God, neglect their Prince, eſteem not the ſtate of the Realm, but as careleſs, deſperate men delight in Sedition, Tumult and Wars; yet nevertheleſs the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural Prince, and will by wiſdom and counſel be warned, and ceaſe your evils in the beginning, whoſe ends will be, even by Almighty Gods order, your own deſtruction. Wherefore, as to you our Subjects by ignorance ſeduced, we ſpeak, and be content to uſe our Princely authority like a Father to his Children for this time, to admoniſh you of your faults, not to puniſh them, to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulneſs.

The Anſwer of the K. to the Articles of the Rebels in Devonſhire. {ANNO 1549}

Unlawful aſſemblies.

First, Your diſorder to riſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelves againſt other our loving Subjects, to array your ſelves to the War, who amongſt you all can anſwer the ſame to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? Or how can any *Engliſh* good heart anſwer, our laws, and the reſt of our very loving and faithful Subjects, who indeed by their obedience make our Honour, Eſtate and Degree?

The Kings name abuſed.

Ye uſe our name in your writings, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelf. What injury herein do you us, to call thoſe which love us, to your evil purpoſes by the authority of our name? God hath made us your King, by his Ordinance and Providence, by our Bloud and Inheritance, by lawful Succeſſion and our Coronation; but not to this end, as you uſe our name. We are your moſt natural Sovereign Lord and King, *Edward* the Sixth, to rule you, to preſerve you, to ſave you from all your outward enemies, to ſee our laws well miniſtred, every man to have his own, to ſuppreſs diſordered people, to correct Traitors, Thieves, Pirats, Robbers, and ſuch like; yea, to keep our Realms from foreign Princes, from the malice of the *Scots*, of *Frenchmen*, of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Thus, good Subjects, our name is written, thus it is honoured and obeyed, this Majeſty it hath by Gods Ordinance, not by Mans. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough from a Prince to all reaſonable people, from a King to all kind hearted and loving Subjects, from a puiſſant K. of *England*, to every natural *Engliſhman*.

These falſe cauſes.

Your pretences which you ſay move you to do this, and wherewith you ſeek to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you, be either all falſe, or ſo vain, that we doubt not but, after ye ſhall hereby underſtand the truth thereof, ye will all with one noiſe knowledge your ſelves ignorantly led, and by error ſeduced; and if there be any that will not, aſſure you the ſame, be rank Traitors, enemies of our Crown, ſeditious people, Hereticks, *Papiſts*, or ſuch as care not how they ſeek to provoke an Inſurrection ſo they may do it; nor indeed can wax ſo rich with their own labours, and with Peace, as they can do with Spoils, with

{KING Ed. 6.} with Wars, with Robberies, and ſuch like; yea, with the ſpoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the ſweat of your bodies, the food of your own Houſholds, Wives and Children. Such they be, as for a time uſe pleaſant perſwaſions to you, and in the end will cut your Throats for your own Goods.

Baptiſm.

You be borne in hand, that your Children, though neceſſity chance, ſhall not be chriſtened but upon the Holy-days. How falſe this is, learn you of us. Our Book which we have ſet forth by the free conſent of our Parliament, in the *Engliſh* Tongue, teaching you the contrary, even in the firſt leaf, yea, the firſt ſide of the leaf of that part which intreateth of *Baptiſm*. Good Subjects (for to others we ſpeak not) look and be not deceived. They which have put this falſe Opinion into your ears, they mean not the Chriſtening of Children, but the deſtruction of you our Chriſtened Subjects. Be this known unto you, our honour is ſo much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it, if by our Laws ye may not Chriſten your Children upon neceſſity, every day or hour in the Week, then might you be offended; but ſeeing you may do it, how can you believe them which teach you the contrary? What think you they mean in the reſt, which move you to break your obedience againſt us your King and Sovereign, upon theſe ſo falſe tales and perſwaſions in ſo evident a matter? Therefore you all which will knowledge us your Sovereign Lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural King, may eaſily perceive how ye be deceived, and how ſubtilly Traitors and *Papiſts* with their falſhood, ſeek to atchieve, and bring their purpoſe to paſs with your help. Every Traitor will be glad to diſſemble his Treaſon, and feed it ſecretly, every *Papiſt* his *Popery*, and nouriſh it inwardly; and in the end, make you our Subjects partakers of Treaſon and *Popery*, which in the beginning was pretended a Commonwealth and holineſs.

The falſe furniſe of the Rebels touching Baptiſm refuted.

2. Sacrament.

And how are you ſeduced by them, which put in your heads, *That the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſts body ſhould not differ from other common bread?* If our Laws, Proclamations and Statutes, be all to the contrary, why ſhall any private man perſwade you againſt them? We do our ſelves in our own heart, our Council in all their profeſſion, our Laws and Statutes in all purpoſes, our good Subjects in all their doings, moſt highly eſteem that Sacrament, and uſe the communion thereof to our moſt comfort. We make ſo much difference thereof from other common Bread, that we think no profit at other hands, but to maintain our bodies; But of this bleſſed Bread we take the very food of our ſouls to everlaſting life. How think you good Subjects, ſhall not we being your Prince, your Lord, your King by Gods appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil perſons with open falſhood? Shall any ſeditious perſon perſwade you, that the Sacrament is deſpiſed, which is by our Laws, by our Self, by our Council, by all our good Subjects eſteemed, uſed, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were ſeduced, if ever received, if ever Traitors were believed, if ever *Papiſts* poiſoned good Subjects, it is now. It is not the Chriſtening of Children, not the reverence of the Sacrament, not the health of your ſouls that they ſhoot at, good Subjects. It is Sedition, it is High Treaſon, it is your deſtruction they ſeek, how craftily, how pitifully, how cunningly ſever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force muſt come of your purpoſes. Almighty God forbiddeth, upon pain of everlaſting damnation, diſobedience to us your King; and in his place we rule in earth. If we ſhould be ſlow, would God err? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is Gods judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is moſt evident.

The falſe furniſe of the Rebels touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper reſolved.

Likewiſe are ye evil informed in divers other Articles, as for Confirmation of your Children, for the Maſs, for the manner of your ſervice of Mattens and Evenſong. Whatſoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this Realm concluded; in nothing was ſo much labour and time ſpent of late time, nothing ſo fully ended.

3. Mattens and Service in *Engliſh*.

As for the Service in the *Engliſh* Tongue, it hath manifeſt reaſons for it. And yet perchance it ſeemeth to you a new Service, and indeed is none other but the old. The ſelf ſame words in *Engliſh* which were in *Latine*, ſaving a few things taken out, which were ſo fond, that it had been a ſhame to have heard them in *Engliſh*, as all they can judge which liſt to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you our Subjects ſhould underſtand in *Engliſh*, being our natural Country Tongue, that which was heretofore ſpoken in *Latin*, then ſerving only for them which underſtood *Latin*, and now for all you which be born *Engliſh*. How can this with reaſon offend any reaſonable man, that he ſhall underſtand what any other ſaith, and ſo conſent with the ſpeaker? If the Service in the Church was good in *Latin*, it remaineth good in *Engliſh*: for nothing is altered, but to ſpeak with knowledge that which was ſpoken with ignorance, and to let you underſtand what is ſaid for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion. An alteration to the better, except knowledge be worſe than ignorance. So that whoſoever hath moved you to diſlike this order, can give you no reaſon, nor anſwer yours, if ye underſtood it.

Alteration of Service from an unknown Tongue to known Tongues.

Wherefore you our Subjects remember, we ſpeak to you, being ordained your Prince and King by Almighty God; If any wiſe we could advance Gods honour more than we do, we would do it: And ſee that ye become ſubject to Gods Ordinances, obeying us your Prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our juſtice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whoſe fruits be nothing but wilfulneſs, diſobedience, obſtinacy, diſſimulation and deſtruction of the Realm.

4. The Maſs.

For the Maſs, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudy nor travel hath been ſpent by all the learned Clergy therein, and to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very uſe as Chriſt left it, as the Apoſtles uſed it, as holy Fathers delivered it; indeed ſomewhat altered from that the Popes of *Rome*, for their lucre brought to it. And although ye may hear the contrary of ſome *Papiſh* evil men, yet our Majeſty which for our honour may not be blemiſhed, nor ſtained, aſſureth you, that they deceive you, abuſe you, and blow theſe opinions into your heads, to finiſh their own purpoſes.

5. Confirmation. Baptiſm ſeverith without any Biſhopping.

And ſo likewiſe judge you of Confirmation of Children; and let them anſwer you this one queſtion: Think they, that a Child Chriſtened is damned, becauſe it dieth before Biſhopping? They be confirmed at the time of diſcretion, to learn that which they profeſſed, in the lack thereof, by Baptiſm; taught in age, that which they received in infancy; and yet no doubt but they be ſaved by Baptiſm, not by Confirmation; and made Chriſts by Chriſtening, and taught how to continue by Confirmation. Wherefore in the whole, mark good Subjects, how our Doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon ſhameleſs Errors. {ANN. 1549}

To conclude, beſide our gentle manner of information to you, whatſoever is contained in our Book, either for Baptiſm, Sacrament, Maſs, Confirmation and Service in the Church, is by our Parliament eſtabliſhed, by the whole Clergy agreed, yea, by the Biſhops of the Realm deviſed, and further, by Gods word confirmed. And how dare ye truſt, yea, how dare ye give ear, without trembling to any ſingular perſon, to diſallow a Parliament, a Subject to perſwade againſt our Majeſty, a man of his ſingular arrogancy againſt the determination of the Biſhops, and all the Clergy, any invented argument againſt the Word of God?

But now you our Subjects, we refort to a greater matter of your blindneſs, of your unkindneſs and great unnaturalneſs, and ſuch an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by perſwaſion of certain Traitors amongſt you, which we think few in number, but in their doings buſie; we could not be perſwaded but to uſe our ſword, and do juſtice, and, as we be ordained by God, to redreſs your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcometh our juſt anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whoſe hand our heart is; or rather for your own cauſes, being our Chriſtened Subjects, we would ye were perſwaded than vanquiſhed, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorouſly proſecuted.

Ye require to have the Statute of the Six Articles revived, and know ye what ye require? or know ye what eaſe ye have with the loſs of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented, too bloudy they were to be born of our people, and yet at the firſt indeed made of ſome neceſſity. Oh Subjects, how are ye trapped by ſubtil perſons? We of pity, becauſe they were bloudy, took them away, and you now of ignorance will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cauſe to draw our Sword very often, they were as a Wheſtone to our Sword, and for your cauſes we left to uſe them. And ſince our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in bloud?

The Rebels require the ſix Articles. The 6 Articles taken away by a Parliament.

But leaving this manner of reaſoning, and reſorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the ſame hath been adnulled by our Parliament, with great rejoycing of our Subjects, and not now to be called by Subjects in queſtion. Dare then any of you with the name of a Subject ſtand againſt an Act of Parliament, a Law of the whole Realm? What is our power, if laws ſhould be thus neglected? yea, what is your ſurety, if laws be not kept? Aſſure your ſelves moſt ſurely, that we of no earthly thing under the Heaven make ſuch a reputation, as we do of this one thing, to have our Law obeyed, and this cauſe of God, which we have taken in hand, to be throughly maintained, from the which we will never remove a hairs breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much leſs to any Subject, but therein will ſpend our own Royal Perſon, our Crown, Treaſure, Realm, and all our ſtate; whereof we aſſure you of our high Honour. For herein indeed reſteth our Honour, herein ſtandeth our Kingdom, herein do all Kings knowledge us a King. And ſhall any of you dare breath or think againſt our Honour, our Kingdom or Crown?

A notable zeal and a Princely word of a King.

The Kings age.

In the end of this your requeſt (as we be given to underſtand) ye would have them ſtand in force until our full age. To this we think, if ye knew what ye ſpake, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever given breath to ſuch a thought. For what think you of our Kingdom? Be we of leſs authority for our age? Be we not your King now, as we ſhall be? Or ſhall ye be Subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we ſhall have? If we would ſuſpend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye muſt firſt know, as a King, we have no difference of years nor time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and by his ſufferance ſhall have age: We are your rightful King, your lege Lord, your King anointed, your King crowned, the Soverein King of *England*, not by our age, but by Gods Ordinance, not only when we ſhall be of 21 years, but when we are of ten years. We poſſeſs our Crown, not by years, but by the Bloud and Deſcent from our Father King *Henry* the Eighth. You are our Subjects, becauſe we be your King; and rule we will, becauſe God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a Subject not to obey.

A King poſſeſſeth his Crown, not by years, but by Gods ordinance.

It it be conſidered, they which move this matter, if they durſt utter themſelves, would deny our Kingdom. But our good Subjects know their Prince, and will increaſe, not diminiſh his honour, inlarge, not abate his power, knowledge, not defer his Kingdom to certain years: All is one, to ſpeak againſt our Crown, and to deny our Kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken unto 21 years. He we not your crowned, anointed and eſtabliſhed King? Wherein then be we of leſs Majeſty, of leſs authority, or leſs ſtate, than were our Progenitors Kings of this Realm, except your unkindneſs, your unnaturalneſs, will diminiſh our eſtimation? We have hitherto, ſince the death of our Father, by the good advice and counſel of our dear and entirely beloved Uncle, kept our State, maintained our Realm, preſerved our Honour, defended our People from our enemies; we have hitherto bin feared and dreaded of our enemies; yea, of Princes, Kings and Nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferiour to any our Progenitors (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God) and how elſe, but by good obedience of our people, good counſel of our Magiſtrates, due execution of our Laws? By authority of our Kingdom, *England* hitherto hath gained honour; during our Reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not loſt.

It hath been marvelled, that we of ſo young years, have reigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And how it chanceth it, that you our Subjects of that our Country of *Devonſhire*, will give the firſt occaſion to ſlander this our Realm of *England*, to give courage to the enemy, to note our Realm of the evil of Rebellion, to make it a prey to our old enemies, to diminiſh our honour, which God hath given, our Father left, our good Uncle and Council preſerved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in *Scotland*, and upon the Sea, ſeeketh to invade us, to riſe in this manner againſt our Law, to provoke ſo juſtly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occaſion to ſpend that force upon you, which we meant to beſtow upon our enemies, to begin to ſlay you with that Sword which we drew againſt the *Scots* and other enemies, to make a Conqueſt of our own people, which otherwiſe ſhould have been of the whole Realm of *Scotland*?

KING 6 Ed. 6. Young years hinder not the Royal Government of a Realm.

Thus far ye ſee we have deſcended from our high Majeſty for love, to conſider you in your baſe and ſimple ignorance, and have been content to ſend you an inſtruction like a fatherly Prince, who of juſtice might have ſent you your deſtruction like a King to Rebels; and now let you know, that as ye ſee our mercy abundant, ſo if ye provoke us farther, we ſwear to you by the living God, by whom we Reign, ye ſhall feel the power of the ſame God in our Sword; which how mighty it is, no Subject knoweth; how puiſſant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no *Engliſh* heart dare think. But ſurely, ſurely, as ycur Lord and Prince, your only King and Maſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſelves, and take our mercy without delay, or elſe we will forthwith extend our Princely power, and execute our ſharp Sword againſt you, as againſt very Infidels and *Turks*, and rather adventure our own Royal Perſon, State and Power than the ſame ſhall not be executed.

The great goodneſs of God in the Victory againſt the Rebels.

And if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did ariſe, pretending ſome griefs; and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not only received moſt humbly their pardon, but feel alſo by our order, to whom all publick order only pertaineth, redreſs deviſed for their griefs. In the end we admoniſh you of your duties to God, whom ye ſhall anſwer in the day of the Lord, and of your duties towards us, whom ye ſhall anſwer by our order, and take our mercy whilſt God ſo inclineth us, leſt when ye ſhall be conſtrained to aſk, we ſhall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and where ye ſhall now hear of Mercy, Mercy and Life, ye ſhall then hear of Juſtice, Juſtice, and Death.

Given at Richmond, *the 8th day of* July, *the third year of our Reign.*

Beſides the Articles of theſe *Devonſhire* men above mentioned, the ſaid Rebels ſent up alſo, not long after, a Supplication to the King, whereunto anſwer again was made by the Kings learned Council, which here, to make ſhort, leiſure ſerveth not to rehearſe.

A ſupplication of the Rebels to the King, with the Kings anſwer to the ſame.

Over and beſides, to behold the malicious working of thoſe *Popiſh* Prieſts, to kindle more the ſpark of ſedition in the peoples hearts, what bruits and rumors did they raiſe up againſt the King and his Council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they ſhould be made to pay firſt for their Sheep, then for their Geeſe and Piggs alſo, and ſuch other things like; and whatſoever they had in ſtore, or ſhould put in their mouths, they muſt fine therefore to the King? Of all which matter never a word was either thought or meant. But this ſeemed matter fit for ſuch Prieſts whereby to ſet the Prince and his Subjects together by the ears.

Falſe bruits and rumors by *Popiſh* Prieſts ſtirred up againſt the King.

Againſt this ſeditious company of Rebels, was appointed and ſent by the King, and his Council, Sir *John Ruſſel*, Knight, Lord Privy Seal, as Lieutenant General of the Kings Army, of whom chiefly depended the charge and atchievance of that Voyage in the Weſt parts. To him alſo were adjoined, as in part of ordinary Counſel in thoſe affairs under him, Sir *William Harbert*, Sir *Jo. Pawlet*, Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, Sir *Tho. Speck*, with the Lord *Gray*, and other beſide.

Sir *J. Ruſſel* Lord Privy Seal, Lieutenant General of the Kings Army in the Weſt.

Thus

KING 6 Ed. 6. The Rebels at Devonſhire diſcomfited.

Thus the ſaid Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Lord *Gray*, advancing his power againſt the Rebels, although in number of Soldiers not equally furniſhed like to the other, yet through the gracious aſſiſtance of the Lords help, fighting in his cauſe, and giving the adventure againſt the enemy, about the later end of *July*, *Anno* 1549. gave them the repulſe; who notwithſtanding, recovering themſelves again with ſuch ſtomachs as they had, incountred the ſecond time with the foreſaid Lord Privy Seal, about the beginning of *Auguſt* following, of whom, through the Lords mighty power, they with their whole cauſe of falſe Religion, were utterly vanquiſhed and quite overthrown.

In the which Victory a great work of Gods mighty power undoubtedly did appear. For although the number of the Rebels did ſurmount in great quantity, the power and ſtrength of the Lord Privy Seal, and their ſtomachs were ſo fiercely ſet upon all deſperate adventures; and though the power of Sir *William Herbert* (being the ſame time at *Briſtow*) was not yet preſently come, which ſhould have joyned with the Lord Privy Seal; yet all this notwithſtanding, the goodneſs of the Lord ſo wrought on the Kings behalf, more than any induſtry of man (which in all reſpects in handling that matter was very raw, and far behind) that the Victory fell to the Kings part, under the valiant guiding of the foreſaid Lord Privy Seal, ſo that the *Popiſh* Rebels not only loſt the field, but a great part of them alſo loſt their lives; lying there ſlain miſerably in the Chaſe, to the compaſs of two Miles ſpace. Where alſo were taken and apprehended the Chieftains and Ringleaders of that miſchievous dance, whereof the Principal were *Humfry Arundel*, *Berry*, *Thomas Underhil*, *John Soleman*, *William Segar*, *Tempſon* and *Barret* two Prieſts, *Henry Bray*, and *Henry Lee*, two Mayors, with divers other more above ſpecified, all which accordingly afterward were executed.

The ſlaughter of the Lord Privy Seal.

Theſe Rebels, to make their part more ſure by the help and preſence of their conſecrated God and maker, brought with them into the Battel, the Pix under his Canopy, and inſtead of an Altar, where he was hanging before, fet him now riding in a Cart. Neither was there lacking Maſſes, Croſſes, Banners, Candleſticks, with holy Bread alſo, and holy Water plenty, to defend them from Devils, and all adverſary power; which in the end neither could help their friends, nor yet could ſave themſelves from the hands of their enemies, but eſtſoons both the conſecrated God, and all the trumpery about him, was taken in the Cart, and there lay all in the duſt, leaving to them a notable Leſſon of better experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no ſuch vain Idols, but only in the true living God, and immortal Maker, to be ſerved according to his preſcribed Word, and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantaſies.

Falſe truſt of the Deuonſhire men in their *Popiſh* Idols diſappointed. The Sacrament in the Pix brought to the Battel in a Cart.

The ſtory whereof putteth me alſo in remembrance of another like *Popiſh* Field, (called *Muſcleborough* field) fought in *Scotland* the year before this, where the *Scots* likewiſe incamping themſelves againſt the Lord Protector, and the Kings power ſent into *Scotland*, did in ſemblable wiſe, bring with them to the Battel, the conſecrated Gods of their Altars, with Maſſes, Croſſes, Banners, and all their *Popiſh* ſtuff of Idolatry, having great affiance by vertue thereof, to have a great day againſt the *Engliſh* Army, as indeed in mans judgment it might ſeem not unlike. For the number of the *Scots* Army ſo far exceeded ours, and they were ſo appointed with their Pikes in the firſt front againſt our Horſemen (which gave the firſt onſet) that our men were fain to recule, not without the loſs of divers Gentlemen. Notwithſtanding, the mighty Arm of the Lord ſo turned the Victory, that the *Scots* in the end, with all their Maſſes, Pixes and idolatrous Trinkets, were put to the worſe. Of whom in that field were ſlain between thirteen and fourteen thouſand, and not paſſing an hundred *Engliſh* men. The cauſe of this was the promiſe of the ſaid *Scots*, made before to King *Henry*, for the Marriage of the young *Scottiſh* Queen to King *Edward*, which promiſe the ſaid *Scots* afterward brake, and payed therefore after.

Muſcleborough field in *Scotland*.

Gods mighty Arm fighting with K. Edward in *Scotland*. The vain truſt of the *Scots* in their Maſſes and Sacrament of the Altar. A notable Victory, through the Lords power of K. Edward in *Scotland*.

In the which Victory this is alſo to be noted, that the ſame day and hour when the Images were burned openly in *London*, the *Scots* were put to flight in *Muſcleborough*, as is credibly noted in Records.

During this Hurly-burly amongſt the *Popiſh* Rebels in *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire*, the like commotion at the ſame time, by ſuch like *Popiſh* Prieſts as *Homes* and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of *Oxford* and *Buckingham*; but that was ſoon appeaſed by the Lord *Gray*, who coming down that way into *Devonſhire*, chaſed the Rebels to their houſes. Of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the Ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.

A ſtir in *Oxfordſhire*, and *Buckinghamſhire*.

In *Northfolk* and parts thereabout, albeit the original of their tumultuous ſtirring was not for the like cauſe, yet the obſtinate hearts of that unruly multitude, ſeemed no leſs bent upon miſchief, to diſturb publick peace, which was alſo in the Month of *July*, the year aboveſaid. For repreſſion of which Rebellion, firſt was ſent the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, with ſpecial inſtruction to avoid the fight, and ſo by order was appointed with a number of Horſe to keep the field and paſſages, whereby they beinſt ſtopped from Victual, might the ſooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to ſeek their pardon. Who then following other policy than by order was given, came and pinned himſelf within the City of *Norwich*, which afterward they were fain to abandon, the Rebels preſſing upon the City ſo on every ſide, that at length they obtained the ſame. Nevertheleſs in all that conflict there was but an hundred on both ſides ſlain, and otherwiſe no great loſs, but only the loſs of the Lord *Sheffield*.

Rebellion in *Norfolk*.

Inſtructions given to the L. Marqueſs.

The L. *Sheffield* ſlain at *Norwich*.

Then was ſent down againſt them the Earl of *Warwick*, with ſufficient force and number of Soldier, beſides the convoy of two thouſand *Almains*, by whom the rude and confuſed Rabble was there overthrown and ſlain, to the number, as is ſuppoſed, at the leaſt of four thouſand. And in fine, both the *Kets*, chief ſtirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in Chains.

The Rebels of *Norfolk* ſuppreſſed.

Moreover, beſides theſe inordinate Uprores and Inſurrections above mentioned, about the later end of the ſaid Month of *July* the ſame year, which was 1549, another like ſtir or commotion began at *Semer*, in the Northriding of *Yorkſhire*, and continued in the Eaſtriding of the ſame, and there ended. The principal doers and raiſers up whereof were one *William Ombler* of *Eaſthelberton* Yeoman, and *Thomas Dale* Pariſh Clerk of *Semer*, with one *Stevenſon* of *Semer*, Neighbour to *Dale*, and Nephew to *Ombler*. Which *Stevenſon* was a mean or meſſenger between the ſaid *Ombler* and *Dale*, being afore not acquainted together, and dwelling ſeven Miles one from the other. Who at laſt, by the travel of the ſaid *Stevenſon*, and their own evil diſpoſition, inclined to ungraciouſneſs and miſchief, knowing before, one the others mind by ſecret conference, were brought to talk together on S. *James* his day, *Anno* 1549.

Another Rebellion or Tumult began in *Yorkſhire*. The chief ſtirrers of this Rebellion in the North.

The cauſes moving them to raiſe this Rebellion, were theſe: Firſt and principally, their traiterous hearts, grudging at the Kings moſt honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his Religion. Another cauſe alſo was, for truſting to a blind and a fantaſtical Prophecy, wherewith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame Prophecy ſhould ſhortly come to paſs, by hearing the Rebellions of *Northfolk*, of *Devonſhire*, and other places.

The cauſes moving them to raiſe this Rebellion.

The tenor of which Prophecy, and purpoſe together of the Traitors was, *That there ſhould no King reign in* England, *that the Noblemen and Gentlemen ſhould be deſtroyed, and the Realm ſhould be ruled by four Governors, to be elected and appointed by the Commons holding a Parliament in commotion, to begin at the South and North Seas of* England, &c. Supponing that this their Rebellion in the North, and the other of the *Devonſhire* men in the Weſt, meeting (as they intended) at one place, ſhould be the mean how to compaſs this their traiterous deviliſh device.

A blind Prophecy amongſt the Northern men.

And therefore laying their ſtudies together, how they might find out more company to joyn with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and ſo fet forward to ſtir, this device they framed, to ſtir in two places, the one diſtant 7 Miles from the other, and at the firſt ruſh to kill and deſtroy ſuch Gentlemen and men of ſubſtance about them, as were favourers of the Kings proceedings, or which would reſiſt them.

The devilliſh device of the Rebels how they compaſſe their purpoſe.

Ann. 1549. But first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they devised to burn Beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the Sea Coasts, and having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their poyson; first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoil of rich mens goods, blowing into their heads, that Gods service was laid aside, and new inventions neither good nor godly, put in place, and so feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the Church again their old ignorance and idolatry, thought by that means soonest to allure them to rage, and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the Gentlemen at their first rising, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murthered in Churches, some in their Houses, some in serving the King in Commission, and others as they could be caught, and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of Service on the Holy-days. And thus was the Plat-form caft of their device, according as afterward by their confession at their examinations, it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

False lies forged of Gods true Religion.

Thus they being together agreed, *Ombler* and *Dale*, and other by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the Parish of *Semer*, *Wintringham*, and the Towns about, that they were infected with the poyson of this confederacy, in such fort that it was easie to understand whereunto they would incline if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment whereof did shortly follow; for although by the words of one drunken fellow of *Wintringham*, some suspicion of that Rebellion began to be smelled before by the Lord President and Gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the Rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at *Semer* by the Sea-Coast, and there by night rode to the Beacon at *Saxton*, and set it on fire; and so gathering together a rude rout of Rascals out of the Towns near about being in a stir. *Ombler*, *Thomas Dale*, *Baxton*, and *Robert Dale*, hasted forthwith with the Rebels to Master *Whites* house, to take him, who notwithstanding being on Horseback, minding to have escaped their hands, *Dale*, *Ombler*, and the rest of the Rebels took him, and *Clopton* his Wives Brother, one *Savage* a Merchant of *York*, and one *Bury* servant to Sir *Walter Mildmay*, which four, without cause or quarrel, saving to fulfil their seditious Prophecy in some part, and to give a terrour to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murthered, after they had carried them one Mile from *Semer* towards the *Wolde*, and there after they had stripped them of their Clothes and Purses, left them naked behind them in the plain field for Crows to feed on, until *Whites* Wife and *Savages* Wife, then at *Semer*, caused them to be buried.

The conspiracy of the Rebels uttered in drunkenness.

Four men cruelly murthered by the Rebels in the North.

Long it were and tedious to recite what revel these Rebels kept in their raging madness, who ranging about the Country from Town to Town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no Town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts, and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lords goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

The Rebels in Yorkshire gathered to 3000 persons.

For first came the Kings gracious and free Pardon, discharging and pardoning them and the rest of the Rebels of all Treasons, Murthers, Felonies and other offences done to His Majesty, before the one and twentieth of *August*, *Anno* 1549. Which Pardon, although *Ombler* contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilful obstinacy, disdwaning also the rest from the humble accepting the Kings so loving and liberal Pardon, yet notwithstanding, with some it did good.

The Kings free Pardon sent to the Rebels.

Ombler refused the Kings pardon.

To make short, it was not long after this, but *Ombler* as he was riding from Town to Town, twelve Miles from *Hummanby*, to charge all the Constables and Inhabitants where he came, in the Kings name, to resort to *Hummanby*, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of *John Wood* the younger, *James Astabe*, *Ralph Twinge*, and *Thomas Constable* Gentleman, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in fure custody unto the City of *York*, to answer to his demerits.

Ombler Captain of the Rebels taken.

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After whom within short time, *Thomas Dale*, *Henry Barton*, the first Chieftains and Ringleaders of the former commotion, with *John Dale*, *Robert Wright*, *William Peacock*, *Wetherel* and *Edmund Buttry*, bufie stirrers in this Sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their Faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly executed at *York* the one and twentieth of *September*, *Anno* 1549. *Ex actis Judicii publici registro receptis & notatis.*

The names of the Rebels taken and executed at *York*.

Exactis judiciis publici registri excerptis & notatis.

To these pestiferous commotions raised up against King *Edward*, by his own Subjects in this year aforesaid, within the Realm, I might also adjoyn the bufie stirring and raging of the *French* King, against our young and innocent Prince, without the Realm. Who hearing of these Tumults and violent insurrections of the Kings Subjects, in divers and sundry quarters of the Realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought likewise for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who after he had by his Embassador made open breach with the King, immediately after the revocation of the said Embassador from hence, intending to annoy the King, and make his first Invasion against the Isles of *Jersey* and *Gernsey*, thought to have surprised our Ships and the said Isles with a certain number of his Ships and Gallies. In the which his attaut he was so hotly saluted by the Kings Ships and the Island, that by the confession of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the Lord Protector, the *Frenchmen* lost at least a thousand men, their Ships and Gallies were so spoiled, as being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out again.

The stirring and rising of the *French* K. against K. *Edward*.

Furthermore, out of *France* credible word was brought to the Lord Protector (which yet in Letters appeareth) that into one Town in one Vessel, were brought, at least, threescore Gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the King, not to speak of the successe in that journey. This was about the beginning of *August*, 1549.

Ex libris D. Protectoris.

The like also might be noted of the losses of the said *French* King at *Bullenburgh*, the eighth day of *August*, the same year, as by the Lord *Clinton's* Letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the *French* King was in these Voyages, or how he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty Arm of God mercifully fought for King *Edward* his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions, stirred up in so many Quarters within this Realm, and also without the Realm, and all within the compass of one year, and yet the Lord above fighting for his true servant, dispatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

Ex libris D. Clintonis.

The wonderful protection of the Lord in defending K. *Edward*.

Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, *Bishop of* London, *with declaration of the acts and process entred against him in King* Edward's *time.*

AND thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King *Edward*, by his unkind and unnatural Subjects, and yet notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the Victory; now let us return again to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the Council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now forsomuch as we have to enter into the story of the said *Bonner*, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter with the circumstances and occations thereof from the first beginning of King *Edward's* time. Where is to be understood, that King *Edward*, in the first year of his Reign, *Anno* 1547. the first day of *September*, for the order of his Visitation, directed out certain Commissioners, as Sir *Anthony Cook*, Sir *John Godsaul*, Knights, Mr. *John Godsaul*, *Christopher Nevinson*, Doctors of the Law, and *John*

Sitting of the Kings Commissioners in Pauls Church.

{KING Ed. 6.} *John Madew* Doctor of Divinity. Who sitting in *Pauls* Church upon their Commission, the day and year aforesaid, there being present at the same time, *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, *John Royston*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Peter Pan*, and others of the said Cathedral Church, after the Sermon made and the Commission being read, ministred an Oath unto the said Bishop of *London*, to renounce and deny the Bishop of *Rome*, with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the King, according to the effect and form of the Statute made in the thirty first year of King *Henry* the Eighth: also that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said Church to be reformed.

An oath ministred to *Bonner* to forswear the Pope.

Whereupon the said Bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their Commission, only for this purpose and intent (as he said) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their Commission. Unto whom the Commissioners answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter, and so they called the other Ministers of the said Church before them, and ministred the like Oath unto them, as they did to the Bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then certain Interrogatories and Articles of Inquisition were read by *Peter Lilly* the publick Notary. Which done, after their Oaths taken, the said Commissioners delivered unto the Bishop aforesaid, certain Injunctions, as well in Print as written, and Homilies set forth by the King. All which things the said Bishop received, under the words of this Protestation, as followeth:

Bonner requireth to see their commission.

{Anno 1547. *Peter Lilly* the publick Notary.}

Bonners protestation before the Commissioners receiving the Kings Injunctions.

I *Do receive these Injunctions and Homilies with this Protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to Gods law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of the Church.* And immediately he added, with an Oath, that he never read the said Homilies and Injunctions.

The which Protestation being made in manner and form aforesaid, the said *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London* instantly desired and required *Peter Lilly*, the Register aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said Commissioners delivering the Injunctions and Homilies to Master *Bellassere* Archdeacon of *Colchester*, and *Gilbert Bourn* Archdeacon of *London*, *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and injoyning them in most effectuous manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reserving other new Injunctions to be ministred afterward, as well to the Bishop, as to the Archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, *&c.* did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

Note the corrupt life of these unmarried Priests and *Popish* Votaries.

At the which hour and place assigned, the Commissioners being set, and the Canons and Priests of the said Church appearing before them, and being examined upon vertue of their Oath, for their Doctrine and Conversation of life, first one *John Painter*, one of the Canons of the said Cathedral Church, there and then openly confessed, that he vitiously and carnally had often the company of a certain married mans Wife, whose name he denied to declare. In the which crime divers other Canons and Priests of the foresaid Church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And after the Commissioners aforesaid, had delivered to Master *Roiston* Prebendary, and to the Proctor of the Dean and of the Chapter of the said Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, the Kings Injunctions, and the Book of Homilies, injoyning them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said Visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

Things in this Visitation to be noted.

By this Visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle Reader, first how *Bonner* made his Protestation after the receiving of the Kings Injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in publick record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaste life and conversation of these *Popish* Votaries and Priests of *Pauls*. Now what followed after this Protestation of the Bishop made, remaineth further in the sequel of the story to be declared; wherein first thou shalt understand that the said Bishop shortly after his Protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went unto the King, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former Protestation, craved pardon of the King for his inordinate demeanour toward his Graces Commissioners, in the former Visitation. Which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the King, for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the Councils Letter sent to the Commissioners may appear, which together with the form also of the Bishops Protestation and of his Recantation, here under followeth.

Bonner repenteth his evil demeanor in his Protestation.

Bonner sent to the Fleet.

To our very loving friends, Sir *Anthony Cook* Knight, and the rest of the Commissioners for the Visitation at *London*, in hast.

The Kings Letter to the Commissioners concerning the recantation and pardoning of *Bonner*.

AFter our hearty commendation: *This shall be to signifie unto you, that we have received your Letters, and in the same inclosed the Copy of the Protestation made by the Bishop of* London *in the time of your Visitation at* Pauls: *your wise proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And because the said Bishop, which being here before us hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time at* Pauls *require the Register of your Visitation, to make record and enter of his Protestation, and now upon better consideration of his duty, maketh means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true Copy of his writing enclosed, the original whereof remaining with us he hath subscribed; we pray you to cause the Register to make enter of this his revocation, according to the tenor of this his said Writing: Further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil example that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the* Fleet, *whither he hath been conveyed by Master Vicechamberlain. And whereas sundry things for the Kings Majesties service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you* Sir John Godsaul, *as well for your office of the Signet, as of the Protonotariship, we pray you that leaving the execution of the Visitation to the rest of your Colleques, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well. From* Hampton Court *the twelfth of* September, 1547.

Bonner recanteth his Protestation.

Your assured loving friends

Thomas Canterbury.
William Saint John.
John Russel.
Thomas Semer.
William Paget.
Anthony Brown.
William Peter.
Anthony Dennie.
Edward North.

The form of *Bonner's* Recantation.

Bonner recanteth his Protestation and requireth to be registred.

The Copy of *Bonner's* Recantation.

WHereas *I* Edmund *Bishop of* London, *at such time as I received the Kings Majesties Injunctions and Homilies of my most dread Sovereign Lord, at the hands of his Highness Visitors, did unadvisedly make such Protestation, as now upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil ensample that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble Subject: forsomuch as the same Protestation at my request was then by the Register of that Visitation, enacted and put in Record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your Lordships, that I do now upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said Protestation, but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my Revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same Records, for a perpetual memory of the truth, most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings, may be by your good mediations pardoned by the Kings Majesty.*

Edmund London.

The

Re Registra Tom Lillie.

The Registers of these affairs of Bonner *remain in the hands of* Peter Lillie, *then being Register to the foresaid Commissioners.*

The order of Bonners doings in the beginning of K. Edward.

Thus far thou hast heard, loving Reader, first the Popish protestation of *Bonner*; then how he calling himself home again solemnly recanted the same, requiring further the said his revocation to be committed to publick record, for a perpetual remembrance. Also how he upon his humble submission received his pardon of the King, and yet for example sake was commanded to the *Fleet*. Where he peradventure did not long continue, but according to the effect of the Kings pardon afore granted was restored both to house and living again, which was in the first year of the King, *Anno* 1549.

After this ye have heard also in the story above, in the second year, and a great part of the third year of the King, how he demeaned himself, although not most forward in advancing the Kings proceedings; yet in such sort as no great advantage by any Law could be taken against him, both in swearing his obedience to the King, and in receiving his Injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consenting touching the state of Religion then; and furthermore in directing out his Letters, according to the Archbishop of *Canterburies* precepts, to *Clowe* his Sumner, to the Bishop of *Westminster* and other Bishops, for abolishing of Images, for abrogation of the Mass, for Bibles to be set up, and for ministring in both kinds, with such other like matters of reformation; till at length he hearing of the death of the Lord Admiral the Protectors Brother, and after that of the stirring and rising of the Kings subjects in sundry tumults against the King, began somewhat as he durst to draw back and slack his Pastoral diligence, so that in many places of his Diocese, and in *London*, the people not only were negligent in reforting to Divine Service, but also did frequent and haunt foreign Rites of Masses, and other orders then in this Realm appointed. and he also himself, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal Feasts refused in his own person to execute. Whereupon he being suspected and complained of, and convented before the Kings Council (as ye heard before) after sharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private Injunctions to him enjoyned.

Bonner beginneth to slack in his diligence.

{Anno 1549}

Matters put to Bonner to redress.

1. *First, That he should personally preach within three weeks after at* Pauls-Cross.

2. *That according as his Predecessors were wont to celebrate Mass, he at such wonted times should execute and administer the Communion.*

3. *That he should call before him and correct more diligently such transgressors as absented themselves from the order of Service, and ministration of the Lords Board, appointed then in Churches by the Kings Ordinance.*

Bonner enjoyned to preach at Pauls Cross.

4. *That he should see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of Adulterers and Fornicators.*

5. *That he in the mean while should be resident within his own House during the time, whiles he should make his Sermon at* Pauls *above mentioned, which was* Anno 1549. *In the which Sermon certain special points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he should entreat. Which here in order follow, and are these.*

Special Points and Articles to be entreated of by Bonner *Bishop of* London *in his Sermon.*

1. THAT all such as rebell against their Prince, get unto them damnation, and those that resist the higher power, resist the Ordinances of God, and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the Word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul. And therefore those Rebels in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, in *Norfolk*, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their King and Prince, against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and go about to subvert the state and order of the Commonwealth, not only do deserve therefore death as Traytors and Rebels, but do accumulate to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of Hell with *Lucifer*, the father and first author of pride, disobedience and rebellion, what pretences soever they have, and what Masses or holy water soever they pretend, or go about to make among themselves, as *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for rebellion against *Moses*, were swallowed down alive into Hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God.

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What things be necessary to be joyned in all Gods Rites.

2. Likewise in the order of the Church, and extern Rites and Ceremonies of Divine Service, forsomuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledg of him, charity and love toward our neighbours, and obedience to his word, and to his Ministers and superior powers, these we must bring to all our prayers, to all our service, and this is that sacrifice which Christ requireth, and these be those that make all things pleasant unto God. The extern Rites and Ceremonies be but exercises of our Religion, and appointable by superior powers; in chusing whereof we must obey the Magistrates; The which things also we do see ever have been and shall be (as the time and place is) divers, and yet all hath pleased God, so long as these before spoken inward things be there. If any man define, zeal, and devotion, but not after wisdom; that is, a foolish devotion, which can require no thanks or praise. And yet again, where ye obey, ye must have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings, and therefore he that taketh the Communion, or faith or heareth the Service appointed by the Kings Majesty, must being devotion and inward prayers with him, or else his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him.

Extern Rites and Ceremonies now for they serve.

Ceremonies made naught by disobedience.

Foolish devotion.

The heart maketh true devotion.

3. Further, ye shall for example on Sunday come seventh night after the foresaid date celebrate the Communion at *Pauls* Church.

4. Ye shall also set forth in your Sermon, That our Authority of Royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than is or was of any our Predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of *Josias* and other young Kings in Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws, and Statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

Bonners Preaching much looked for of the people.

The delivery of these Injunctions and Articles unto the Bishop (with the time of his appointed preaching) was soon after known abroad among the Citizens, and other the Commons within the City of *London*, so that every man expected the time thereof, wishing to hear the same. Which time being once come, the Bishop, according to the tenor of the Injunctions, publickly preached at the Cross of *Pauls* the first day of *September*. Howbeit as hypocrisie never lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or other God in his mouth righteous judgment maketh it open unto the world: so at this present was that long coloured perverse obstinacy, and the inveterated hatred of this double faced dissembler against the Kings godly proceedings, most plainly manifested by his disobedient demeanor in this his Sermon.

For whereas he was commanded to entreat only upon such special points as were mentioned in his Articles; he yet both besides the Councils commandment, to the withdrawing of the minds of the common people, in as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy Sacrament ministred in the holy Communion then set forth by the authority of the Kings Majesty (according to the true sense of the holy Scripture) did spend much part of his Sermon about the gross, carnal, and Papistical presence of Christs body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and also contrary thereunto did not only slenderly touch the rest of his Articles, but of a rebellious and wilful carelesness did utterly leave out unspoken the whole last Article, concerning the as effectual and as lawful authority of the Kings Highness during his young age, as if he were thirty or forty years old; notwithstanding the same (because it was the trayterous opinion of the Popish Rebels) was by special commandment chiefly appointed him to entreat upon.

The disobedient Behaviour of Bonner in his Sermon at Pauls-Cross.

This

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W. Latimer, and John Hooper against Bonner.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing as it greatly offended most of the Kings faithful and loving subjects there present, so did it much mislike the minds, and was far from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly Preacher Master *John Hooper*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester* and *Glocester*, and lastly a most constant Martyr for the Gospel of Christ, and also of Mr. *Will. Latimer*, Bachelor of Divinity: and therefore they well weighing the foulness of the fact, and their bounden Allegiances unto their Prince, did thereupon exhibit unto the Kings Highness, under both their names, a Bill of complaint or denunciation against the said Bishop in form following.

The Denunciation of John Hooper, *and* William Latimer, *against* Bonner, *to the Kings Majesty, for leaving undone the points aforementioned, which he was charged to preach upon.*

The Denunciation of W. Latimer, and John Hooper, denounced against Bonner.

IN most humble wise sheweth unto your Majesty *William Latimer* and *John Hooper*, that where of late, as we be certainly informed from your Majesty, by the hand of the right high and noble Prince *Edward* Duke of *Somerset*, Governour of your Royal person, and Protector of all your Highness Realms, Dominions and Subjects, and the rest of your Privy Council, there were certain Injunctions given to the Bishop of *London* that now is, with Articles to be insinuated and preached unto your Subjects at a certain day limited, the which Injunctions and Articles did only tend to the honour of God, and the better instructions of your Highness people to obedience and hatred of rebellion and mutinie, wherewith of late this your Majesties Realm hath been marvellously vexed, to the danger of your Highness person, and the state of the whole Realm, and therefore a thing at this time most necessary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your Majesty, and unto Almighty God, and especially to acknowledg your Majesty in these years and age to be a perfect High and Soverign Lord and King, and supreme Head, whose Laws, Proclamations, and Commandments we are bound to obey, as well as any Princes subjects are bound to obey the Laws, Proclamations, and Commandments of their natural and Sovereign Lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet given unto your person such age as I muste she shall, nor so many years, which we with to be so many as any Prince ever had, the which years do not make you King or Prince, but the right of your birth, and lawful succession whatsoever it be, so that we all muste as well acknowledg your Majesty to be our King and Prince, at these years, as if you were at the age of thirty or forty years, and your Laws and Statutes no less to be feared and obeyed, than if your Highness were fifty or an hundred years old, (the which thing not only is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when divers Rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your Highness Laws, nor acknowledg the Statutes made by your Majesty to be available till you come to the age of twenty years) and this not only being so, but the same thing being commanded by your said Majesty, amongst other Injunctions and Articles given in writing to the said *Edmund Bonner*, to be preached in his last Sermon, as by the same Injunctions may appear, of the which the true Copy we have when need is to be shewed: yet all this notwithstanding, the said *Bonner*, of what zeal or mind we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the said Rebels, or contemning your Highness Commandment declared unto him, hath not only left out to declare the said Article, which we muste and chiefly expected and looked for, but also in all the rest of his Sermon did not so fully and apertly declare the said Injunctions and Articles, as to our judgment did appear they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, intreating of other far distant and divers from the Articles upon the which he was commanded to intreat; and such as muste should move and stir up the people to disorder and diffension, willingly leaving out those things which should have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore not moved of any malice, grudg, envy, or evil will to the person of the Bishop, but constrained by the love and zeal which we bear towards your Highness, and of our duty and allegiance to your Majesty, whose honour and safety with tranquillity, quietness, and good governance of this your Realm, we do most desire, and for the discharge of our most bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might ensue of the concealment thereof, we most humbly do denounce and declare the same to your Highness, to the intent that your Majesty, by the advise aforesaid, may, if it please your Highness, at this our humble denunciation, call the said Bishop to answer to the premisses, the which we are ready to avow and prove, and then your Highness may take further order herein, as to your Princely wisdom shall seem most convenient, whose long life and most prosperous Government God Almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our lives.

Years and age do not make a King, but the right of succession.

The Kings Majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this Bishop, in not accomplishing his Highness Commandment given him by Injunction, thought it most necessary with all convenient speed (for the avoiding of further inconveniences) to look more severely into the due punishment of such dangerous rebellious obstinacy; and therefore by the advise of the Lord Protector, and the rest of his Honourable Council, immediately he directed forth his Commission under his Broad Seal unto the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, and to other grave and trusty Personages and Counsellors, appointing and authorising all them, or certain of them, by vertue of the same, to call before them, as well the Bishop of *London*, as also the foresaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proof of the premisses, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, further to proceed against him summarily *& de plano*, according to Law and justice, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation, (if the quality of the offence so required) or otherwise to use any other censure Ecclesiastical, which for the better hearing and determining of that cause, might to their wisdoms seem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenour of the Commission here insuing.

Commission directed down by the King against Bonner.

Commissioners appointed.

The Copy of the Kings Commission sent down upon the Denunciation aforesaid, for the Examination of *Bonner* Bishop of *London*.

The Copy of the Kings Commission for Bonners Examination.

EDward *the Sixth*, &c. *To the most reverend Father in God* Thomas *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan and Primate of* England, *the right reverend Father in God* Nicolas *Bishop of* Rochester, *our trusty and right well beloved Counsellors, Sir* William Peter, *and Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knights, our two principal Secretaries, and* William May, *Doctor of the Law Civil, and Dean of* Pauls, *greeting. It is come to our knowledg, that where we by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle* Edward *Duke of* Somerset, *Governour of our Person, and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy Council, did give to the right reverend Father in God* Edmund *Bishop of* London, *upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great considerations, certain Injunctions to be followed, done, and executed, and in a Sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain Articles, and for the more sure knowledg, keeping, and observing, did exhibite the same in writing unto him by the hands of our said Uncle, in the fulfilling of our counsel: all this notwithstanding the said Bishop hath in contempt of us (as it may appear) overslipped and not observed certain of the said things so by us enjoyned, and other so perversly and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our subjects and our whole Realm, be converted by the wilful negligence or perversity of him to a great occasion of slander, tumult, and grudg amongst our people, as it hath been denounced to us in writing by certain honest and discreet persons, and otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we tendering the health, quietness, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let past unpunished and unreformed, and therefore by the advice aforesaid, have appointed you five, four, or three, upon whose fidelities, wisdoms, dexterities, and* circum-

{Anno 1549}

Bonner left out of his Sermon the Article of the Kings authority.

circumspections, we have full confidence, to call before you at well the denouncers of the said faults, as also the said Bishop, and with due examinations and proces, according to the Law and Justice, to hear the said matter, and all other matters, of what kind, nature, or condition soever they shall be, objected against the said Bishop, summarily (& de plano) or otherwise as to your discretions shall be thought most meet, with full power and authority to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or deprive the said Bishop, if the offence shall so appear to merit, or to use any other censure Ecclesiastical, which for the better hearing and determining of the cause shall be requisite and appertain, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents.

Witness our self at *Westminster* the eighth of *September*, in the third year of our Reign.

The Commission delivered.

The Commission being sealed with the Kings Broad Seal, was by his Highnes's Council forthwith delivered at the Court unto *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Commissioners mentioned in the same, being there all together present. Who upon the receipt thereof, determined by vertue of the same to sit at the Archbishops house at *Lambeth* the Wednesday then next ensuing, which was the tenth day of that present month of *September*, and therefore appointed the Bishop of *London* to be summoned to appear before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whose behaviour at his appearance, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what estimation and authority he thought the Commissioners to be of, I thought it not unmeet first, before I enter into the Proces, somewhat to note and describe unto you.

The Bishop behaveth our of Sorrow before the Commissioners.

At his first entry into the place within the Archbishops House at *Lambeth*, where the Archbishop and other of the Commissioners sat, he passed forth directly by them with his Cap upon his head (making as though he saw them not) until one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the Commissioners. Whereat he laughingly turned himself, and spake unto the Archbishop on this wise: What, my Lord, are you here? by my troth I saw you not. No, said the Archbishop, you would not see. Well (quoth he) you sent for me, have you any thing to say to me? Yea, said the Commissioners, we have here authority from the Kings Highness to call you to account for your Sermon you made lately at *Pauls*-Cross, for that you did not there publish to the people the Article which you were commanded then to preach upon. At which words the Bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or else because he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in Religion (as afterward in the sequel of this Proces it more plainly appeareth) began to turn his talk unto other matters, and said unto the Archbishop, In good faith my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is. What is it, said the Archbishop? The blessed Mass, quoth he. You have written very well of the Sacrament: I marvel you do no more honour it. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* therewith perceiving his subtilty, and seeing his gross blindness, to commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again: If you think it well, it is because you understand it not. The other then adding unto his former gross ignorance an obstinate impudency, answered, I think I understand it better than you that wrote it. Unto which words the Archbishop replied, Truly I will eatily make a child that is but ten years old to understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?

Bonner speaketh for the Mass.

{Anno 1549. Bonners talketh to scorning and taunting of his denouncers.}

Moreover, at what time as they began to enter the Judicial profecuting of their Commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they had to object against him, he hearing them speak, fell to scorning and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake like a Goose; and to the other, that he spake like a Woodcock, utterly denying their accusations to be true. Whereupon the Archbishop seeing his peevish malice against the denouncers, asked him, if he would not believe them, whether he would credit the people there present? and there withal (because many of them were also at the Bishops Sermon at *Pauls*) he stood up and read the Article of the Kings authority during his young age; saying unto them, How say you my Masters, did my Lord of *London* preach this Article? Whereunto they answered, No, no. At which words the Bishop turning himself about, deriding said, Will you believe this fond people?

{KING Ed. 6.}

Bonners judgment of the people.

Bonner full of his pretenses, Dawes, Woodcocks Fools, and such like.

Besides this, at all his appearings he used many irreverent, uncomely, obstinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the Commissioners and others (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretended Commissioners, pretended Witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and pretended proceedings, with recusation of some, and terming others Daws, Woodcocks, Fools, and such like) which I will here omit, for they do more manifestly appear in the sequel of the story in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although such flountuefs of heart and will, if it had been in a cause true and rightful, might have perchance seemed in some mens judgment to be somewhat sufferable; yet to say the truth, in what case soever it be, being immoderate, as this shall appear, it beseemed no wise man, and therefore much less one of his calling. For if his cause had been bad, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true Canon-Law of the Gospel doth teach him? If it were (as it was indeed) naught and wrong, whereto served so bold sturdy flountuefs, but to shew the impudency of the person, and to make the case worse which was bad enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if need were, what he was able to do in the Law, in shifting off the matter by subtil Dilatories, and frivolous cavilling about the Law. And if that would not help, yet with facing and bracing, and railing upon the Denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the Kings Commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seem yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For to conclude, for all his crafty cautels and tergiverfations alledged out of the Law, yet neither his Cause could be so defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was therefore both justly imprisoned, and also in the end most lawfully deprived; as by the sequel of this Proces may well appear, the manner whereof is as followeth.

Bonners demeanor not tolerable for his calling, though meet for his birth.

Bonners frivolous shifts

The first Action or Session against Bonner.

The first appearance of Bonner before the Kings Commissioners the tenth day of September. The Judges Delegate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, Sir *William Peter*, Dr. *May* Dean of *Pauls*.

UPON Wednesday the tenth day of *September*, in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the third year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Metropolitan and Primate of all *England*, affociate with *Nicholas Ridley* then Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *William Peter* Knight, one of the Kings two Principal Secretaries, and Master *William May*, Doctor of the Civil Law and Dean of *Pauls*, by vertue of the Kings Commission, fat Judicially, upon the Examination of *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London*, within the Archbishops Chamber of Presence, at his House in *Lambeth*, before whom there then also personally appeared the said Bishop. At which time the Commissioners, first shewing forth their Commission, requested Sir *William Peter* that he would openly publish and read the same. Which done, the Archbishop in the name of the rest declared unto the Bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, unto the Kings Majesty and his most Honourable Council, and that therefore his Highness, with their advice, had committed the Examination thereof unto him and other his Colleagues there present, as also unto Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, the other of his Majesties two Principal Secretaries, though then absent, and there withal shewed also forth a Bill of complaint exhibited unto the King by *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper* Ministers, which they likewise requested Sir *William Peter* to read.

Sir *Thomas Smith* then absent.

These things ended, the Bishop like a subtil Lawyer, having moit like some secret intelligence before of these matters (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary) pulled out of his bosom a solemn Protestation ready written, which he then exhibited unto the Commissioners, requesting that the same might be there openly read; the Copy whereof is this in tenor and form as followeth.

The

{KING Edw. 6.}

The tenor and form of *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London* his Protestation, exhibited to the Kings Commissioners at his first appearing.

The form and Copy of Bonners Protestation.

EDmundus Lond. Episcopus primo & ante omnia protestor quod per hanc meam comparitionem seu per aliqua seu per me hic dicta seu dicenda, allegata seu alleganda, proposita seu proponenda, exhibita seu exhibenda, gesta seu gerenda, objecta seu objicienda, exercita seu exercenda, facta seu fienda, petita seu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos Judices præsentes tanquam in judices mihi in hac parte competentes & idoneos aliquo modo consentire, vestram jurisdictionem presentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, nisi prout ac quatenus de jure ad hoc tenear & astringar rationique consonum videatur: & sub protestatione prædicta & ea semper mihi salva (a qua recedere non intendo, sed eandem in omnibus & singulis decerpis in hoc negotio præsentio per me agendis, pro repetita haberi volo) dico & allego quod literæ commissionales prætensæ vobis (ut dicitur) in hac parte directæ, seu earum vera & legitima copia nunquam antehac mihi ostensæ aut monstr. fuerunt, nec a me aliquo modo visæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaque contra formam & tenorem earundem, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum, ea quæ de jure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte, cum reverentia (qua decet) objiceres, ac in debita juris forma proponere non possum in præsenti ut deberem. Quare ut defensio congrua, quæ nulli hominum deneganda est, mihi reservetur, liquidoque sciam cujusmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere possint, ac debeant, utque eas suis loco & tempore juxta juris exigentiam, pro necessaria defensione mea proponam contra vel prætensas literas commissionales hujusmodi, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum, quatenus liceat & expediat sub protestatione prædicta, facultatem dictas præten'as literas commissionales in forma originalis inficiendi, ac earum veram, integram, & fidelem copiam debite exinde mihi fieri humiliter peto & postulo prout juris est in hac parte, tenore præsentium: nihilominus tefatum manis'te relinquens, quod observantiam & reverentiam, ac obedientiam & honorem, ac cætera quæcunque Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Domino meo supremo hac literas prætensas vobis (ut dicitur) committenti qualitercunque decet in omnibus & per omnia perpetuo humilime recognituras sum, habituras & præstituras, & his exceptionibus & defensionibus legitimis mihi de jure & natura competentibus ad defensionem meam necessariam & legitimam ac non aliter in hac parte usuras.

Bonner cleareth exception of his accusers.

Bonners grosse opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar

{Anno 1549.}

Bonner raileth against Mr. Hooper.

This Protestation being read, he requested the Commissioners that he might have the Bill of complaint delivered him. Which when he had well perused, he said, that the same was very general, and so general, as that he could not directly answer thereunto. Whereunto the Archbishop answered, that the special cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the Kings Commandment, given unto him by his Council, in that he in his late Sermon made at *Pauls*-Cross did not see forth unto the people the Kings Highness Royal power in his Minority, according to the tenor of the Article delivered unto him by them for that purpose, and for proof thereof called forth *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* Preachers, who before that time had put up the Bill of complaint unto the King against him.

Bonner taketh exception against his denouncers.

Upon whom when the Bishop had earnestly looked, and well beheld them, he said, As for this Merchant *Latimer*, I know him very well, and have born with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other Merchant *Hooper*, I have not seen him before, howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching. And then turning himself again unto the Archbishop (of purpose moit like to make his friends think that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of Religion) said unto him, Ah my Lord, now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach and set forth in my late Sermon the true Presence of the most blessed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. For as for these my Accusers, as they be evil, infamed, notorious, and criminous persons, so are they manifest and notable Hereticks and seducers of the People, especially touching the Sacrament of the Altar: and most of all this *Hooper*. For where in my late Sermon at *Pauls*-Cross I preached, That in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration, there is the true Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the self same in substance that was hanged and died upon the Cross; he the same day at afternoon, having a great rablement with him of his damnable sect, openly in the Pulpit within my Diocess, did preach erroneously to the people against it; and maliciously inveying against my Sermon, denied the verity and presence of Christs true Body and Blood to be in the same Sacrament, and also saidly and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the said Sacrament, the self same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the Cross, he like an Ass (as he is an Ass indeed) falsely changed and turned the word *that* into *as*, like an Ass, saying, that I had said as it hanged, and as it was shed upon the Cross.

Talk between the Archbishop and Bonner about the Sacrament.

A Objection to Bonners.

The Archbishop hereupon perceiving the Bishops drift, and hearing him talk so much of the Presence, of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament, said unto him, My Lord of *London*, ye speak much of a Presence in the Sacrament; what Presence is there, and of what Presence do you mean? Wherewith the Bishop being somewhat stirred and moved in mind (as appeared by his choleric countenance) spake again to the Archbishop very earnestly, and said, What Presence my Lord? I say and believe that there is the very true Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. What believe you, and how do you believe my Lord? Upon which words the Archbishop, because he saw his answer dark and subtil, and minding somewhat to nip the grosse absurdities of the Papists, asked him further, whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms and lips, with other lineaments of his body? Whereat the Bishop shaking his head, said, Oh, I am right sorry to hear your Grace speak these words, and therewith boldly urged the Archbishop to shew his mind therein. Who wisely weighing the fond presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused then so to do, saying, that their being there at that time was not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their Commission committed to them by their Prince, and therefore willed him to answer them unto such things as were objected against him.

Days given to Bonner to answer four blasts.

Whereupon under his Protestation, he required to have a Copy both of the Commission, and also of the Denunciation given unto him, with time to answer thereto. Which the Commissioners willingly granted, assigning him there to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight of the Clock before Noon, and then to answer the tenor of the Denunciation. And so for that day (he complaining somewhat of the shortness of his time to answer) they all together departed.

The second appearance of Bonner *in the Chappel of* Lambeth, *before the Archbishop and other four Commissioners, the Bishop of* Rochester, *Secretary* Peter, *Secretary* Smith, *and the Dean of* Pauls.

The second appearance of Bonner before the Kings Commissioners.

UPON Friday the thirteenth of *September* aforenamed, four Commissioners, affociated then also with Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, the other of the Kings two Principal Secretaries, and joynt Commissioner with them, fat judicially in the Archbishops Chappel within his house at *Lambeth*. Before whom (according to their former assignment) there and then appeared the Bishop of *London*. To whom the Archbishop in the name of the rest, first said, My Lord of *London*, the last time you were before us, we laid certain Articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the Kings Majesty, and you have this day to make your answer thereunto, wherefore now shew us what you have to say for your defence.

Bonner refuseth his cause to the matter of the Sacrament.

Whereto

Bonner answer to the Archbish. of Canterbury. A peculiar colour of the Law, whether a new Commission ere may sit afterwards, which sat not at the beginning.

Whereto the Bishop first asking the Archbishop if he had all said and done, and he again saying, Yea, made this answer: My Lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there sat in the Kings Majesties Commission, your Grace, you my Lord of *Rochester*, you Master Secretary *Peter*, and you Master Dean of *Paul*, but now I perceive there fifteen alsо Master Secretary *Smith*. Who because he sat not at the beginning, nor took there the Commission upon him, ought not so to do: for by the Law, they which begin must continue the Commission. Whereupon the Archbishop first answered, that he was no Lawyer, and therefore could not certainly shew what the Law willeth in that case, but, saith he, if the Law be so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable Law.

Well, said the Bishop, there be here that know the Law, and yet I say not this to the intent to stand or stick much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way: for I have here mine answer ready.

The words of Secretary *Peter* to Bonner.

Then said Master Secretary *Peter* to the Bishop, My Lord, in good sooth I must say unto you, that although I have professed the Law, yet by discontinuance and disuse thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters from study of the Law, I have perhaps forgotten what the Law will do precisely in this point: but admit the Law were so as you say, yet your self knoweth, my Lord, that this is our certain rule in Law, *Quod Consuetudo sit jura interpres optimus*, and I am sure you will not, nor cannot deny, but that the custom is commonly in this Realm in all Judgments and Commissions used to the contrary; and in very deed we all together at the Court, having the Commission presented unto us, took it upon us; and therefore for you to stick in such trifling matters you shall rather in my judgment hurt your self and your matter, than otherwise.

The answer of Bonner to Secretary Peter.

Truly Master Secretary, said the Bishop, I have alsо of long while been diffused in the study of Law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter to turn my Books, I find the Law to be as I say, and yet, as I said, I tell you hereof by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point.

The words of Secretary Smith to Bonner.

At which words, Master Secretary *Smith* said alsо unto the Bishop, Well my Lord of *London*, as cunning as you make your self in the Law, there be here that know the Law as well as you: and for my part I have studied the Law too, and I promise you these be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our Commission is to proceed summarily, *& de plano*, and to cut off such frivolous Allegations.

The answer of Bonner to Secretary Smith.

Well (said the Bishop again) look well on your Commission, and you shall find therein these words, To proceed according to the Law and Justice: and I ask both Law and Justice at your hands.

The words of Secretarie Peter.

Then Master Secretary *Peter* willed him to stand no more thereupon, but to proceed unto his answer. Whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the Denunciation exhibited the day before by *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and delivering it unto the Archbishop, said, that it was of his own hand-writing, and for lack of sufficient time written so hastily and cursorily, that it could scarcely be read of any other, and therefore he desired to read it himself; and so taking it again, read it openly, the Copy whereof here followeth.

The Answer of the said Bishop, made to the Denunciation aforesaid.

I *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, concerning *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, the pretensed Denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for answer unto the unlawful, untrue, and uncharitable pretended Denunciation of them, lately in deed contrary to Justice and good reason, exhibited here and read before you, under protestation heretofore made by me, and read unto you, remaining in the Acts of this Court, unto which I refer me, and have the same here again for repeated and rehearsed to all purposes agreeable to the Law, do for my necessary defence and help alledg and say as followeth.

Allegations or rather cavillations of Bonner against the Denunciature.

1. First, I do alledg and say, That the said *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, or either of them, were not, nor now are to be admitted in any wise, by vertue of this or any other Commission, as Denunciators against me their Bishop; specially, for that they and either of them have as well before the time of their pretensed Denunciation, and alsо then and since been and be vile and infamed, notorious criminous persons, and alsо open and manifest notable Hereticks, especially concerning the Sacrament of the Catholick Church, and namely concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by reason of which their Heresies, they were and be by the order of the said Catholick Church, here in this Realm of *England*, justly and duly Excommunicated and accursed, and have divided themselves thereby from the unity and integrity of Christs Catholick Church, and for such persons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriously and commonly amongst the Catholick people of this Realm of *England*, and especially of this City of *London*, familiarly haunting and conversant with Sacramentaries, and openly known condemned Hereticks, and favourers and abettors of the same, and their detestable and pestilent Doctrine and Heresie.

How false would this man find a fault if he could tell how.

{KING Edw. 6.}

2. *Item*, That the said *John Hooper*, amongst other his poysoned and venomous Doctrine, and amongst other his erroneous, detestable, and abominable Errors and Heresies taught and spread abroad here within this Realm, infecting and poysoning the Kings subjects therewith, hath before the time of the said pretensed denunciation, damnably and detestably made divers Erroneous and Heretical Books, especially one, Intituled, *A Declaration of Christ, and of his Office*, Printed (as he falsly surmiseth) in *Zurich*, by *Augustine* Friers, where he in many places Heretically and damnably denieth the true Presence of Christs Body in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and alsо in effect denieth the verity of Christs blessed Body upon the Crosс, calling it Mathematical, and excluding thereby the true and very substance thereof.

This term Mathematical is referred of Bonner not to the substance of the Body upon the Crosс, but to Pacification cal accidents without the Altar.

3. *Item*, That the said *Jo. Hooper* doth persevere and continueth still in his said poysoned and wicked venomous Doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the same and every part thereof all the ways he can, specially against the Presence of Christs blessed Body in the Sacrament of the Altar; and his said Books, especially the said Declaration of Christ and of his Office, he doth yet allow and maintain as good and Catholick, where indeed it is Heretical, wicked and damnable: the Contents of which Doctrine and Book so Intituled, the said *Latimer*, especially touching the Heresie against the verity of Christs Body, and his true Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, believed, holden, maintained and kept, and so at this present doth yet believe, hold, maintain, and keep, contrary to the Faith of Christs Catholick Church, and the unity of the same observed amongst all true Christian people, incurring thereby Heresie, Excommunication, and Schism, to the loss both of their souls, and of their believers.

If all truth were away he had spoken more truly.

4. *Item*, That the said *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and either of them, being of these vile and detestable qualities, and consequently by the Ordinance of the Catholick Church of Christ, as well of this Realm, as alsо throughout all Christendom, being so excommunicate and cast out thereby from the said Church, are not to this pretensed denunciation against me their Bishop, nor to any judicial act, to be admitted, ne yet to be accompanied withal, or answered unto, but are by Scripture, and the order of Christs Catholick Church here in this Realm, utterly and truly to be excluded, avoided, detested, eschewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wise, of all faithful and true Christian people, fearing God, and desiring the advancement of the Truth.

5. *Item*, That where the said *Latimer* and *Hooper*, in their said pretensed Denunciation, amongst other things, do untruly deduce that they have made their said pretensed Denunciation, not moved of any malice or evil will, but for the good tranquillity and governance of this Realm, which as they pretend in their gay and glorious proheme, they would seem to have a great care and solicitude of, where in very deed they and such as they are by sundry ways, and specially by their corrupt Doctrine, and Heretical naughty preaching, and infecting of the Kings Majesties people, have disturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillity and governance of this Realm, as evidently and notoriously it is well known; the truth is, that this their saying is evident and plain false; for notorious it is, and lawfully shall be proved, that

{KING Edw. 6.} that the said *Hooper*, conspiring with the said *Latimer* and other Hereticks of their factious Sect and damnable Opinion, did the first day of *September* last past, after that I the said Bishop of *London* had made the Sermon at *Pauls Crosс*, assemble maliciously, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himself is, within my Diocess and jurisdiction, and under the colour of reading, did openly and manifestly rail and inveigh against me the said Bishop, for may said Sermon, not for any such matter, pretence, or cause, as is falsly and untruly furmised in the said pretensed denunciation, but only and cheifly for that I the said Bishop, as became a Christian man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truly to teach them, did, taking occation of the Communion not frequented nor reverenced, but neglected and contemned, confess and declare my faith and belief openly before my audience, touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar ministred in the same Communion, affirming as the Catholick Church affirmeth and teacheth, That in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Christ, the self same in substance that hanged upon the Crosс, and the very true blood of our Saviour Christ, the self same in substance that was shed upon the Crosс. Against which affirmation and assertion, being Catholick and true, the said *John Hooper* (albeit now colourably and falsly he pretendeth) and another matter more plausible in his opinion and judgment in sundry places of the City and Suburbs of *London*) hath since that time maliciously inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routs) to reprove, contemn and despise the said blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and not to have a true and faithful belief of it, as hitherto always the Catholick Church hath * ever had, the said *William Latimer*, and the rabblement of his companies, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing other to do the same, not making any such pretence at all (as they in their said pretensed denunciation do falsly surmise and deduce) but only and chiefly offended for my said assertion, and affirmation of the verity of Christs body and blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.

But what and where were your proofs?

As though he could not both confute your errors then, and also fay the truth now, without all malice or affection.

* Ever, since Pope Innocentius the third, his time, 400. years ago.

Though the Bill of Articles bear no Seal or Signet; yet you be but a Cavilier, knowing that you were sent for, in the presence of the Lord Protector, in the Councill Chamber received the Copy of the Injunctions, with the Articles promised to be sent to you in writting, as they were: Indeed; neither are ye able to deny the same, though ye lift to foist out the matter with vain terms of Incertainty and obscurity, when the purpose of the thing maketh clean against you, according as it appeareth in the Articles hereafter mislibelled against you the second time.

Item, That where the said *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* in their said pretensed denunciation do further reduce and falsly surmise that I the said Bishop of *London* had delivered to me from the Kings Majesty, by the hands of the Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Kings Majesties Council, certain Injunctions with Articles to be insinuated and preached to the Kings Majesties Subjects at a certain day limited, and after such fort, form, and manner, as is in the said pretensed denunciation surmised untruly, and deduced; It is notorious and evident, as well by the tenour and continue of that writing which was to me the said Bishop of *London* delivered by the hands of Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, one of the two principal Secretaries to the Kings Majesty, as otherwise, that the said surmise, in such fort and fashion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalf, referring me to the tenour of the said writing, which neither was signed with the Kings Majesties hand, nor sealed with any his Majesties Seal or Signet, nor yet subscribed by any of the said Council, or delivered after such sort as is alledged and pretended, as more evidently hereafter shall appear, and sufficiently be proved for my lawful necessary defence in this behalf.

6. *Item*, That in case any such Injunctions with Articles, after such form and fashion, had so been delivered unto me, as is surmised and pretended, yet false and untrue it is that I the said Bishop either left out, or refused to declare the same for any such cause or causes, falsly and untruly surmised in the said pretensed denunciation, or else so perversly and negligently did, as likewise in the said pretensed denunciation is deduced, which thing may well appear in the discourse of my said Sermon, where in substance and effect I declared faithfully and truly these points specially following; that is to wit, that all such as Rebell against their Prince, get unto them damnation, and those that refuse the higher power resist the ordinance of God, and he that died therefore in rebellion, is by the word of God utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul, alledging for this purpose the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Paul* to the Romans, and it at large declaring unto the audience: Further more speaking of the Rebels in *Devonshire*, *Cornwal*, *Norfolk*, and elsewhere within this Realm, standing in doubt whether I might put them in the place of those that put truth in themselves and despised all other, or in the place of both, doing as they did, forgetting God, not duly considering the Kings Majesty their supreme, head next and immediately under God, forgetting their Wives, their Children, their Kinsfolk, their Alliance, Acquaintance, and Friends, yea themselves, and their native Country, and most unnaturally rebelling against their Sovereign Lord and King, whom by Gods Law they were bound to love, serve, and faithfully obey; I did to the best of my power diffwade Rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded; and all Rebellion being in like manner forbidden under pain of eternal damnation, all these Rebels in *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their King and Prince, against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and were about to subvert the order of the Commonwealth, did not only deserve therefore death, as Rebels and Traitours, but alsо did accumulate unto themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of Hell, with *Lucifer* the Father and first author of pride, disobedience and rebellion. And here I did ask who had induced the said Rebels thus to do? To which I answered by another question, demanding who moved and induced *Eve* to take the Apple and break her obedience against Gods commendment? Who moved alsо and induced *Cain* to kill his Brother *Abel*? Yea, who moved *Judas* the Apostle to betray his Master Christ? Was it not the Devil? Yes truly, and he it is, said I, that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced these Rebels to this unnatural rebellion against their Prince and Sovereign Lord. Whereupon I asked what pretences they had, and answering thereto, said; that amongst other they had Masses and Holy Water, upon which I exclaiming against them, said good Lord; is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate, colour, excuse, and maintain Rebellion and inobedience, to pretend Masс or Holy Water, as who saith, that these things had been instituted and ordaind to defend, maintain, and excuse Rebellion, Treason, and inobedience, which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four Texts of Scripture to prove this thing that I said, alledging the fifteenth Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*, the fifteenth Chapter of the first Book of *Kings*, the tenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, and the fourth that my self added alsо, the thirteenth of S. *Luke*, and joyned with the fifth of the Acts, setting them forth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatsoever pretences these Rebels had of Masses, Holy Water, or such others, it could not in any wise excuse or defend their Rebellion and Inobedience, referring my self herein to the indifferent hearers in the said audience. And here pulling out a writing, sent from the Kings Majesties Privy Council unto me, touching the victory against the said Rebels, which for brevity of time my memory would not serve to declare without Book, I did rehearse it in writing word by word. In doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the said Rebels, nor maintain their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better than sacrifice; And that in disobedience and rebellion nothing could or did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud *Pharisee* and the humble *Publican* ascending into the Temple to pray, and noting the outward and extern doing of them both, with the sucсes thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the Church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine service, that for as much as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, Charity and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his Word, to his Ministers, and to the superior powers, we must bring all these things to to all our prayers, to all our service, and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requireth, and that these be the things that make all other things pleasant to Almighty God; further saying, that the extern rites are but exercises of Religion, and appointed by superious

perioure powers, and that in the choosing thereof we must obey the Magistrates, and that we also do see that those things ever have been and shall be divers, as the time and place is, and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humility of heart, innocency of living, knowing of God, charity and love our neighbour, with obedience to Gods word, Gods ministers, and superiour powers, are concurrent and present therewith.

7. Moreover, I then said, that if any man should use rites and disobey thereby the superiour powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evil by his disobedience. Insomuch that that which, standing the Law, might be good, was by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made evil and unprofitable, putting example in the fact of *Saul*, reserving the fat Sheep for sacrifice, and in *Chore*, *Dathan*, and *Abyram*, and also in *Nadab* and *Abihu*, *Aarons* two children, and in the *Galileans*, whose blood *Pilate* did mire with their sacrifices. And thereupon I told the audience that they must do herein especially two things: The first, they must joyn to and with their devotion faithful obedience, and then they shall win the Garland, and otherwife have but a zeal, *Sed non secundum scientiam*, deserving no thank or praise of God; and also they must, with and to their obedience, joyn devotion, knowing that God more than doth require, and consider the heart, than the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the Communion, or to hear or say the Service, appointed by the Kings Majesty, they must, bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or else their prayers shall be but vain, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him. And herein because I marvelled that the Communion was no more frequented now adaies, and lamenting the unreverent coming to it and ufing of it, fearing that it proceeded of an evil opinion and belief touching the Sacrament of the Altar, minifired and diftributed at the fame Communion, and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it than they seemed to have, I did faithfully, truly and plainly declare my belief of the said Sacrament, wherewith the said *Latimer* and *Hooper*, with their complices, were so much offended and

But whose wak any mention made of the Kings power in his minority, so it was impugned you to treat of?

8. *Item*, That where the said *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* do further in the said pretended denunciation untruly, and uncharitably deduce and alledge, that I in my said Sermon did treat of such things, as moft should move and ftir up the people to diforder and diffention, it doth hereby evidently and clearly appear, that either the said pretended denunciatours do take and esteem a declaration faithfully made of the loyal obedience of Subjects to the Kings Majesty, the supreme and Sovereign Lord, and the great peril and danger of Rebellion committed by Subjects against their King and Prince and Sovereign Lord, to be a moving, provoking and stirring up of people to diforder and diffention, or else that the affirmation and affertion Catholick of the verity of Christs body and blood in the bleffed Sacrament of the Altar, fet forth by me as afore doth effect and work such diforder and diffention: For evident it is to all those which indifferently heard my said Sermon, that I (grounding my self upon Scripture, and taking occation of the Sunday then occurrent) did speak specially and earnestly of these two things, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumftance, to flander them thereby, and I did both set forth the obedience and duty of all Subjects, generally to their King, and specially of Subjects of this Realm to the Kings Majesty that now is, whose minority to all people of this Realm is more than manifest, and is also apparent, or evidently known to all the whole world beside: And also, I did then declare and lay open the immiIf ye did believe it, why did ye not fully approve and declare the same to the people?

nent danger and great peril of rebellion in Subjects against the high powers and authority, and also specially of the rebellion late committed by them of *Devonshire*, *Cornwall*, *Norfolk*, and elsewhere, against the Kings Majesty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed that all the Kings Subjects without exception were bound to obey the Kings Majesty even as he now is, was, and shall be, during his life, which our Lord long preserve to all our comforts and wealth, and also that the Rebellion of late so committed against his Majesty was damnable, and utterly detestable and condemned by Gods Law; and herein I refer me to the indifferent hearers of this my Sermon, wifhing that this *Latimer*, and *Hooper*, with all the reft of thefe new Preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently and Catholickly, as I alwaies have done toward the Kings Majesty, his honour, authority, Royal power, and furety of his perfon and Realm, and did not more move, incourage, and ftir the Kings Majesties Subjects to fedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than I did at any time incourage, move or ftir any of them in any wife, or give occafion to any of the fame. {KING Edw. 6.}

9. *Item*, Where the said *William Latimer* and *John Hooper* do falsly surmife in their pretended denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I the said Bishop of *London* should more apertly have declared the Injunctions and Articles aforesaid, and that it did so appear unto their judgements; I do say that their judgments are corrupted and only set to flander and picking of quarrels in this behalf, being well assured and so credibly informed that all the worfhipful and honeft Catholick perfons of my said audience were fully satisfied both as touching obedience to the Kings Majesty in his tender age and minority, and also touching the penalty and great peril of punifhments of the Rebellion so lately committed against the said Majesty by the foresaid Rebels. And moreover I do say, that before my Lord Protectors Grace, and the reft of the Kings Majesties moft honourable Counsel then present, I made my excuse, and alledged many impediments for my not preaching at the Croſs, and did not further promife but to do the beft I could, which of my fidelity and conficence I did, not omitting any thing of purpofe or evil will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people both good and bad in every condition and point, specially in this behalf, collecting and gathering together, with all diligent ftudy, all that might make, in my judgment and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same.

Thus have you *Bonners* answer to the denunciation aforesaid: Wherein first he alledged (or rather shamefully and flanderously cavilled) that those his denouncers were vile, infamed and notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifeft Hereticks, as well against the reft of the Sacraments of the Church, as chiefly against the Sacrament of the Altar; and were for the same by the orders of the Church excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the Catholicks of this Realm, and especially *Hooper*; who, besides other his poysoned doctrine and Herefie amongst the people, had also before the time of the denunciation made divers erroneous and Heretical Books against the true presence of Christs body in the Sacrament of the Altar, and did also continue in the same, allowing and maintaing it as good and Catholick. Which Books and Doctrine (chiefly against the Sacrament of the Altar) *William Latimer* had, and then likewise did allow, believe, and teach, to the loss of both their own fouls, and also their believers, and therefore were not now nor ought at any time to be admitted either in this their denunciation against him, or in any other judicial act; and that the rather also, because that although they pretend in their denunciation, that they made not the same of any malice or evil will towards him, but for the good tranquillity and quiet governance of this Realm, yet was it notoriously known, that as well the same day at afternoon in which he the said Bishop preached at the Croſs of *Pauls*, as also at fundry other times, they two, confpiring with other of their faction, did maliciously and unlawfully within his Dioces assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselves were, and there under the colour of reading did openly rail and inveigh against him, not for any the causes pretended in their denunciation, but because he had in his Sermon declared (as the Catholick Church taught) that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was the very true body and blood of Christ, the same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the Croſs.

Then after these vain and frivolous allegations against the denouncers, he cometh and answereth to the substance of their denunciation, and saith, that where they in the same do falsly surmise that there were delivered unto him from

Kyo, by your own confeſſion it appeareth that thefe injunctions were given you by my Lord Protectors own mouth, though not with his own hands: which Articles you will not grant. *Bonners* writing exhibited to the commiſſioners, anſwering to the denunciation.

Exceptions laid by *Bonner* againſt his Master *Hooper* his denouncer.

The frivolous queſtrelling of *Bonner* againſt his denouncers.

Bonner puts a bare ſhift.

{KING Edw. 6.} from the Kings Majesty, by the hands of the Lord Protector and the reft of his Highneſs Council, certain Injunctions and Articles to be publifhed and declared unto the people, at a day limited in the fame, their Information, in such sort as it was deduced, was moft falfe and untrue, for that the Articles delivered unto him by Sir *Thomas Smith*, one of the Kings Secretaries, were neither signed with the Kings own hand, neither sealed with his Highneſſes Seal or Siguet, nor yet subscribed by any of his Council, &c.

Bonners vain cavillation to no purpoſe.

Where mark, I beseech you, the subtilty of a disloyal Papift, who, becaufe the Articles were not sealed by the King and his Council, would make them therefore not to be of any fuch force, as that the breach thereof fhould cauſe him to incur the danger of contemptuous difobedience. But admit they were not Signed nor Sealed (of which thing by the way in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay) yet it is manifeft by the fecond Bill {Anno 1549.} of Articles minifired unto him by the Commiſſioners, in the fourth Act of his Process, that at fuch time as he was before the Council, thoſe Articles were by the commandment of the Lord Protector, openly there read unto him by one of the Secretaries, and after addition of the Article concerning the Kings lawful power and authority during his young years, were alſo delivered unto him by the hands of the Lord Protector, in the presence of the reft of the Council; who thus receiving them, promiſed there faithfully to accomplifh all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto Secretary *Smith*, to amend such things therein as the Lord Protector and the reft of the Council had there appointed. Which being accordingly done (as the Bishop himſelf at the laſt receipt thereof confeſſed) were finally delivered unto him by the Secretary; and therefore was this but a poor ſhift.

Bonners ſuppoſition.

Now after this, he maketh a ſuppoſition, that in caſe it were true, that the Injunctions were delivered him according to their information: Yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuſe to declare the ſame for any ſuch cauſes as they had alledged againſt him, and that did well appear in the diſcourſe of his Sermon, which tended principally (as he ſaid) to the diſallowing and condemnation of all Rebels, and chiefly of the Rebels in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwal*, or elſewhere within this Realm of *England*: Who forgetting their Allegiance and Duty unto their Prince, aſſigned to them by Gods word as their ſupreme Head, their natural love and care for their Countrey, Wives, Children, and Kinſfolk, did both deſerve death bodily as Traitors, and alſo accumulate unto themſelves damnation of body and ſoul eternally with Satan the Father and firſt mover of all Rebellion and Diſobedience; and herewithal further exclaiming againſt the pretences of thoſe Rebels, who amongſt other things pretended the Maſs and Holy Water, with ſuch like, which were never ordained for the purpoſe to colour and maintain Rebellion (as he ſaid he then proved out of the 16. of *Numbers* 1. *Reg.* 15. *Levit.* 10. and 4. *Luke* 13. and *Acts* 5. in the beſt manner that he could, as one not exerciſed greatly in preaching, but reſtrained therefrom) but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our Neighbours, with obedience to Gods word, Miniſters, and ſuperior powers concurrent with them, they being external Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, were exerciſes of Religion, and appointable by ſuperior powers; and yet that, which (ſtanding the Law) might be good, was by pride and diſobedience made evil and unprofitable.

Bonner a-gainſt the Rebels.

External rites and ceremonies.

Aſsiſtlythey might, the ſame being heretical & blaſphemous against the humanity of Chriſt.

And here he further ſaid becauſe he ſaw the people ſlack in coming to the Communion and Divine Service, ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion in the Sacrament than he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced in their pretenſed denunciation, that in his Sermon he did intreat of ſuch things as moſt ſhould ſtir up unto diſſention and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his Denouncers either took his Catholick aſſertion of the verity of Chriſts Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, or elſe his faithful declaration made of the obedience of Subjects unto the Kings Majeſty their ſupreme and Sovereign Lord, with the peril and danger of Rebellion committed againſt him, to be the cauſe of diſorder and diſſenſion; for that, ſaith he, of theſe two points he chiefly ſpake, and eſpecially of obedience to the King, whoſe minority was more than manifeſtly known, as well amongſt the people of this Realm, as elſewhere throughout the world beſides; which he would not have done except he had believed, that both all his Subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and ſhould be during his life, and alſo that the Rebellion of late committed againſt him was deteſtable and condemned by Gods Word: And therefore he wiſhed that his two Denouncers, with all the reſt of the new Preaches, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and Catholickly towards the Kings honour, Royal power, and ſurety of perſon, as he did, and had not more moved the people to tumults and diſobedience by their erroneous Doctrine and teaching, than he had at any time given any occaſion thereunto. *Bonners* juſtification of himſelf for his Sermons

Then finally he concluded and ſaid, That whereas his aforeſaid Denouncers ſurmiſe, That it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgements, that he ſhould more apertly have declared the contents of the Injunctions and Articles than he did, that their judgments were in that behalf corrupted and ſet to ſlander and picking of quarrels; for he was well aſſured, and credibly informed, that all his honeſt and Catholick Audience were fully ſatisfied, both touching their obedience to the Kings Majeſty in his tender age, and alſo concerning the great penalty and peril that the late Rebels incurred by their diſobedience. And beſides that, when he was before the Lord Protector and the reft of the Council, after he had made his excuſe, and alledged many impediments for his not preaching at the Croſs, he did not then further promiſe but to do the beſt he could, which he hath of his Fidelity and Conſcience accompliſhed, not omitting any thing of purpoſe or evil will, that might ſatisfie the people in any point concerning the Premiſes.

Whilſt he was thus reading theſe Anſwers, objecting againſt his denouncers ſuch cauſes and quarrels as he before alledged, for which he would have earneſly had the denouncers to be repelled of the Commiſſioners; the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* replyed, That if there were any ſuch Law, he thought it not to be a good or godly Law, but a Law of the Biſhop of *Rome*. For, ſaid he, if my matter and cauſe be good, what ſhould I care who accuſe me, yea although he were the Devil of Hell. The Archbiſhop replieth againſt *Bonner*. The Law of the Biſhop of *Rome* the Pope proved. The Pope Law forbeſe ed upon the King. Archbiſhop.

No Sir, ſaid the Biſhop of *London*, it is the Kings Law uſed in the Realm.

Well, My Lord (ſaid the Archbiſhop) ye be too full of your Law: I would with you had leſs knowledge in that Law, and more knowledge in Gods Law, and of your duty. *Bonner.*

Well, anſwered the Biſhop again, ſeeing your Grace falleth to withing, I can alſo with many things to be in your perſon.

Then ſpake Secretary *Peter* to the Biſhop as touching theſe denouncers; we are not ſo fruited in this matter, but that we may proceed againſt you, either at their promotion, or without them at our pleaſure.

A Gods name then (ſaid *Bonner*) put them by. and then do as your pleaſure ſhall be, ſo you do me right, for I ask but right. *Bonner.*

Nay ſaid Secretary *Smith*, you ask you wot not what: You would have us follow your mind in theſe Quiddities and Quirks; and all is nothing elſe but to delay juſtice. And you do herein as Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors, not to have the truth known. Secretary *Smith.*

Say you ſo to me, quoth the Biſhop? I thank you. Well, I could ſay ſomewhat to you alſo, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it paſs. As for my matter, I fear it not, it is not ſo evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my diſcharge, which when I ſhall ſee time, I ſhall ſhew forth. *Bonner.*

My hand, quoth the Secretary. Let me ſee it, and let it be read openly. So it ſhall, ſaid the Biſhop, when I ſhall ſee time. Secretary *Smith.* *Bonner.*

Then ſaid Mr. *Smith*, you do uſe us thus to be ſeen a cunning Lawyer. Secretary *Smith.* *Bonner.*

Indeed, quoth the Biſhop, I knew the Law, ere you could read it. Well cracked Mr. *Bonner.*

Articles delivered against Bonner.

With that, Secretary *Peter* willed the Bishop to proceed in reading of his answers; who so did, and when he had finished, *Latimer* delivered up a writing in Paper unto the Archbishop and the rest of the Commissioners; who then said unto the Bishop of *London*, here be certain Articles which we intend to minister unto you.

The Bishop therewith said, do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men? (pointing to *Latimer* and *Hooper*) for I perceive they gave them unto you.

Secretary *Peter.* Bonner requireth respite to answer.

Nay said Secretary *Peter*, we will minister them unto you, *Ex officio mero*, and thereupon took an Oath of the Bishop *de fidelitet respondendo*. Who, desiring a Copy of the Articles, required also a competent time to be given unto him to make answer thereunto.

Secretary *Peter.*

To whom Secretary *Peter* replied, saying, My Lord, here be certain of the Articles touching your own fact, which you may answer unto forthwith; as whether you wrote your Sermon or not before you preached it.

Bonner.

Whereunto the Bishop answered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

Secretary *Peter. Bonner.*

Then whose Counsel, said he, and advise used you in making your Sermon?

To which he also answered, that he had therein used his own Counsel and Books, and yet my Chaplains, quoth he, be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why.

These words ended, the Commissioners assigned him *Monday* the sixteenth of *September* then next following, to appear before them, and to make his full answers unto all the Articles ministred unto him by them this day; the Contents whereof are as followeth.

The form and tenour of the Articles ministred unto the Bishop of London, *by the Kings Commissioners.*

The third Session or appearance of Bonner. { Ann. 1549

Monday the sixteenth of *September*, the Archbishop associated with the Bishop of *Rochester*, Secretary *Smith*, and Dr. *May* Dean of *Pauls*, sate judicially within his Chapel at *Lambeth*: Before whom there and then appeared the Bishop of *London*, according as he was assigned in the last Session: At which time he exhibited unto the Commissioners in writing his answers unto the last former Articles.

The form of the Articles ministred against Bonner. Bonners answer to the Articles in writing. *Harpsfield* and *Foxius* deduce to purge themselves against Bonners slanders. Purgation of *Latimer.*

But before the same were there read, the Archbishop said unto him, that his late answer, made the thirteenth of *September* unto the denunciation, were very obscure, and therewith also contained much matter of slander against *Latimer* and *Hooper*, and much untruth, and therefore they delired there to purge themselves. Whereupon *Latimer*, first obtaining leave to speak, said, that the Bishop of *London* had most falsly, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, saying to his charge many fained and untrue matters in his former answers to the denunciation, and such as he should never beable to prove. For where in his said answer he alledged, that *Hugh Latimer* and *John Hooper*, with other Hereticks confpiring against him, did the first day of *September* after the Bishops Sermon assemble themselves together unlawfully against the said Bishop, that saying of his was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, he ever knew or spake with *Hooper*. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accused by the Bishop, he said he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed Sacrament, otherwise than he ought to do, nor otherwise than according to the Scriptures, and true Catholick Faith of Christs Church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the Archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the Kings Majesty, or the said Commissioners to appoint; and further to suffer, to be hanged, drawn and quartered, if the Bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge. Then Master *Hooper*, upon like Licence obtained, said to this effect.

Bonner reproved of untruth. Mr. *Latimer* purgeth himself against Bonner.

M. *Hooper.* cleareth himself against the false slander of Bonner.

This ungodly man (pointing to the Bishop) hath most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your Grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge that I am an Heretick. Whereas I take God to record, I never spake, read, taught, or preached any Heresie, but only the most true and pure Word of God. And where he saith, I frequent the company of Hereticks, I do much marvel of his so saying: For it hath pleased my Lord Protectors Grace, my singular good Lord and Mr. and my Ladies Grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with divers other worthyful persons, and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical Books against the blessed Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it Mathematical, I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word Mathematical there meaneth, and therefore understandeth not my Book: Which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word: And by the same his holy word and Scriptures I am always and shall be ready to submit my self to your Graces judgment and the superior powers to be tryed; with many such like more words of like importance. Which ended, the Archbishop, to shorten this matter, asked the Bishop how he could prove that *Hooper* and *Latimer* assembled together against him the first of *September*, as he had alledged, seeing they now denied it, and therefore willed him to answer forthwith thereunto.

{ KING Edw. }

This term Mathematical, is referred of Mr. *Hooper* not to the substance of Christs body in the Crost, but to the Papistical accidents, without substance upon the Altar. The Archbishop.

The Bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, so that he might be admitted to do it according to Law, and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain Books, saying, I have this Varlets Books which he made against the Blessed Sacrament which you shall hear. Then as he was turning certain leaves thereof, *Hooper* began again to speak: But the Bishop, turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, Put up your Pipes, you have spoken for your part, I will meddle no more with you, and thereupon with read a certain sentence upon the Book. Which done, he said, Lo here you may see his opinion, and what it is. At which words the people standing behind, and seeing his unreverent and unseemly demeanour and rayling, fell suddenly into great laughing. Whereat the Bishop being moved, and perceiving not the cause wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, Ah Woodcocks, Woodcocks.

Bonner. Bonner chargeth Mr. *Hooper* of Heresie. The people laugh. Bonner to scorn. Bonner calleth the people woodcocks.

Then said one of the Commissioners, why say you so My Lord? Marry, quoth he, I may well call them Woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat, nor yet heard what I said or read.

The Archbishop.

Well my Lord of *London*, said the Archbishop, then I perceive you would perswade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the Sacrament of the Altar, and therefore you lay to these mens charge (meaning *Hooper* and *Latimer*) that they have accused you of that. Howbeit, there was no such thing laid to your charge, and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein. And therewithal he said unto the people, My Lord of *London* would make you believe, that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar: But to the intent you may perceive how he goeth about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him read unto you, and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto Sir *Joh. Mason* Knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the Archbishop said again unto the Audience, Lo, here you hear how the Bishop of *London* is called for no such matter as he would perswade you.

The words of the Archbishop to the people. Sir *John Mason* to read. etii the denunciation to the people.

With this the Bishop being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, Well, now hear what the Bishop of *London* saith for his part. But the Committioners, seeing his inordinate contumacy, denyed him to speak any more, saying, that he used himself very dishobediently, with more like words.

Bonner in a rage. Bonner for his contumacy not suffered to speak to the people.

Notwithstanding, he still perstilling in his unreverent manner of dealing with the Committioners, pulled out of his sleeve another Book, and then said unto the Archbishop, My Lord of *Canterbury*, I have here a note out of your Books that you made touching the Blessed Sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity of the Body and Blood of Christ to be in the Sacrament, and I have another Book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvelous matter.

Bonner chargeth the Archbishop with contrariety in his own Books.

To

{ KING Edw. } The Archbishop purgeth himself and his Books.

To the which the Archbishop answered, that he made no Books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his Books, howbeit he thought the Bishop understood them not: For I promise you, quoth he, I will find a Boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you my Lord of *London* be.

Bonner commanded to answer to the Articles.

Thus after much multiplying of like words, the Committioners, thinking not good to spend any more waft time with him, willed him to shew forth his answers unto the Articles objected the last day against him. Whereupon, he having them ready did read the same openly to them. Wherein, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile Hereticks, should be used after such strange fort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience unto the Kings Majesty for the repressing and discouraging of Rebellion and Rebels, and also for the advancement of the veriety of Christs true body and his presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, for which only the malicious denouncers with their complicies had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the Articles and saith, that to the First, Second, and Fourth, he hath already in the former answers to the denunciation sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by Law to answer any further.

Bonner answereth to the Articles.

As to the third, and fifth, he said, he began to write his Sermon, but being soon weary, he did only make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he shewed them to his Chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the Kings Majesties power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of Histories, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of divers young Kings, who notwithstanding the minority were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful Kings: As *Henry* the Third, being but Nine years old, *Edward* the Third, being but thirteen years, *Richard* the Second, being but eleven years, *Henry* the Sixth, being not fully one year, *Edward* the Fifth being but eleven years, *Henry* the Eighth being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, *Ofias* and *Achus* who were but fixteen years old, *Solomon* and *Joas*, being but twelve years, *Josias*, *Joachim*, and *Joas*, being but eight years of age when they entred their Reigns. All which notes with many other he had purpofed to declare, if they had come into his memory, as indeed they did not, because the fame was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a Bill that was delivered to him from the Kings Council, to declare the Victory then had against the Rebels in *Norfolk* and *Devonshire*, which being of fome good length confounded his memory, and partly also for that his Book in his Sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: So that he could not remember what he would, but yet in generality he perswaded the people to obedience to the Kings Majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all other.

Examples of Kings that were young, and yet sufficient Kings.

Bonner confesseth his Oblivion. A good Preiste, that had lost his memory for lack of preaching.

Bonner knew not the Rebels opinion if you will believe him.

Then as to the sixth he faid he knew not the Rebels opinion, and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh Articles which touched his Pastoral Office, he faid that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his Families sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his Officers straitghly to look unto fuch matters, and fuch as he hath known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the Laws. All which answers, with other written with his own hand hereunder follow.

The answers of Bonner *unto the Articles objected to him by the Kings Commissioners the first time.*

Edmund Bishop of *London*, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited and repeated before you, which in all my fayings and doings I intend to have for repeated and rehearsed again to all lawfull effects and purposes for my honest and necessary defence, with protestation also of the nullity and iniquity of your process I had made in this behalf, and likewise of the Generality, Incertainty, Obscurity, Contrariety, Repugnancy, Variety, Insufficiency, and Invalidity of the things alledged and deduced before you against me, as well in the Commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the Articles and Interrogatories so ministred unto me; Lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretical and detestable persons, should be used after this strange fort, having done the best I could to declare mine obedience unto the Kings Most excellent Majesty, for the repressing and discouraging of Rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the verity of Christs true body and his presence in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar. For which only the malicious denunciators with their complicies have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquility of this Realm, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the fame, corrupting and infecting with thier poysoned and false Doctrine, and teaching the Kings Subjects in this Realm, to the great peril and danger thereof many ways: I do answer unto certain pretensed Articles and Interrogatories minifired by you indeed unto me the faid Bishop the thirteenth day of *September*, 1549, as followeth.

He reminiteth his Court.

To the first Article objected against me, beginning thus; First it is reported, *&c.* and ending thus, to observe and follow the same; I do say and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofor, that is to wit, of the thirteenth of *September* made and exhibited by me before you unto the faid pretensed denunciation, touching this matter; alledging withal, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily inser things to be in very deed true after such a fort, fashion, manner, and form, as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

After his long pericd well blowne up with much wafte wind of wordy, & length he beginneth to answere the Articles objected.

Answer to the 2. Article.

To the second, beginning thus; *Item*, Whether that you, *&c.* and ending, thus; as they were put unto you; I do answer and say, That this Article doth depend on the first Article next before, which after such fort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was justly by me answer made unto the same, denied, and I therefore now not bounden by the Law ertsoones to make other answer thereunto.

Answer to the 3. Article.

To the third, being an Interrogatory, and beginning thus; *Item*, Whether, *&c.* And ending thus ye did preach; I do answer and say, That I began to write a piece of my Sermon, and being soon weary thereof, I did leave off, and did make only certain notes of my said Sermon, and put the same notes in writing of mine one hand, without help or Council of any other, and the same notes did shew unto my Chaplains Master *Gilbert Bourn* and Master *Jo. Harpsfield*, both before and also since my said Sermon, only deliring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes, and procels to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such Kings as were in their minority when they began to Reign.

To the 4.

To the fourth Article beginning thus; *Item*, That ye have not declared, *&c.* and ending thus, as it is in your Article; I do answer and say, That this Article doth depend upon the first and second Articles here before denied, deduced in such fort, manner, and form, as is expressed in the same, and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretensed Denunciation.

To the 5 Article.

To the fifth Article beginning thus; *Item*, That ye have not, *&c.* and ending thus, declared it; I do answer and say, That this Article also doth depend upon the first and second Articles, and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the faid pretensed denunciation. And moreover I do say, That for the better advancement and setting forth of the Kings Majesties Royal Power and authority even in his minority, and for the due obedience of his Majesties Subjects unto his Highness, even during the faid minority, I had collected together as well out of Histories as also out of the Scripture of the old Testament, the names of divers Kings being in minority, who not withstanding their faid minority were faithfully, duly, and reverently

rently obeyed, honoured, served, taken and reputed for very true and lawful Kings, as *Henry* the Third, being but nine years old when he entred to reign and govern as King. *Edward* the Third, being but thirteen years of age. *Richard* the Second, being but eleven years old. *Henry* the Sixth, being not fully one year of age. *Edward* the Fifth, being but eleven years old. *Henry* the Eighth, being about eighteen years old; and so all these Kings beings in their minority as the Kings Majesty that now is, and yet having Authority and power Regal, as appertaineth; and in the old Testament, *Ofias* and *Achaz* were very true Kings in their minority, being but sixteen years of age; *Solomon* and *Manasses* being but twelve years of age; *Josias* and *Joachim* being but eight years of age, and *Joas* being but eight years old: All which things I say I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my said two Chaplains, and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbring of them, or in setting forth in my other notes at the time of my Sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wife. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said Sermon if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memory not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certain writing that was sent to me from the Kings Majesties Privy Council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory against the Rebels, specially in *Norfolk*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*, confounding my memory in things which before I had set in good order, and partly also for the falling away of my Book in the time of my said Sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the Kings Majesties minority, as is aforesaid, having yet nevertheless otherwise, in generality and speciality, perswaded the people to obedience, unto the Kings said Majesty, whose minority to them and all other is notoriously and manifestly known, and his Majesty, saving of these late Rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the rest of his Subjects.

Bonner pleadeth Oblivion.

To the 6 Article.

To the sixth, which beginneth, Whether ye will, &c. And ending thus, The opinion or no; I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which Rebels the Article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect answer therein though I would.

To the 7 Article.

To the seventh Article, beginning thus; *Item*, That ye know, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties Book; I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks last past and more, been in manner continually in business and trouble, aswell in providing for my said Sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my Family, much vexed with sickness, to my great displeasure and charge, and also by reason that I have been so much troubled and cumbred by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over and besides the having of divers and sundry persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and business, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to send forth to my Archdeachons and other my Officers, to inquire and search diligently in this behalf, and to certifie me accordingly, and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated Masses or Evensongs in the Latine tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Lady *Maries* Grace, or in the houses of the Embassadors, nor yet there nor in any of them, but by flying and not assured report, and without knowing the names and persons that so have heard, been at, or celebrate the same, and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed and after what sort, I do refer me unto the Statute late made in that behalf.

To the 8 Article.

The eighth Article beginning thus, *Item*, That ye have, &c. And ending thus, Punishment unto them; I do answer and say, that this Article doth depend of the next Article going before, and so consequently answer is already thereunto made.

To the 9 Article.

To the ninth Article beginning thus, *Item*, that ye know, &c. And ending thus, Nor see them punished; I do answer and say, that touching such as either have been denounced or detected for such criminous and culpable persons to me or my Officers, there hath been process already made before my said Officers, as it appeareth in my Register, and the Acts of my Court: And moreover I have given express commandment to my said Officers, to inquire and search for more such offenders, and to certifie me thereof, that I may proceed against them accordingly.

{KING} {Edw. 6}

To the 10 Article.

To the tenth Article beginning thus, *Item*, Ye were, &c. And ending thus, The Kings Majesties authority in his minority; I do answer and say, That as touching the time mentioned in the Article, and the Declaration to be made by Doctor *Cox*, I do not well remember either the same time, or yet the special points and substance of the said Doctor *Coxes* Declaration: Truth it is, I was at a Sermon made at *Pauls* Cross by the said Doctor *Cox*, wherein he inveighed against my Lord of *Winchester*, and as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience, wherewith my Lord of *Winchester* by the said Doctor *Cox* seemed to be charged, and for a Sermon also that my Lord of *Winchester* was seeming to have made before the Kings Majesty in the Court of *Winchester*.

To the 11 Article.

To the eleventh Article being by it self delivered unto me the fourteenth of this present *September*, 1549, in the Night at my House of *London* beginning thus, *Item*, That the rites, &c. And ending thus, The missales thereof: I do answer and say, that I have already given commandment to my Officers to make diligent search and inquire herein, and to certifie accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth, and would before this time my self have also inquired and proceeded, had I not so been of all sides oppress and pestered with multitude of other necessary business, as I have been, to my great displeasures and trouble.

The 5. Article insufficiently answered by Bonner.

When he had ended the reading of these answers, the Commissioners said unto him that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth Article mini-stered the thirteenth of *September*; wherefore they willed him there expressly to answer by mouth, whether he had according to the Injunctions delivered unto him, declared the Article beginning thus, You shall also set forth in your Sermon that our authority, &c. Whereunto he again answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by Law.

Bonners obscure and indirect answer.

The Judges then replyed, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and in sufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same Injunction or not; and therefore they ofttimes willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the Bishop still answering as before.

Bonners froward contumacy noted.

The Judges again demanded of him, whether he would otherwise answer or no? To the which he said, no, unless the Law did compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the Law did compel him to answer more fully or no? He answered, no; adding further that he was not bound to make answer to such politions.

The Commissioners, then seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardness, and would not otherwise answer, they would according to Law take him *pro confesso*, and *ex abundanti* receive witness against him, and therewithal did recite again to him six of the first and principal Articles, demanding his final answer thereunto. Who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but where they requested to have his notes, which he said he had made of his Sermon, they should have them if they would send for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth Article he doubted what the opinion of the Rebels was, the Judges declared unto him that there opinion was, *That the Kings Majesty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not sufficient authority to make Laws and Statutes, as when he came to forty years; and that his Subjects were not bound to obey the Laws and Statutes made in his young age.* Whereunto the Bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the Rebels mentioned in that Article, as did well appear by his answers, as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the fifth Article objected against him.

The Rebels traiterous opinions touching the Kings power in his minority.

Which

{KING Edw. 6} Witnesses against Bonner.

Which ended, they, perceiving his scornful carelessness, presently did admit for witness, upon the Articles objected against him, Master *John Cheke*, *Henry Markham*, *John Joseph*, *John Douglas*, and *Richard Chambers*, whom also they onerated with a corporal Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, truly to Answer and Depose upon the same Articles in the presence of the Bishop, who under his former protestation, like a wily Lawyer, protested of the nullity of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with protestation also to object against the persons and sayings of the witnesse: in time and place convenient; demanding also a competent and lawful time to minister Interrogatories against them, with a Copy of all the Acts of that day. Wherewith the Delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to Minister his Interrogatories against Master *Cheke* on that present day, and against the rest of the next day before noon.

Protestation and objections of Bonner against the witnesses.

All which Interrogatories who so listeth to peruse, may hereunder read the same as followeth:

Certain Interrogatories exhibited by Bonner *to be Ministred against the foresaid Witnesses, upon the Articles above-mentioned the eighteenth of* September.

I *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, under my protestations heretofore made before you, do minister these Interrogatories infolling, against all and singular the pretended witnesses already received and sworn, as hereafter to be received and sworn against me the said Bishop in this matter, requiring and desiring under the said protestation, that all and singular the said pretensed witnesses may be examined in vertue of their Oath upon the said Interrogatories, and every part and parcel of them.

1. First, That all and singular the said witnesses in vertue of their Oath be examined generally and specially of all and singular Interrogatories, commonly used and accustomed to be made in such matters, especially touching their age, their condition, their dwelling-place, now and heretofore, by the space of these twelve years last past, with whom all this time they have also dwelled, and been familiar or conversant, with the names and the places and persons and other circumstances expedient in this behalf, and by whom they have been found and maintained, and for what purpose. *Et interrogentur conjunctim, divisim, & de qualibet.*

2. *Item*, Touching the presensed Articles made in this behalf, and Injunctions mentioned in the same, that they and every of them, in vertue of the said Oath, may be examined whether they know their said Articles and Injunctions to be true in all parts, how they know them to be true, by whom, when, and in what place, depoling the formal words of the said pretensed Articles and Injunctions in especial as they are deduced. The first Article. And therein let them Depose how he or they know the said Articles and Injunctions to be received from the Kings Majesty, how also he or they knew that I the said Bishop received the said Injunctions at the hands of the Lord Protectors Grace. How also they were sitting in the Council Chamber; moreover which were the rest of the Council then sitting, specifying their Names and Simames, or Titles. Also whether the Tenth of *August* this present year, or of the last year; moreover whether the Articles or Injunctions were joyned together, or apart, whether the tenor thereof and the form and manner of the doing and so lowing, touching me the said Bishop and also touching the preaching thereunto, was as is deduced in the first Article, declaring moreover, when, where, and how, I the said Bishop accepted the said Injunctions, or promised to observe and follow the same, and by what expreis words, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Bonner's Interrogatories concerning the First Article.

{Anno 1549}

3. *Item*, Whether the said witnesses or any of them were present at my last Sermon made at *Paul's*-Cross, where they then stood, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the said Sermon, how long they tarried thereat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended, what were the formal words, or at the leastwise in substance, that I the said Bishop then uttered, or wherewith they were offended, and by what occasion, and who with him or them did hear it, and in what place their contests did stand, how long they tarried, and at what part they came thither or departed thence, *& interrog. ut supra.*

4. *Item*, Whether the said witnesses or any of them were defired or required, by any person or persons, to be witnesses in this matter, and by whom, when, were, and how the same was done, and in whose presence, *& interrog. ut supra.*

5. *Item*, Whether they or any of them had consulted with other to come unto my Sermon, for what purpose, by whom they were induced and moved, and how they agreed, and what they did after my said Sermon for the impugnation or depraving thereof, *& interrog. ut supra.*

6. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have been or be conversant or familiar with any that hath been known, noted, or reputed for a Sacramentary, in denying the verity of Christs true and corporal presence in the Sacrament of the Altar, and whether he and they detest and abhor and abstain from the company of all such persons as be known, noted, or suspected for Sacramentaries in that behalf, and what Opinion he and they have with their contests touching the said presence, *& interrog. ut supra.*

7. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have wished me the said Bishop to be deprived or put in Prison, and whether they or any of them have reported and said that I shall be deprived or imprisoned, rejoycing thereof, and for what cause they have so wished or reported, or any of their contests, *& inter. ut supra.*

8. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have been in times past a Frier, Preacher, Minorite, Augustine, or Carmelite, Monk, Canon, Observant, or Religious Person, professing solemnly Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, according to the Laws, Customs, or Ordinances of this Realm, then used and observed, *& interrog. ut supra.*

9. *Item*, Whether they or any of them, being so professed, have been or be since that time married to any person, having likewise or otherwise been professed or loose, or been a Widow, and how oft they have been Married, and whether any of their Wives be yet alive, *& interrog. ut supra.*

10. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have read the Commission in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or think, that the Commission, Injunctions, Articles, and Denunciation do agree together or no, and wherein they think or know discrepances, or diversities to be between them in this behalf, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Second Article.

11. *Item*, If they, or any of them do depose, That I have not sincerely and wholly declared as is contained in the Second Article, let him and every of them be examined, in vertue of their Oath, how they do know it, and by what means, declaring whom they think to have knowledge therein with them, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Fourth Article.

12. *Item*, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended in the Fourth Article beginning thus: *Item*, That ye have not declared, &c. Let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of their Oath, whether they know that these words following, as Mattins, Masses, now laid after that fort in this Realm, were and be put in the Injunction pretended to be minisired unto me the said Bishop or no, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Fifth Article.

13. *Item*, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended touching the Fifth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of their Oath, whether the Injunctions pretended in this behalf were signed with the Kings usual Signet, or rather at all, whether it was Sealed with any Seal, whether it was subscribed by the Lord Protectors Grace, or any of the Privy Council, whether it was in full Council sitting delivered unto me by the Lord Protector, whether it was delivered to me, the rest of the Kings Majesties Privy Council there then sitting, whether the said days as is contained in the Fifth Article, by whom it was written, when, and where, *& interrog. ut supra.*

14. *Item*, If they or any of them depose that I do defend the Opinion of the Rebels, let them be examined, and every of them, what Rebels they be, what is their opinion, and how the Law of this Realm doth determine therein,

therein, declaring by what words and facts I the said Bishop did speak and do, and at what time and place, and in whose presence such words or acts were spoken or done, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Seventh Article.

15. *Item*, If they or any of them do depose that I know or have heard say credibly, That since the time of the said pretended Injunctions, certain persons within my Diocese have heard, been at, or celebrate Mass or Evensong in the *Latin* Tongue, and after the old Rite and manner, other than according to the Kings Majesties Book, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his said Oath, how they know that I so know, or have heard say, and of the name or names of the party or parties, and of the time and place when, and where it was, and whether any denunciation or detection were, according to the Statutes and Ordinances of this Realm, made unto me or no, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Ninth Article.

16. *Item*, If they or any of them do say, that I know or have heard say of such notable Adulterers and Offences mentioned in the Ninth Article, let them and every of them be examined, in vertue of his and their Oath, what they do know that I do know, or have heard say, and who be the persons, where they dwell, who hath denounced or detected them, and how I could and ought to have cited them and punished them in this behalf, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Tenth Article.

17. *Item*, Whether they or any of them do say that I know certainly now, what Dr. *Cox* declared in his Sermon at *Paul*'s-Cross, as is deduced in the Tenth Article, let them be inquired and every of them, in vertue of their Oaths how they can prove it, by whom, and after what fort, *& interrog. ut supra.*

Interrogatories concerning the Eleventh Article.

18. *Item*, If they or any of them do say, That I do know or hear certainly of the diversity of the Rites of the common Service of the Church, now set forth, and of the Ministers and Parsons transgressing therein, let them and every of them, in vertue of their Oath, be examined whether there hath been any detection or denunciation made to me thereupon, and how they know or can prove that I have been culpable and negligent herein, *& interrog. ut supra.*

19. *Item*, Whether they or any of them have been spoken unto or solicited herein to testifie, and after what fort, by whom, when, and where, and what was their conference and communication therein, *& interrog. ut supra.*

20. *Item*, That they and every of them declare and shew the true and sufficient cause of their Tellimony, in all and singular the Premises.

Bonner again confesseth & gaineth the voluntaries.

After this the Judges Delegate assigned the Bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday then next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the Clock before Noon, in the Hall of the Archbishops Manor of *Lambeth*, there to shew the cause why he should not be declared, *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not then fully answered, and to see further process done in the matter; and so (he still protesting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings) they did for that present depart.

The Commissioners certifie the King of Bonners demeanours.

In this mean while the Commissioners certified the Kings Majesty and his Council, of the Bishops demeanor towards them, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether by the tenor of his Majesties Commission, the Commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their meer Office; and also whether they might as well determine or hear the cause. Whereupon his Majesty by advice aforesaid, for the better understanding thereof, did the seventeenth of *September* send unto the Commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his Will and Pleasure in the foresaid Commission, giving them hereby full Authority to proceed at their own discretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenor thereof ensuing:

{KING *Edw.6.*}

A certain Declaration or Interpretation of the King, touching certain points and doubts in his former Commission, with License given to the Commissioners, as well to determine as to hear, in the Case of *Bonner*.

Leave given by the King to the Commissioners to determin against Bonner.

EDward *the Sixth by the Grace of God, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England, *and also of* Ireland, *in Earth the Supreme head; To the most reverend Father in God*, Thomas *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Metropolitan and Primate of* England, *the right reverend Father in God* Nicholas *Bishop of* Rochester *our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Sir* William Peter, *and Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knights, our two principal Secretaries, and* William May *Doctor of Law Civil and Dean of* Pauls, *greeting: Where we of late, by the advice of our most entirely beloved Uncle* Edward *Duke of* Somerset, *Governor of our Person, and Protector of our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and the rest of our Privy Council, have addressed unto you, five four, or three of you, our Letters Patents of Commission, bearing Date at* Westminster *the Eighth day of* September, *in the Third year of our Reign, willing you by force thereof to hear the matters and cause of contempt therein expressed, and calling before you as well the denouncers thereof, as also the right reverend Father in God* Edmund *Bishop of* London, *against whom such Denunciation is made, as in our said Letters of Commission more at large doth appear, we be now credibly informed, that upon the said Commission divers doubts and ambiguities have and may rise.*

As whether you by the tenor of the said Commission may proceed not only at the denunciation, but also of meer office.

And also whether ye may as well determin as hear the said cause.

{Anno 1549}

For further declaration whereof we do now interpret and declare, That our full Mind and Pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, was by our Commission, and now is, that you should proceed as well by meer Office, as also by the way of Denunciation, and either of them, or by any other ways or meaus at your discretions, whereby the truth and merits of the cause may be most speedily and best known, and that ye might and may as well finally determine as hear the said matters; in all your orders and doings, cutting away all vain and superfluous delays, and having respect to the only truth of the matter. And this our Declaration we send unto you of our sure knowledge and meer motion, by the advice aforesaid, supplying all default, ceremony, and point of the Law, which hath, shall, or may arise of your doings by reason of any default of words in our said former Commission or any part thereof, any Law, Statute, or Act to the contrary notwithstanding. And therefore we Will and Command you to proceed in the said matters accordingly, as well to our foresaid Commission as this our Declaration, and so fail ye not. In Witness whereof we have made these our Letters Patents.

At Hampton-Court *the seventeenth day of* September.

The Fourth Session against Bonner, *Bishop of* London, *before the Kings Commissioners, in the great Hall at* Lambeth, *the Eighth of* September.

The Fourth appearing of Bonner before the Kings Commissioners.

AFter this Declaration being sent down and received from the King, the Bishop of *London*, (according to the Commissioners Assignment the Monday before) appeared again before them upon Wednesday the Eighth of *September*, in the great Hall at *Lambeth*. Where under his wonted protestation, first he declared, That although he had already sufficiently answered all things, yet further to satisfie the term Assigned unto him, to shew cause why he ought not to be declared, *pro confesso*, upon the

{KING *Edw.6.*}

Causes alledged of Bonner, why he ought not to obey the Commissioners Assignation.

The Second Cause.

The Third Cause.

The Popes Lawe.

The Fourth Cause.

The Popes Lawe.

The Fifth Cause.

The Intolerable contempt and unreverent behaviour of Bonner noted and openly reproved.

The words of the Archbishop to Bonner.

Bonner's scornfull answer to the Archbishop. The Archbishop.

the Articles theretofore ministred against him, and to the which he had not fully answered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not so to be declared, which he read there openly. Wherein first under his accustomed unreverent terms of pretensed, unjust, and unlawful Process and Assignation, he said he was not bound by the Law (for good and reasonable causes) to obey the same, especially their Assignation.

And first, for that the same was openly pronounced by Sir *Thomas Smith*, one of the pretensed Commissioners, without the consent of his pretensed Collegues; or at the least he as a Commissioner did prescribe the Actuary what to write, which he ought not to have done, because by Law he ought not to have intermedled therein, for that his Collegues did the first day begin to sit as Judges against him the Bishop, without the presence of the said Sir *Thomas Smith*.

And Secondly, because his answers, as well unto the pretensed Denunciation, as also to all the Articles theretofore objected against him, were as full and sufficient, as the Law required (or at leastwise there was nothing good in Law apparent to the contrary) and therefore he was not inforced by Law further to answer thereunto without further allegation.

And because also that all their proceedings thereto were so extraordinarily done, that they had confounded all manner of Lawful Process, sometimes proceeding *ad denunciandum*, sometimes *ex officio mero*, and sometimes *ex officio mixto*, contrary unto the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, and contrary also unto their Commission in that behalf.

And likewise because divers of the Articles pretensed were superfluous and impertinent, not revealing, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsity, some obscure and uncertain, some depending upon other Articles, either denied or at the least qualified, some captious and deceitful to bring the answerer into a snare, and some also being Articles of the Law, in such sort as by the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm the Kings Subjects were not bound to make answer thereunto.

And lastly, because that Sir *Thomas Smith* Secretary to the Kings Majesty, when that the Bishop was laft with the Council in the Council Chamber at *White-Hall*, after the departure of the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, did himself alone (without any other) write certain Articles, or Injunctions (amongst the which was that of the Kings Authority in his minority) and afterward did Copy the same at the Table within the said Council Chamber, and so himself did deliver them unto him. By reason whereof that is not true, which in the Commission, Denunciation and Articles was deduced and objected against him.

When these fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the Archbishop seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharply, saying, My Lord of *London*, if I had sitten here only as Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it had been your part to have used your self more lowly, obediently and reverently towards me than you have; but seeing that I with my Collegues sit here now as Delegates from the Kings Majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved your self too too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in Commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the Servants and Chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them Fools and Daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I insure you my Lord, there is you and one other Bishop whom I could name, that have used your selves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harm.

At which words the grosse Bishop (a Beast, a Man might justly term him) said scornfully to the Archbishop, You shew your self to be a meet Judge.

The Archbishop then proceeding, said to his charge how indiscreetly the last day in the Chappel he had called all the people Woodcocks.

Whereunto he answered, That the last Session *William Latimer*, one of the denouncers, being there present, had preached with the Audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as it were by a token given them) say as he said, and do as he did; as one time upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, Nay, nay; and at another time, Yea, yea, and laughed they could not tell whereat, with such like fashions.

Bonner; The vain fashion of Bonner.

Unto which words *Latimer*, seeing his vain suspicion, replied saying, That he lifted not up his Hand at any time but only to cause them to hold their peace.

The words of Secretary *Smith* to Bonner.

Then Secretary *Smith* said to the Bishop, That in all his Writings and Answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the Kings Commissioners, but used always protestations with divers inkhorn and naughty terms, calling them pretensed Commissioners, pretensed Delegates, pretensed Commission, pretensed Articles, pretensed proceedings, so that all things were pretensed with him. Indeed (said he) such terms the Proctors of Churches use, to delay matters for their Clients, when they will not have the truth known: But you my Lord to use us the Kings Majesties Commissioners with such terms, you do therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the Rebels?

All things pretensed with Bonner that made against him.

Bonner and the Rebels compared together.

For when Letters or Pardons were brought them from the King and his Council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the Kings or his Councils. but Gentlemens doings, and made under a Ruth, with such like terms. But now my Lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confess whether, in your Assertion that you Preached, ye omitted the Article touching the Kings Majesties Authority in his tender age or not, but still have said that ye will not otherwife answer then ye have done, and that ye have already sufficiently answered (with many such delaies) so as we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did yea or nay; therefore I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other Articles whereunto you shall be Sworn and then I trust you will daily with us no more as you have done. For although ye make your Answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us and make your Answers by mouth to the same Articles, or else you shall do worse. Indeed I do not (as I said) discommend your protestations and terms of Law, if it were in a young Proctor that would help his Clients Cause; but in you it may not be suffered so to use the Kings Commissioners.

New Articles and Injunctions ministred to Bonner.

Then did the Delegates minister unto him certain new Articles and Injunctions, and did there onerate him with a corporal Oath in form of Law to make a full and true answer thereunto. The Bishop notwithstanding still (according to his wonted manner) under his former protestation protested of the nullity and invalidity of these Articles, Injunctions, and Process, desiring also a Copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereunto. To whom the Judges Decreed a Copy, commanding him to come to his Examination to the Archbishop the next day at Eight of the Clock before Noon.

Bonner again Assigned the next day to appear.

Then the Commissiones did receive for witness, upon these new Articles now ministred unto the Bishop, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Thomas Chaleno*, Knights, Master *William Cicil*, *Armigel Wade*, and *William Hunnings*, Clerks to the Kings Majesties Council, whom they onerated with a corporal Oath in the presence of the Bishop, who still protesting of the nullity of their receiving and swearing, objected against them and their sayings; and therewith, repeating his Interrogatories already ministred, said he had more to ministre by to morrow at Eight of the Clock.

New witnesses against Bonner.

The same day and time likewise the Bishop exhibited unto the Commissioners an Information, or rather Cavillation against *William Latimer*, for that he, notwithstanding that he had in all his talk pretended the great tranquillity of this Realm, which was greatly impeached and hindered when that any the Kings Subjects should think that his Majesty hath not as full Power and Authority Royal in his minority, as when his Majesty came to perfect age; or should think that his Subjects were not bound

Bonner's Information against Mr. *William Latimer* preacher.

bound to obey the same; yet hath of late there in open Audience reported, That he hath heard with his Ears divers persons unreverently speak of the Kings Majesty, saying, Tush, the King is but a Babe or Child, what Laws can he make? Or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a Tosse and Butter, or Bread and Milk, and that is meeter for him than to make Laws and Statutes, or to bind us to obey them; we are not bound to obey till he be past his minority, and come to his full and perfect Age; with the hearing of which words the Bishop also charged the Commissioners, and that because *Latimer*, at the recital of the same in their presence, was neither by them controlled, nor yet caused to bring forth the same persons, but was let pass in silence, saying that he the said Bishop did speak against him in that behalf, saying, That he would detect him, because that, as it appeared, he had of long time concealed the words and not opened the same in such place and to such persons as he ought to have done, but had kept the persons and sayings of them secret, either not taking the matter to be of such importance as he pretended, or else thereby unfaithfully behaving himself towards his Prince, and therefore was worthy with his aiders, favourers, and counsellors to be punished.

William Latimer upbraided of *Bonner* for concealing of Treason.

These vain Cavillations ended, the Commissioners for that day finished their Session, affigning the Bishop to appear in that same place again upon Monday then next following, between the hours of Six and Nine, in the Forenoon, then and there to shew a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*. And so delivering him a Copy of the Articles, they departed; the Contents whereof ensue:

A new term assigned to Bonner to appear.

Articles and Positions given by the Kings Commissioners to the Bishop of London, *to be Answered by him jointly and severally in every point the second time.*

Articles against Bonner ministred the second time.

1. THat ye were sent for to the Lord Protectors Grace, and the rest of the Council, and came thither into the Court at *Westminster* the tenth of *August*, or some other day of the same month.

2. *Item*, That at the same time the Lord Protector and divers other of the Kings Majesties Privy Council sitting in Council, ye were called in, and there the said Lord Protector did on the Kings Majesties behalf declare unto you divers faults and abuses the which were found in you, and gave you strait charge to amend them, adding threatning that else you should be otherwise looked unto.

3. *Item*, That the said Lord Protectors Grace did declare unto you, for better admonition and amendment of you, that you should have from the Kings Majesty, by his advice and the rest of the Privy Council, certain Articles and Injunctions, to observe and follow, given you in writing.

4. *Item*, That there and then the said Lord Protector commanded Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, Secretary to the Kings Majesty, to read a certain Paper Book of Injunctions and Articles unto you, the said Secretary standing at the Council-Tables-end, and you standing by and hearing the same.

5. *Item*, That the said Lord Protector there and then willed certain things in the said Book of Injunctions to be reformed, as where ye were appointed to preach sooner, at your request it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weeks after the Date of the said writing.

6. *Item*, That in the said Articles the Lord Protectors Grace found fault, because an Article or Commandment unto you set forth and declared of the Kings Majesties Authority now in his young age, and of his Laws and Statutes in the same time, was omitted, and therefore either immediately before you came into the Council-Chamber, or you being present and standing by, commanded the said Secretary *Smith* to put in writing and annex it to the rest of the Articles.

7. *Item*, That the said Secretary *Smith*, then and there did, immediately upon commandment, write into the said Book or Paper, wherein the rest of the Articles were written, the said Article, *videlicet*, you shall also set forth in your Sermon, that the Authority of our Royal power is (as truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than was of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of *Josias* and other young Kings in the Scripture, and therefore all our Subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws, and Statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age. {KING Edw. 6}

8. *Item*, That the Lord Protector did so deliver you the Book or Paper, willing first the said Secretary *Smith* to amend all things as he had appointed.

9. *Item*, That ye then and there did promise to the Lord Protectors Grace, that ye would observe and fulfil all in the said Injunctions and Articles contained.

10. *Item*, That all things in the said Book, put in and mentioned by the said Secretary *Smith*, and the same so read to you by him, and you first agreeing that all that was by him so written was by the Lord Protectors appointment, the said Book was so delivered unto you then and there by the said Secretary *Smith* in the Council-Chamber.

11. *Item*, That you have the said Book in your possession, or else know where it is, the true Copy whereof in effect is annexed to these Articles.

12. *Item*, That ye were commanded in the same Injunctions to preach the Sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at *Pauls*, and there to intreat upon certain Articles, as is specified in the said Book of Injunctions, and especially the said Article, beginning, Ye shall also set forth, and ending, Thirty or forty years of age.

13. *Item*, That for the accomplishment of part of the said Injunctions and Commandment, you did preach the first day of *September* last past at *Paul's*-Cross.

14. *Item*, That at the said Sermon, contrary to your Injunctions, ye omitted and left out the said Article, beginning, Ye shall also set forth in your Sermon, &c. and ending, Thirty or forty years of age.

15. Ye shall also answer whether ye think and believe that the Kings Majesties subjects be bound to obey as well the Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, and other Ordinances made now in this young age of the Kings Majesty, as the Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, and Ordinances made by his Highness progenitors.

These Articles being thus ministred to the said Bishop of *London*, the next day being Thursday and the Nineteenth of *September*, the fore-named Commissioners sate in the Archbishops Chamber of presence at *Lambeth*, attending the coming of the Bishop of *London*. Before whom there appear *Robert Johnson* the Bishops Register, and there did declare unto the Commissioners, that the Bishop his Master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a Fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much over-watching himself the last Night before, whereby he was compelled to keep his Bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same day at Afternoon. This excuse the Judges were content to take in good part. Yet said Master Secretary *Smith*, That if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed, but (quoth he) I promise you, my Lord hath so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delaies, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse: Howbeit upon your faithful Declaration we are content to tarry until one of the Clock at Afternoon, and so they did, willing Mr. *Johnson* to signifie then unto them whether the Bishop could appear or not.

Bonner for fear of a Fever either could not or durst not appear.

At which hour *Robert Johnson* and *Rich Rogers*, Gentlemen of the Bishops Chamber appeared again before the Commissioners, declaring that (for the causes aforealledged) their Master could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon Master Secretary *Smith* said unto them, My Lord of *London* your Master hath used us very homely, and sought delaies hitherto, and now perhaps, perceiving these last Articles to touch the quick, and therefore loth to come to his Answer, he feigneth himself sick. But because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the Knight Marshal unto him, willing him if he be sick indeed to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse; but if he be not sick, then to bring him forth-

Bonner pretendeth again his Fever.

Bonners excuse of sickness not well taken of the Commissioners.

with

{KING Edw. 6} with to us; for I promise you he shall not use us as he hath done, we will not take it at his hands: and therefore Master *Johnson*, said he, you do the part of a trusty servant as becometh you, but it is also your part to shew my Lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What, thinketh he to stand with a King in his own Realm? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I ween we shall have a new *Thomas Becket*. Let him take heed, for if he play these parts he may fortune to be made shorter by the head. He may appeal if he think good; but whether? To the Bishop of *Rome*? So he may help himself forwards. I say he cannot appeal but to the same King who hath made us his Judges, and to the Bench of his Council, and how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make Men believe that he were called before us for preaching his Opinion of the Sacrament, wherein {Anno 1549.} I assure you he did both fally and naughtily, yea and lewdly, and more than became him, and more than he had in commandment to do, for he was not willed to speak of that matter, and perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter; but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth. Which ended, the Delegates notwithstanding Decreed to tarry again for him until two of the Clock at Afternoon the nex day, being Friday, and the twentieth of *September*.

A good admonition sent to Bonner by Secretary *Smith*.

The Fifth Action or Process the twentieth of September, *against* Bonner *Bishop of* London, *before the Kings Commissioners.*

The Fifth Session or Court against Bonner Bishop of London.

AT which day and time the Bishop appeared himself personally before them in the same Chamber of Presence; where first he did exhibit his Answers unto the last Articles ministred unto him the Eighteenth of *September*; the Contents whereof hereunder follow:

The Answer of the said Bishop of London *made unto the Articles ministred unto him the Second time.*

THE Answers of me *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, under mine accustomed Protestation given unto the Articles of late ministred and exhibited against me here in this Court, with special protestation also, that I do not intend in any wise to make Answer to any of the said Articles, otherwise than the Law of this Realm doth bind me to do, nor to speak or say contrary to any thing that in my former Answers I have said or done; and that if it so chance me to do, it is not nor shall not be with my good will or full consent, and that so soon as I shall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and so now as then, and then as now, do so in that case revoke, to all honest and lawful purposes.

Bonner answereth to the First Article.

To the First Article I do answer and say, that there was a Messenger, whose name I know not, that came unto me to *Fulham*, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof, and he said that my Lord Protectors Grace required me to come by and by to speak with him. And thereupon, having made the said Messenger to break his fast, I repaired to the Court at *Westminster*, but not upon the Tenth day of *August*, but some other day of the said month.

Answer to the Second Article.

To the Second Article I do say, That it is obscure, incertain, and over general, especially in those words at the same time, which may be referred to the Tenth of *August*, and then answer already is made thereunto, and it may be referred to some other day of the said month of *August*, either before the Tenth of *August*, or after. And because it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in Law to answer unto it, neither yet to these words and sentences in the said Article, to wit, Then, and There, for they without declaration are incertain, obscure, and general, and I, before the specification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an answer, especially having already made full and sufficient answer in this matter, according to the Commission, as I do take it, and according unto the Laws which also willeth, That if a certain answer be looked for, the Position and Article must before be certain.

To the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Articles, he answereth all after one manner and fort, as thus, That it doth depend on the Articles, to which for causes aforesaid, he faith, he is not bound in Law to make answer, especially having already made.

He answereth in a general.

Saving that in the Sixth he addeth thereunto, That he at no time heard the Lord Protector find fault, nor commanded, as is deduced in the said Article, so far as he doth find.

Also saving the Seventh Article, where he addeth nevertheless confessing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the Kings Majesties Authority and Regal Power and Minority, as well and full as in his Majority.

Also saving the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Articles, where he addeth, As they be deduced they are not true, as appeareth in conferring one with another.

Answer to the First, Seventh Articles.

To the Twelfth and Fourteenth Articles, he addeth, As they be deduced they are not true; Confessing nevertheless the Kings Majesties Authority and Power Regal, as before is expressed.

To the Fifteenth Article he answereth and saith, That it is a Position in Law, and that yet both now and heretofore he hath made answer thereunto in effect and substance, as appeareth in his former answers, and so shall do always according to the Law and his bounden duty, knowledging, as he hath already done, the Kings Majesties Regal Power in his Minority to be no less than in his Majority, and the subjects bound to obey unto his Grace, his Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, and his said Authority, as well in his Minority as in his Majority, not allowing, but expresly condemning the Opinion of all Rebels holding the contrary.

Bonner likeneth Master Secretary Smith to Sir Thomas Becket.

After this, perceiving that Master Secretary *Smith* was somewhat more quick with him than others of the Commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and subtilities in Law, but ever earnestly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithal sometimes sharply rebuking him for his evil and stubborn behaviour towards them; he to deface his Authority (as he thought) did also then exhibit in writing a Recusation of the Secretaries Judgment against him. The form and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the Judges, I thought here also to exhibit unto the Reader as hereunder followeth:

The Recusation of the Judgment of Sir *Thomas Smith*, made by the Bishop of *London*, the first time.

Bonner alledged by Bonner why he refused Secretary Smith.

IN the Name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as equity, natural reason, and all good Laws do require that Judges shall be of that Integrity, Wisdom, Circumspection, Learning, and Indifferency, that exercising the office and room of a Judge, they may and shall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge against any person convented or called before them, uprightly, sincerely, and duly executing and doing their office unto them in any wise committed; and forsomuch also as all Judgments and Proceis ought to have their due course, and proceed without suspition or corruption in any wise, and finally forasmuch as very dangerous it is to appear and make defence before an incompetent Judg, who commonly and accustomably of private and unlawful corrupt affection to the one side, and for malice, hatred and envy born against the other side, rather serveth his carnal, corrupt, and wilful appetite, than any thing else is moved to obedience and keeping of good Order, Law, or Reason, touching him that is convented and compelled to make answer against his will: I therefore Edmund *Bishop of* London, *having perceived and felt by all the sayings, proceedings and doings of you Sir* Thomas Smith, *Knight, one of the two principal Secretaries to the Kings Majesty, in this matter attempted and moved against me, that ye have been, and yet continually are a notorious and manifest enemy of me the said* Edmund, *and much offended that I should in any wise alledge and say, or use any such things for my most defence, as the Law, Reason and Equity doth give me and liberty to do, yea, bearing most favourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies*

Bishop layeth exceptions against Sir Thomas Smith.

with

with both ears in any thing that they shall alledge, purpose, attempt, or do against me, though their persons in Law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, ne yet their sayings true, and not hearing me so much as with one Ear in my Lawful sayings and doings in this behalf; but contrariwise opening your mouth at large, ye have sundry times against good Wisdom and Reason outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, *saying among other words, That I did as Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors are wont to do, being my self as ye untruly did say, inward indeed culpable, and yet outward otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but only by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my Judges and Commissioners, and that I have been and am as sturdy, wilful, and disobedient, as may be in your Judgment and Opinion, maintaining and upholding the Rebels and their Opinions, and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and do worse, or else ye will send me to the* Tower, *there to sit and be joyned with* Ket *and* Humphry Arundel *the Rebels; over and besides divers other threatnings and comminatory words by you pronounced and uttered unseemly, and far unmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you that are in such room and place as ye be in.*

And moreover, increasing your malice, evil will and grudge born against me, ye have amongst other things untruly surmised, written, alledged, and said, That a certain Book of Articles and Injunctions by the Lord Protectors Grace in the full Council after a certain prescribed fashion and form in the Denunciation, Commission, and Articles, which (de facto) *were induced, brought in and objected against me, was delivered unto me; and moreover of an evil will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawn, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise than they were spoken and done, and yet ye are not ashamed to alledge, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other, where indeed it is not so: And yet have further* (de facto) *against the Law, and against the Commission to you directed, and against my just and lawful allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I do refer me so far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alledged, and referred unto your self also unlawfully and unjustly* (de facto) *with your Colleges, the which without you had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the Law ye so ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alledged, appearing in the acts of this Court; do upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiastical Laws, refuse, decline, and revoke you the said Sir* Thomas Smith, *as an uncompetent, unmeet, and suspect Judge, against me in this behalf, and decline your pretensed Jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but Justice, and offering my self prompt and ready to prove them as far as I am bound, and according to the order of the Kings Majesties Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwise shall require.*

Here Bonner useth proud, by thinneth not to bely the Kings Secretary, and one of his Majesties Councils, charging him with altering and adding unto the Councils Iniunctions. { Ann. 1550

The Popes Lawes termed by the Name of the Kings Ecclesiastical Lawes.

The reply of Secretary Smith to Bonners allegation.

This Recusation ended, the Secretary told him plain, That notwithstanding he would proceed in his Commission, and would be fain his Judge until he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, My Lord, whereas you say in your Recusation, that I said, That you did like Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors, indeed I said it, and may and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings.

Bonner.

Whereunto the Bishop in a great and flout rage replied, saying, Well Sir, because you sit here by vertue of the Kings Commission, and for that ye be Secretary to his Majesty, and also one of his Highness Council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but as you be but Sir *Thomas Smith*, and say as ye have said, That I do like Thieves, Murtherers, and Traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defie you; and do what ye can to me, I fear you not, and therefore, *quod facis, fac citius.*

Bonner in a pelting chafe against Sir Thomas Smith.

The Archbishop.

Whereat the Archbishop with the other Commissioners said unto him, That for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy Imprisonment.

Then the Bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again unto him, A Gods Name ye may do *de facto*, send me whether you will, and I must obey you, and so will, except ye send me to the Devil, for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have (to wit) a small portion of Goods, a poor Carkass, and mine own Soul: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you, but as for my Soul ye get not, *Quia anima mea in manibus meis semper.*

{ KING Edw. } Bonner.

I pray God ye go not for your self.

Well, said the Secretary then, ye shall know that there is a King.

Secretary Smith.

Yea Sir, (saith the Bishop) but that is not you, neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you.

Bonner.

No Sir, said again the Secretary, but we will make you know who it is; and with that the Commissioners commanded the Bishop and all the rest to depart the Chamber, until they called for him again.

Secretary Smith.

Now in the mean while that the Commissioners were in consultation, the Bishop with *Gilbert Bourn* his Chaplain, *Robert Warrington* his Commissiary, and *Robert Johnson* his Register, were tarrying in a quadrant void place before the Door of the same Chamber. Where the Bishop leaning on a Cupboard, and seeing his Chaplains very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth: Sirs, what mean you? Why shew you your selves to be sad and heavy in mind, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would with you, and I require you to be as merry as I am (laying therewith his hand upon his Breast) for afore God I am not sad nor heavy, but merry and of good comfort, and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for Gods cause, and it grieveth me nothing at all.

Bonners talk to his Chaplains in the quadrant place before the Chamber of presence at Lambith.

But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this *Hooper* and such other vile Hereticks and Beasts be suffered and licensed to preach at *Paul's*-Cross, and in other places within my Diocess and Cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ his true Body and Blood to be there, and so infect and betray my Flock. But I say it is there in very deed, and in that Opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore, ye being Christian men, I do require you and also charge and command you in the Name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the Mayor of *London*, and to his Brethren the Aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly in Gods Name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable Preachers (and especially those which hold opinion against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar) do come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them, lest that they tarrying with such Preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned Doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, which thereby might take an occasion to think and believe that their erroneous and damnable Doctrine is true and good: and this estfoons I require and command you to do.

Here Bonner shewes his burthen out

Bonners Pollish message and charge to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

And then turning himself about, and beholding two of the Archbishops Gentlemen, which in the same place kept the Chamber-door where the Commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said, And Sirs, ye be my Lord of *Canterburies* Gentlemen, I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you in Gods behalf, and in his Name, that ye do the like for your parts in places where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous Preachers, and also advertise my Lord your Master of the same, and of these my sayings that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary.

Bonner trifling charge to two of the Archbishops Gentlemen.

With this the Commissioners called for the Bishop again, who did read unto them an Instrument, containing a Provocation to the King, which he made in manner and form here following:

The

{ KING Edw. }

The first Appellation intimated by *Edmund Bonner* Bishop of *London*.

Bonner appealeth to the King because he could not to the Pope.

IN the Name of God, Amen. *It shall appear to all men by this publick instrument that* An. Dom. 1549. *the twentieth day of* September, *the third year of the reign of our Most high and renowned Prince* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and in earth the supreme head of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *in a Chamber within the Palace of the said Bishop, situated in* London, *and in the presence of me the publick Notary, and of the Witnesses hereafter named, the foresaid Bishop did personally appear, and there did shew forth in writing a certain protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof insueth.*

Bonner requireth his appeal, protestation, and protestation to be entred in Register.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I Edmund *Bishop* of London, *say, alledge, and propound before you being a publick Notary, and these credible Witnesses here present, that although I the foresaid* Edmund *have attained the Bishoprick aforesaid by the benevolence of the famous Prince of memory King* Henry *the eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently do possess, being taken as Bishop and lawful possessor of the said Bishoprick, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publickly; and moreover do keep residence and hospitality on the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignity, and as the revenues of the same would permit, and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastoral Office, as the Laws do require, as hereafter I trust by Gods grace to do and observe, a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicate, nor interdicted, neither convicted of any notable crime or fact, always obeying readily the commandment of the Church, and other my superiours in all lawful causes, nevertheless fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatnings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great dammage may come to me hereafter about the premisses or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said dignity, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoyling, vexing and perturbing by any manner of means; do appeal unto the most high and mighty Prince our Sovereign Lord* Edward *the sixth by the grace of God, King of* England, France, &c. *and in these my writings do provoke and appeal to his regal Majesty. I do also require the Apostles, so much as in this case they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of any foresaid most dread Sovereign Lord, for the safeguard of me, my dignity and title, and possession in the premisses, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalf. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reform, and amend this my present protestation, and to the same to add, to take away, and to bring the same into the best form and state that may be devised, by the Council of learned men, or as the case shall require, and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the Law, and still shall require.*

Apostles is a term of Canon Law, and signifieth as much as Letters reverential or dimissories. { Anno 1549

Upon all the which things the foresaid Edmund *Bishop of* London *did require the publick Notary hereunder written to make unto him, and the Witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.*

These things were done the year, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourn *Bachelor of Divinity*, John Harpsfield *and* Robert Colen, *Masters of Art*, John Wakeling *and* Richard Rogers *learned men, being of the Diocess of* Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Lichfield, *and* Glocester, *and specially requested to be Witnesses of the same. And* I France Harward *of the Diocess of* Worcester *and publick Notary by the Kings regal Authority, forsomuch as I was present when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premisses were done, the year of our Lord, the year of the Reign of the King, the day of the month and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forsomuch as I did inact the same, therefore to this present publick instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same.*

Which thing after he had read, he did under his protestation first intimate unto the Archbishop, the Bishop of *Rochester*, and Doctor *May*, and then protesting also not to recede from his recusation, did likewise intimate the same unto Master Secretary *Smith*, requiring the Register to make an Instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his recusation, with Witness to testifie the same.

The last answers of Bonner to the Articles examined, and found unperfect.

Then the Delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him (according to the first Article) what special day of *August* he was sent for by the Lord Protector? To whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer than he had already made, unless they did put their Articles more certain: neither would he otherwise answer as long as Master Secretary *Smith* was there present, whom he had before recused, and therefore would not recede from his recusation.

The Secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply unto him, My Lord, come off and make a full and perfect answer unto these Articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain.

In faith Sir, then said the Bishop again, I thought ye had been learned, but now before God I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so oft shewed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled (you shewing nothing to the contrary but sensuality and will) that I must needs judge that you are too too ignorant herein.

Bonner commanded to the Marshalsey.

Well, said M. Secretary, ye will not then otherwise answer?

No, said the Bishop, except the Law do compel me.

Then said the Secretary, call for the Knight Marshal, that he may be had to Ward.

With that all the rest of the Commissioners charged the Bishop, that he had at that time sundry ways very outragiously and irreverently behaved himself towards them, sitting on the Kings Majesties Commission, and especially towards Sir *Thomas Smith* his Graces Secretary, and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsey.

By this time the Marshals Deputy came before them, whom M. Secretary commanded to take the Bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him that no man might come unto him, for if he did, he should fit by him himself.

When the Secretary had ended his talk, the Bishop said unto him, Well Sir, it might have becomed you right well that my Lords Grace here present, being first in Commission, and your better, should have done it.

Then the Commissioners assigning him to be brought before them on *Monday* next before Noon, between seven and nine of the clock in the Hall of that place, there to make full answer to these Articles, or else to shew cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, did for that present break up that Session.

Bonners great heart could not chuse, but he must needs utter his flomach.

Now as the Bishop was departing with the under Marshal he in a great fury turned himself again toward the Commissioners, and said to Sir *Thomas Smith*; Sir, where ye have committed me to prison, ye shall understand, that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as Bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, Iron about my middle, or where ye will.

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and so coming out his poison, said unto the Archbishop; Well, my Lord, I am sorry that I being a Bishop am thus handled at your Graces hand; but more sorry that ye suffer abominable Hereticks to practise as they do in *London* and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the Kings liege people: and therefore I do require you, as you will

Bonner threatneth to accuse the Archbishop before God.

will answer to God and the King, that ye will henceforth abstain thus to do; for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the Kings Majesty; answer to it as well as ye can. And so he departed, using many reproachful words against sundry of the common people, which stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

The sixth Action or Process upon Monday *the* 23*d of* September, *had against* Bonner *Bishop of* London, *before the Commissioners, in the great Hall at* Lambeth.

The 6. Session or appearance of Bonner.

IT was assigned as ye have heard in the fourth Act prosecuted the eighteenth of *September*, that upon *Monday* then next following, being the three and twentieth of the same Month, the Bishop should again appear before the Commissioners, within the great Hall at *Lambeth*, then to shew a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignment, the same three and twentieth day of *September*, the Bishop was brought before them by the Undermarshal (to whom for his disobedient and obstinate behaviour he was before that time committed) and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coacted, for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalsey, and therewithal also under his former protestation, recusation and appeal, did then again intimate a general recusation of all the Commissioners, alledging in the same, that because the Archbishop with all his Collegues had neither observed the order of their Commission, neither yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgment, but contrariwise had sundry times as well in his absence, as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity and state, especially in committing him to strait Prison, and yet commanding him to make answer; and further, because that he with the rest had proceeded in Commission with Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings (notwithstanding that he the said Bishop had before justly recused and declined from him) he therefore did also there refuse and decline from the judgment of the said Archbishop and his Collegues, and did except against their jurisdiction as suspect, and they thereby unmeet persons to proceed against him; therefore, according to his former Appeal, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the Kings Majesty; for whose honour and reverence sake (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recusations, provocations, and other lawful remedies before alledged, with other superfluous words, at large to be read and seen as followeth.

A general recusation of Bonner against all the Commissioners.

Bonner still submitteth to his former protestation and provocations.

The second recusation made by Edmund Bonner *Bishop of* London.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*. Forasmuch as both natural reason and all good policies of Laws especially of this Realm of *England*, do admit and suffer him that is convented before an uncompetent and suspect Judge, to refuse him and to decline his jurisdiction, in as much as Law and reason on the one side willeth process to run uprightly and justly, and that on the other side corruption and malice labooureth to the contrary, and needeth therefore to be bridled; and because ye my Lord of *Canterbury* with your Collegues in this behalf (deputed as ye say Commissioners against me) neither have observed your said Commission, neither yet proceeded hitherto against me after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of judgment, but contrariwise, contrary to your Commission, and against the Law, good reason and order, have at sundry times, and in sundry acts attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by other, not reforming and amending the same, as appeareth in diversers and sundry things remaining in your Acts. {KING Edw. 6.}

And moreover, because you my said Lord with your said Collegues, have both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which according to the Laws of this Realm I have fully alledged, and very sufficiently and justly proved according to the order of the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, injuriously, and much to the hinderance of my name, person, title, dignity, and state, and also otherwise, specially in my presence, against all Laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment, sending me to straight Ward, and yet commanding me to make answer, as appeareth in your unlawful Acts {Ann. 1550}

I for these causes, and also for that ye my said Lord and your said Collegues proceeding with Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight (whom upon just and lawful causes I have refused, recused and declined) have favoured, yea maintained, supported and born him, in his unlawful and evil doings, do also refuse, recuse and decline you my said Lord with the rest of your said Collegues agreeing and joyning with you, and also except against your proceedings, doings and jurisdiction as suspect, and thereby unmeet persons to proceed herein against me.

And further I do alledge, that having been provoked to the Kings most excellent Majesty, as appeareth by the tenor of my provocation, remaining in your Acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and cleave, submitting my self unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said Majesty in this behalf, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authority of his Graces royal power, as ye ought to do) proceed herein against me, especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majesty in this behalf. And because it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumspectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recusation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and mentioned in your said Acts.

And also do by these presents refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, and your said Collegues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid: offering my self prompt and ready to prove all the same, afore an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the Law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our said Sovereign Lord, and his Laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, ne yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice, but submit your self to use and injoy the benefit of my said former and this recusation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your said Acts. And in case ye do *de facto*, where ye ought not *de jure*, to attempt or suffer any thing to be attempted or do ne against me in any wise herein, I protest herewith, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf, and that not only I do intend to appeal from you, but also, according to the Kings Ecclesiastical Laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as justly and truly I both may and ought to do.

Notwithstanding these recusations, and former appellations, the Archbishop with the rest told him plain that they would be still his Judges, and proceed against him according to the Kings Commission, until they did receive a *Supersedeas*, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Then the Bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the Kings Majesty, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but such as is already alledged in the two former recusations and appeals; saving that he requireth that Letters dimissories or appellatories might be given him according to the Law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himself under the protection of the King. Another appellation Bonner to the King.

The Commissioners for all this stuck still unto their Commission, and would not in any case defer, but urged him straitly to make a more full answer to his Articles than he had done.

To

{KING Edw. 6.} To whom the Bishop said, that he would stand unto his recusations and appellations before made, and would not make other answer.

Bonner standing upon his recusations and appellations, denieth to make answer.

Then the Delegates demanded of him what cause he had to alledge, why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the Articles whereunto he had not fully answered, the Bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and recusation.

Bonner declared *Contumax & pro confesso*, that he is guilty.

Whereupon the Archbishop, with consent of the rest seeing his pertinacy, pronounced him *Contumax*, and in pain thereof declared him *pro confesso*, upon all the Articles which he had not answered.

This done, Master Secretary *Smith* shewed forth a Letter which the Bishop of *London* had before that time sent unto the Lord Maior and the Aldermen of the City of *London*, the tenor whereof ensueth as followeth.

To the Right honourable and my very good Lord, The Lord Maior of London, *with all his worshipful Brethren, my very dear and worshipful Friends, with speed.*

Bonner's Letter to the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London.

RIght honourable, with my very humble recommendations: where I have perceived of late and heard with mine ears, what vile Beasts and Hereticks have preached unto you, or rather like themselves prated and railed against the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, denying the verity and presence of Christs true Body and Blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list, teaching you detestably, That Faith in this behalf must not be coacted, but that every Man may believe as he will; by reason whereof, lest my presence and silence might unto some have been seen to have allowed their heretical Doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my Flock of the Catholick sort, ye know I departed Yesterday from the heretick Praters uncharitable charity, and so could have wished that you and all other that be Catholick should have done, leaving those there with him that be already cast away, and will not be recovered. For you tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt your selves in receiving his poysoned Doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their Doctrine is tolerable by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again in Gods behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not your selves to be abused with such naughty Preachers and Teachers, in bearing their evil Doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all with this noble City in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday *morning, the* 16*th of* September 1549.

Your faithful Beads man and poor Bishop, Edmund Bonner.

Bonner would not carry M. Rogers Sermon.

Bonner deferred till the next *Friday* and from that till *Tuesday* after.

This Letter being read, the Secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not. To whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former recusations and appeals. Which the Commissioners, seeing, determined to continue this cause in state as it was until *Friday* then next following, between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before Noon, assigning the Bishop to be there at the same time and place, then to hear a final Decree of this matter, he still protesting as before.

The seventh Session or appearance of Bonner *upon* Tuesday *the fourth of* October, *before the Kings Commissioners at* Lambeth.

The 7. session or appearance of Bonner.

UPon *Friday* the Commissioners, for divers urgent causes letting them, did not sit in Commission according to their appointment, but deferred it until *Tuesday* the first of October then next following. Upon which day the Bishop appearing before them, the Archbishop declared unto him, that although as upon *Friday* last they had appointed to pronounce their final Decree and Sentence in this matter, yet forsomuch as they thought that that Sentence (although they had just cause to give it) should have been very sore against him, they had not only deferred the same until this day, but minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himself, and to use more easie, and gentle reformation towards him, had also made such sute and means for him, that although he had grievously offended the Kings Majesty, and very disobediently behaved himself, yet if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and have been contented to make some part of amends in submitting himself according to his bounden duty, he should have found much favour; So the Sentence should not have been so sore and extream against him, as it was like now to be, for which they were very sorry, especially to see the continuance of such stubborn disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him. The friendly words of the Commissioners to Bonner.

The Bishop nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but persisting still in his wonted contumacy, draw forth a Paper, whereon he read these words following. {Anno 1549.}

A declaration of Bonner before the Commissioners.

EDmund *Bishop of* London *brought in as a prisoner by his keeper, one of the Marshalsey, here before you my Lord of* Canterbury *and your pretensed Collegues, do under my former protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your Acts, declare that this my presence here at this time is not voluntary, nor of mine own free will and consent, but utterly coacted and against my will, and that being otherwise sent for or brought before you than I am (that is as a prisoner) I would not, being at liberty, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refused to make any appearance at all, and would have absented my self from you, as lawfully and well I might have done, standing to, using and enjoying all and singular my lawful remedies and defences heretofore used, exercised and enjoyed, especially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interponed and made unto the most high Kings most excellent Majesty, to whom effsons, Ex abundanti, I have both provoked and appealed, and also made supplication, as appeareth in these writings, which, under protestation aforesaid, I do exhibit and leave here with the actuary of this cause, requiring him to make an Instrument thereupon, and the persons here present to bear record in that behalf; especially to the intent it may appear, I do better acknowledge the Kings Majesties Authority even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his Majesty, as my most gracious Sovereign and Supreme head, with submission to his Highness (as appereth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, than otherwise (I do mean you my Lord of* Canterbury *and your said pretensed Collegues) which by Law and good reason ought to have deferred and given place unto such provocation, appellation, and supplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interponed, and made unto his Majesties most Royal Person and Sovereign Authority in this behalf.* Bonner pretendeth submission to the King.

As soon as the Bishop had read these words, he did deliver as well that Paper, as also two other, unto the Actuary, the one containing an appellation, and the other a supplication unto the Kings Majesty; which appellation beginneth thus. In the Name of God, *Amen*.

Wherein first he shewed how naturall every Creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it, and also seeketh help and remedy to withstand such hurts and injuries.

Further he shewed that it is found by experience to be hurtful and dangerous to trust him that once hath hurt and beguiled, lest he might add more, rather than to take ought from.

Moreover he shewed, that he had found heretofore at the hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the rest of the Collegues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, losses, and griefs, contrary to Gods Law, and the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, and against Justice, Charity and good order, being well assured if they were not stayed but proceeded, they would add more evil to evil, loss

to loss, displeasure to displeasure, as (said he) their Servants have reported, and they agreeably do shew the same.

Again in the said Appeal he shewed that the Bishop of *Canterbury* and the other Commissioners ought to have considered and done better in that matter for honour and obedience to the Kings Majesty, which hitherto they have not done (said he) in that they have not given place to his provocations and appellations heretofore made unto his Grace, justly and lawfully, and upon good and just causes, namely, for the unjust griefs they did against him, which he said do appear in the Acts of that matter; as in pronouncing him *contumacem* unreasonably without good cause, and further in assigning the Term *ad audiendum finale decretum*, and in committing him to straight prison, as appeareth in their Acts. Therefore he did not only, *Ex abundanti, ad omnem juris cautelam*, decline and refuse their pretensed jurisdiction as before, but also by these presents here shewed, he did appeal from the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest, unto the Kings Majesty, asking also those Letters of appeal which the Law doth admit, saying he did not intend to go from his former provocations and appellations, but to joyn and cleave unto them in every part and parcel, submitting himself to the protection and defence of the Kings Majesty; and he therein made intimation to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to his said Colleagues, to all intents and purposes that might come thereof.

Letters of appeal called *Apostoli*.

Furthermore, as touching the supplication above mentioned, which *Bonner* (as we said) put up in Writing to the Commissioners, the Copy thereof hereunder likewise ensueth.

The supplication of *Bonner* to the Chancellor of *England*, with all the rest of the Kings Majesties most honourable privy Council.

The copy of Bonner's Supplication.

PLease it your *most honourable good Lordships, with my most humble recommendations, to understand, that albeit I have according to the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm made supplication, provocation, and appellation unto the Kings most excellent Majesty, from the unlawful and wicked process of the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *the Bishop of* Rochester, *Master Secretary* Smith, *and the Dean of* Pauls, *as also as well from their unjust interlocutory, as also their definitive sentence, whereby in Law I ought to have liberty to come abroad and prosecute the same, yet such is the malignity of the Judges against me, with bearing and maintenance of other which sundry and many ways have sought my ruine and destruction, that I am here penned and locked up, used very extreamly at their pleasure, and for the contentation of the said Master* Smith, *not suffered to find sureties, or to go abroad to prosecute and sue my said appellation.*

In consideration whereof, it may please your said good Lordship to take some order and redress herein, especially for that it is now the time that the Kings Subsidy, now due, ought to be called upon, and Justice also ministred unto his Majesties Subjects, which, being as I now am, I cannot be suffered to do. And thus without further extending my Letter therein, considering that your great wisdoms, experience, and goodness can gather of a little, what is expedient and necessary for the whole, I do beseech Almighty God to preserve and keep well all your honourable good Lordships.

Written in haste this seventh of October, 1549, *in the Marshalsey.*

Your honourable Lordships poor Orator, and most bounden Beadsman,

Edmund London.

These things ended, the Archbishop said unto him; My Lord, where you say that you come coacted, or else you would not have appeared, I do much marvel of you. For you would thereby make us and this audience here believe, that because your are a prisoner, ye ought not therefore to answer. Which if it were true, it were enough to confound the whole State of this Realm. For I dare say, that of the greatest Prisoners and Rebels that ever your Keeper there (meaning the under Marthal) hath had under him, he cannot shew me one that hath used such defence as you here have done.

The Archbishop unlawfully urged the words of Bonner.

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Well (quoth the Bishop) if my Keeper were learned in the Laws, I could shew him my mind therein.

Bonner.

Well, said the Archbishop, I have read over all the Laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did, and yet I can find no such priviledg in this matter.

The Archbishop.

Then Master Secretary *Smith* did very sore burthen and charge him, how dishobediently and rebelliously he had always behaved himself towards the Kings Majesty and his Authority.

Secretary Smith.

Whereupon, the Bishop under his Protestation answered again, That he was the Kings Majesties lawful and true Subject, and did acknowledge his Highness to be his gracious Sovereign Lord, or else he would not have appealed unto him as he did, yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his neck also under his Graces Feet, and therefore he defired that his Highness Laws and Justice might be ministred unto him.

Bonner.

Yea (quoth Master Secretary) you say well my Lord, but I pray you what other hath all these Rebels both in *Norfolk*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwal*, and other places done? Have they not said thus? We be the Kings true Subjects, we acknowledge him for our King, and we will obey his Laws, with such like; and yet when either commandment, Letter, or Pardon was brought unto them from his Majesty, they believed it not, but said it was forged and made under a Hedge, and was Gentlemens doings, so that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing.

Secretary Smith, Bonner compared to the Rebels of Devonshire.

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Ah Sir, said the Bishop, I perceive your meaning; as who should say that the Bishop of *London* is a Rebel like them. Yea by my Troth, quoth the Secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Bonner. The people laughing at Bonner.

Then the Dean of *Pauls* said unto him, That he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so untractable, that he would not suffer the Judges to speak.

Doctor May.

To whom the Bishop disdainfully answered; Well Master Dean, you must say somewhat. And likewise at another time as the Dean was speaking, he interrupted him and said, You may speak when your turn cometh.

Bonner with his taunts.

Then said the Secretary *Smith*, I would you knew your duty.

Secretary Smith.

I would (quoth he again) you knew it as well as I: with an infinite deal more of other such flubborn and contemptuous talk and behaviour towards them. Which the Commissioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reason in him, determined that the Archbishop, with their whole consent, should at that present there openly read and publish their final Decree or Sentence definitive against him. Which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the Bishoprick of *London*, and further as in the same appeareth, in tenor as followeth.

Bonner. The contemptuous talk of Bonner.

Sententia deprivationis lata contra Edmundum London. *Episcopum.*

IN Dei nomine, Amen. *Nos* Thomas *miseratione divina* Cantuar. *Archiepiscop. totius* Angliæ *Primas & Metropolitanus*, Nicholaus *eadem miseratione* Rossensis *Episcopus*, Thomas Smith *miles, illustrissimi in Christo Principis & Domini nostri Domini Edwardi sexti, Dei gratia*, Angliæ, Franciæ, *&* Hyberniæ *Regis, fidei defensoris, & in terris* Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ *supremi capitis, Secretariorum principalium alter, &* Wilhelmus May, *Juris Civilis Doctor*, Ecclesiæ *Cathedralis divi* Pauli *Decanus, dicti illustrissimi Principis, & Domini nostri Regis, ad infra scripta, una cum eximio viro Domino* Wilhelmo Petro Milite, *ejusdem serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis etiam Secretariorum principalium altero, Commissiarii sive Judices delegati cum ista clausa, videlicet, Deputatmus eos quinque, quatuor vel tres vestrum, &c. Recte & legitime deputati contra te* Edmundum *permissione divina* London. *Episcopum in causa & causis, in literis Commissionalibus dictæ serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis express. & peculiar. rite & legitime procedentes & judicialiter inquirentes, auditisque per nos & intellectis ac primo examine debit. matura*

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mature discussis meritis & circumstantiis causæ & causarum inquisitionis ejusmodi, servatisque ulterius per nos de jure in hac parte servandis in præsentia tui Episcopi antedicti, judicialiter coram nobis constituti, ac protestantis de coactione, & de cæteris, prout in ultima protestatione hodie per te facta continetur, ad definitivam causæ & causarum hujusmodi, prolationemque sententiæ nostræ, sive nostri finalis decreti, super eisdem ferendum sic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia tamper acta inactitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata, pariter & confessata in causa & causis hujusmodi, facta habita & justa, quam per confessionem tuam propriam, facticque notorietatem, & alia legitima documenta, evidentem invenimus, & compertum habemus te præfatum Episcopum London. *inter cætera, pro meliori officii tui pastoralis administratione, in mandatis habuisse, ut de his qui duas aut tres uxores ut maritos in unum habeverent, aut qui externos & non probatos Ecclesiæ virtus in hoc regno frequentur, quibus rebus tua Diocesis* Londinensis, *præcipue erat infamata, inquireres, teque ea facere omnino negligisse: Item expresse tibi per Regiam Majestatem præscriptum fuisse, ut ipse Episcopus adesses conciombus ad crucem* Pauli *habitis, tam ut eas honestares tua præsentia quam ut posses eos accusare, si qui male ibidem concionarentur; te tamen contra non solum abisse, sed etiam scripti literis, Majorem* London. *& Aldermannos, ut inde recederent admonisse & exhortatum fuisse: Item, inter alia quoque per Regiam Majestatem tibi injuncta in mandatis tibi datum fuisse, quod articulum quendam, statum reipublicæ tunc perniciosissima rebellione proditorum contra illum articulum sentientium gravissime perturbatæ præcipue concernent. & properea supremum, necessarium, & specialiter tibi injunctum, videlicet;*

The words of Bonner appealing from the finance definitive.

Ye shall also set forth in your Sermon, that our Authority of our Royal Power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our younger age, than is and was of any of our Predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of *Josias* and other young Kings in Scripture. And therefore all our Subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our Precepts, Laws and Statutes, than if we were thirty or forty years of age.

Apud crucem sive suggestum Divi Pauli London. *certo die tibi in ea parte præfixo, & limitato in publica tua concione, tunc & ibidem populo recitares, & explicares, teque modo & forma præmissa eundem articulum juxta mandatum, & officii tui debitum recitare & explicare minime curasse, sed contumaciter & inobedienter omisisse, in maximum Regiæ Majestatis contemptum, ac in ejus regni præjudicium non modicum, necnon in subditorum suorum malum & pernicissum exemplum, contumaciamque & inobedientiam manifestissimam, tam in hac nostra inquisitione, quam aliàs perpetrasse, committisse & contraxisse: Idcirco nos* Thomas Cantuariensis *Archiepiscopus Primas & Metropolitanus, judexque delegatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præponentes, de & cum expresso consensu parium & assensu Collegarum nostrorum præditorum una nobiscum assidentium, deque & cum concilio Juris peritorum, cum quibus communicavimus, in hac parte, Te* Edmundum London. *Episcopum antedictum a tuo Episcopatu* London. *una cum suis juribus & pertinentibus commoditatibus & cæteris emolumentis quibuscunque deprivandum & prorsus amovendum fore de jure debere, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, prout per præsentes sic deprivamus & amovemus per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis.*

Which ended, the Bishop immediately did therefrom appeal by word of mouth, alledging, that the same Sentence there given against him, was *Lex nulla*. The tenor of whose words I thought here to express, according as they were by him uttered, in this wise as followeth.

I Edmund *Bishop* of London, *brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do under my former Protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appear, that I have not hereby so here in this place,*

consented nor agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, alledge and say that this sentence given here against me, is Lex nulla; *and so far forth as it shall appear to be* Aliqua; *I do say it is* Iniqua & Injusta, *and that therefore I do from it, as* Iniqua & Injusta, *appeal to the most excellent and noble King* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England *and also* Ireland, *next and immediately under God here on Earth, Supreme head, and unto his Court of Chancery or Parliament, as the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm will suffer and bear in this behalf, desiring instantly first, second and third, according to the Laws, Letters, reverential or dimissories, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any wise; and thereupon also the said Bishop required the publick Notary or Actuary,* William Say, *to make an Instrument, and the witness aforesaid and other present to record the same. To whom so appealing, and requiring as afore, the said Judges delegate said, that they will declare and signifie to the Kings Majesty what is done in this matter, and thereupon will defer or not defer to his said appellation, according as his Graces pleasure and commandment shall be given to them in that behalf, and after all this, the said Bishop of* London *said to them,* Jam funcli ellis officia. *What will your Grace do with me now, touching my imprisonment? Will ye keep me still in prison? Shall I not now be at liberty to prosecute mine appeal? To whom the Archbishop answering, said, That they perceived now more in that matter than they did at the first, and that this matter is greater Rebellion than he is aware of, and therefore said that as yet they would not discharge him, and thereupon they committed him again to his keeper in prison.*

Letters reverential or dimissories.

{ Ann. 1549 }

This talk finished, the Archbishop considering that most of the audience there present did not understand the meaning of the Sentence being read in the Latin Tongue, said to them, Because there be many of you here that understand not the Latin Tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment hath been here given, I shall therefore shew you the effect thereof; and therewith did declare in English the causes expressed in the Sentence, adding thereunto these words;

The Archbishop declareth the effect of Bonner's sentence in English.

Because my Lord of *London* is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here by our Sentence deprived him of our Bishoprick of *London*; and this we shew unto you to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteem him any more as Bishop of *London*.

Bonner deprived and unbishoped.

Then *Bonner* delired the Archbishop to declare likewise what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, you may do it your self. Whereupon very disdainfully again he said, *Jam funcli ellis officio*. What will your Grace do with me touching my imprisonment? Will you keep me still in Prison?

Bonner disdainful words to the Commissioners.

To whom the Commissioners answered, That they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater Rebellion than he was aware of, and therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his Keeper to be kept in prison. Where he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly Prince King *Edward* the Sixth. After which time he wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the Saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole Reign of Queen *Mary*. From the executing of the which like Tyranny the Lord of his great mercy keep all other such, *Amen*.

Bonner again committed to his keeper.

Now, immediately after his deprivation, he writeth out of the Marshalsey other Letters supplicatory unto the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the Kings Council. Wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity that the Duke of *Somerset* and Sir *Thomas Smith* bare unto him, his often and earnest Sutes unto the King and his Council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their Lordships, for the causes aforesaid, to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute his matter before them, and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their honours as appeareth by the words of his own supplication hereunder following.

Thus after the Commissioners had finished with *Bonner*, he being now Prisoner in the *Marshalsey*, leaving no shift of the Law unsought how to work for himself as well as he might, drew out a certain Supplication, conceived and directed to the Kings Majesty, out of the said Prison of the *Marshalsey*.

To the right Honourable, my Lord Chancellor of **England,** *with all the rest of the most honourable Privy-Council.*

PLease it your most Honourable good Lordships with my most humble Commendations to understand, that albeit heretofore I have made such Suit, and to such persons as I cannot devise to make more, or to more higher; that is to wit, to the Kings most excellent Majesty, and his most gracious Person in divers sorts, and also unto your most honourable good Lordships being of his Privy-Council, for redress of such notable and manifest injuries and extremities as have been contrary to all Law, Honesty, and good Reason inflicted upon me by my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Lord of *Rochester*, Doctor *Smith*, and Doctor *May*: yet because the said Doctor *Smith* being a Minister to the Duke of *Somerset*, and they both my deadly Enemies, hath sundry ways studied and laboured my ruine and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawful Remedies and Suits, having therein help and furtherance of these two other aforesaid persons, being ready at foot and hand to accomplish all their desires and pleasures, I shall at this present, having for a time forborn to trouble (for good respects) your most honourable good Lordships with any my Suits, and especially for your other manifold great affairs in the Kings Majesties business, my self yet, the mean while, neither wanting good will, ne yet just cause (being where I am) to make such Suit, renew my Suit, and most humbly beseech your most honourable good Lordships to give me leave to make most humble Supplication again to your said Lordships, for honest and lawful liberty to prosecute my Appellation and Supplication heretofore made to the Kings most excellent Majesty, and according to the Law to make my suit for redress of the said great and manifest injuries, extremities, and wrongs done against me by the said persons. And your said Lordships, over and besides the furtherance of Justice many ways herein to me and other, and the Collection of the Kings Majesties Subsidy now to be levied of the Clergy in my Diocese, which hitherto hath been and is staid by reason of the premisses, shall also bind me most greatly and intirely to pray daily for the good perfervation of your said most honourable good Lordships in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and indure unto Gods pleasure. Written in the *Marshalsey* the 26*th* of *October*, 1549.

Your Lordships most faithful and assured Beadsman Edmund London.

A Supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, *late Bishop of* London, *to the Kings Majesty, out of the Prison of the* Marshalsey.

Bonners Supplication to the King.

IN the which Supplication, first after the used form of stile, he prayed for the prosperous estate of the King long to Reign. Then he shewed that his faithful heart and service to him hath, is, and shall be, as it was to his Father before.

Then he declared how he had been belied of evil men, and misreported not to bear a true heart to his Grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his Royal Power in his Minority, where indeed he saith, His Grace should find him always during life both in heart, word and deed to do and acknowledge otherwise, and to be most willing to shew, &c. and to do all other things for his Grace, as willingly as any other Subject, or as those that were his denouncers, who he thought were not sent of his Grace, but pretensed Commissioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certain Commissioners (who said they were sent by his (Grace) alledging the same not to be lawful; and of his long and sharp imprisonment, and that the Commissioners observed neither Law nor reasonable Order, but extremity. And where he had made Appeal to his Grace, and he could not have it; he desired to have Law to prosecute and sue his Appeal for his remedy, and that he (considering his Vocation) might not be shut up and put from liberty, which his meanest Subjects have.

{KING Edw.6}

Then he desired his Graces Letters of *Supersedeas* against the Commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the Council, and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithful man, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, this (prostrating himself even to the very ground, and humbly kissing his Graces Feet) to be the only thing which he humbly desired, &c.

THis done, and the Supplication perused, the King estsoons giveth in charge and commandment to certain men of Honour and Worship, and Persons skilful in the Law, as to the Lord *Rich*, high Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marquis *Dorset*, the Bishop of *Ely*, Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *William Harbert* Knights, Doctor *Rich*, *Wooton*, *Ed. Montague*, Lord Chief Justice, Sir *John Baker* Knight, with Judge *Hales*, *John Gosnold*, Doctor *Oliver*, and also Doctor *Lawson*, that they scanning and perusing all such Acts, Matters, and Minuments of the said *Bonner* by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alledged, with all and singular his Protestations, Recusations, and Appellations, should upon mature consideration thereof give their direct answer upon the same, whether the Appellation of the said *Bonner* were to be deferred unto, whether the Sentence defined against him stood by the Law sufficient and effectual, or not. Who estsoons after diligent discussion, and considerate advisement had of all and singular the premisses, gave their resolute answer, that the pretensed Appellation of *Edmund Bonner* aforesaid was naught and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred unto, and that the Sentence by the Commissioners against him, was rightly and justly pronounced. And this was the conclusion of *Bonners* whole matter, and deprivation for that time.

Bonners Appellation to the King perused and tried, and found by the Law unsufficient and unreasonable. The Sentence of *Bonner* deprivation by the Peers and learned men of the Realm, found to be just and lawful.

Thus then leaving Doctor *Bonner* a while in the *Marshalsey* with his Keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the course of our story, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the Lord Protector falleth here joyntly with the deprivation of Doctor *Bonner*, yet because he was shortly again delivered out of the same through the Lords mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his second trouble, which was two years after; and so in the mean time, returning again into our discourse, intend by the Lords leave to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the Kings godly proceedings for reformation of Religion in the foresaid year of our Lord, concurring, *Anno* 1549.

The first trouble of the Lord Protector was about the month of *October*, 1549.

Disputation of Peter *Martyr* with Doctor *Chedsey*, closely in *Oxford*.

And here first a note would be made of *Peter Martyr* and of his learned travels, and disputation in the University of *Oxford* the said present year with Doctor *Chedsey*, closely in and other more about the matter of the Sacrament; which was, that the substance of Bread and Wine was not changed in the Sacrament, and that the Body and Blood of Christ was not carnally and bodily in the Bread and Wine, but united to the same Sacramentally.

Ecclesiastical Laws by Act of Parliament to be compiled by 32 persons. *Stat. an. 2 Ed. 6.*

In like manner, some touch or mention here also would be made of the Ecclesiastical Laws, for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty two persons were assigned by Act of Parliament the said present year, 1549. But because these be rather matters of tractation, than historical, I mean (God willing) to defer the further consideration thereof unto the end of the History of this Kings days, and so to pass forward to other matters in the mean while.

Books of Latine-Service *called in and abolished.*

IT followeth then in story, that certain of the vulgar multitude, hearing of the apprehension of the Lord Protector, and supposing the alteration of publick Service into

Evil disposed people thinking to have their Latine-Service again after the apprehension of the Lord Protector.

{KING Edw.6} into *English*, and Administration of the Sacrament and other Rites lately appointed in the Church, had been the act chiefly or only of the said Lord Protector, began upon the same to noise and brute abroad, that they should now have their old *Latine-Service* with holy Bread and holy Water, and their other like superstitious Ceremonies again: whereupon the King, with the body and state of the Privy-Council then being, directed out his Letters of Request, and strait commandment to the Bishops, in their Dioces, to cause and warn the Dean and Prebendaries of their Cathedral Churches, all Parsons, Vicars and Curates, with the Church-Wardens of every Parish within their Dioces, to bring in and deliver up all *Antiphoners*, *Missales*, *Grailes*, *Processionals*, *Manuals*, *Legends*, *Pies*, *Portuesses*, *Journals*, and *Ordinals* after the use of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, *Bangor*, *Hereford*, or any other private use, and all other Books of Service, the having whereof might be any let to the Service now set forth in *English*, charging also and commanding that all such as shall be found stubborn or disobedient in this behalf should be committed unto Ward.

The Kings Commandment to the Bishops.

Books of Latine-Service called in. {Ann. 1549}

And because the King moreover was advertised, That there was a slackness and frowardness among the people, refusing to pay toward the finding of Bread and Wine for the holy *Communion*, by reason whereof the *Communion* in many places was omitted, the Bishops in like manner had given in charge to provide for redress thereof, and to punish them which should refuse so to do. Whereby it may appear to us now, that no Wafer-Cakes, but common Bread was then by the Kings appointment ordinarily received and used in Churches. This was about the later end of *December*, *Anno* 1549.

Common Bread used in the holy *Communion*.

Taking down of Altars, and setting up the Table in stead thereof.

Taking down Altars

FUrthermore, in the year next following, 1550. other Letters likewise were sent for the taking down of Altars in Churches, and setting up the Table in stead of the same, unto *Nicholas Ridley*, who, being Bishop of *Rochester* before, was then made Bishop of *London* in *Bonners* place. The Copy and Contents of the Kings Letters are these, as followeth.

The Kings Letters to *Nicholas Ridley* Bishop of London, &c.

The Kings Letter to *Nicholas Ridley* then Bishop of *London*.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. *And where it is come to our knowledge, that the Altars within the most part of the Churches of this Realm being already upon good and godly Considerations taken down, there do yet remain Altars standing in divers other Churches, by occasion whereof muche variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our Subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our Royal Office and Cure, we do accompt the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our Realm; we have thought good by the advice of our Council to require you, and nevertheless effectually to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said Altars, to give substantial Order throughout all your Dioces, that with all diligence all the Altars in every Church or Chappel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said Dioces, be taken down, and in stead thereof a Table to set up in some convenient part of the Chancel, within every such Church or Chappel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed* Communion. *And to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving Subjects as be not yet so well perswaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose, the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to perswade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet Preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking down of the said Altars; so as both the weak Consciences of other may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the foresaid Considerations in that our Cathedral Church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise by your Chancellor, or some other grave Preacher, both there and in such other Market-Towns and most notable places of your Dioces, as you may think most requisite.*

Altars taken down and defaced.

Given under our Signet at our Palace of *Westminster*, the 24*th* day of *November*, the fourth year of our Reign.

Edward Somerset,
Thomas Cranmer,
William Wiltshire,
John Warwick,
John Bedford,
William North,
Edward Clinton,
H. Wentworth,
Thomas Ely.

Considerations to perswade the people.

Reasons why the Lords Board should rather be after the form of a Table, than of an Altar.

The first Reason.

Considerations and Reasons why the Table were more convenient in the Church than the Altar.

FIrst, The form of a Table shall more move the simple from the superstitious Opinions of the Popish Mass, unto the right use of the *Lords Supper*. For the use of an Altar is to make Sacrifice upon it; the use of a Table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now when we come unto the Lords Board, what do we come for? To Sacrifice Christ again, and to Crucifie him again, or to feed upon him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his Body, and spiritually to drink his Blood, which is the true use of the *Lords Supper*, then no man can deny but the form of a Table is more meet for the Lords Board than the form of an Altar.

The second Reason.

The second Reason. Answer to certain Cavillers which take hold of the term of the Altar in the Kings Book.

Item, Whereas it is said, The Book of *Common Prayer* maketh mention of an Altar; wherefore it is not lawful to abolish that which the Book alloweth. To this it is thus answered, The Book of *Common Prayer* calleth the thing whereupon the *Lords Supper* is ministred, indifferently a Table, an Altar, or the Lords Board, without prescription of any form thereof, either of a Table or of an Altar: so that whether the Lords board have the form of an Altar, or of a Table, the Book of *Common Prayer* calleth it both an Altar and a Table. For as it calleth it an Altar, whereupon the *Lords Supper* is ministred, a Table, and the Lords Board, so it calleth the Table where the holy *Communion* is distributed with Lauds and Thanksgiving unto the Lord, an Altar, for that there is offered the same Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of *Common-Prayer*.

The Table how it may be called an Altar, and in what respect.

The third Reason.

The third Reason. This reason for taking away the superstitious Opinion, serveth also as well for the abolishing of other things more besides Altars, &c.

Thirdly, The Popish Opinion of Mass was, That it might not be celebrated but upon an Altar, or at the least upon a Super-Altar, to supply the fault of the Altar, which must have had his prints and characters, or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious Opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an Altar, than of a Table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious Opinion, to have the Lords Board after the form of a Table than of an Altar.

The

The fourth Reason.

The fourth Reason. The name of an Altar, how it is derived, and what it signifieth.

Fourthly, The form of an Altar was ordained for the Sacrifices of the Law, and therefore the Altar in *Greek* is called Θυσιαστήριον, *Quaſi Sacrificii locus*. But now both the Law and the Sacrifices thereof do ceaſe; wherefore the form of the Altar uſed in the Altar ought to ceaſe withall.

The fifth Reason.

The fifth reaſon. Chriſt uſed a Table and not an Altar. The Altar never uſed among the Apoſtles.

Fifthly, Chriſt did inſtitute the Sacrament of his Body and Blood at his laſt Supper at a Table, and not at an Altar, as it appeareth manifeſtly by the three *Evangeliſts*. And Saint *Paul* calleth the coming to the holy Communion, the coming unto the *Lords Supper*. And alſo it is not read, that any of the Apoſtles or the Primitive Church did ever uſe any Altar in miniſtration of the holy Communion.

Wherefore ſeeing the form of a Table is more agreeable to Chriſts Inſtitution, and with the uſage of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church, than the form of an Altar, therefore the form of a Table is rather to be uſed than the form of an Altar in the Adminiſtration of the holy Communion.

The ſixth Reaſon.

The ſixth Reaſon.

Finally, It is ſaid in the *Preface* of the Book of *Common Prayer*, that if any doubt do ariſe in the uſe and practiſing of the ſame Book; to appeaſe all ſuch diverſity, the matter ſhall be referred unto the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, who by his diſcretion ſhall take order for the quieting and appeaſing of the ſame, ſo that the ſame Order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that Book.

After theſe Letters and Reaſons received, the forenamed *Nicholas Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, conſequently upon the ſame did hold his Viſitation, wherein, amongſt other his Injunctions, the ſaid Biſhop exhorted thoſe Churches in his Dioceſs, where the Altars did then remain, to conform themſelves unto thoſe other Churches which had taken them down, and had ſet up in ſtead of the multitude of their Altars one decent Table in every Church.

{Anno 1550.} Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of London appointed in his Dioceſs the right form of a Table.

Upon the occaſion whereof there aroſe a great diverſity about the form of the Lords Board, ſome uſing it after the form of a Table, and ſome of an Altar. Wherein when the ſaid Biſhop was required to ſay and determine what was moſt meet, he declared he could do no leſs of his bounden duty, for the appeaſing of ſuch diverſity, and to procure one godly Uniformity, but to exhort all his Dioceſs unto that which he thought did beſt agree with Scripture, with the uſage of the Apoſtles, and with the Primitive Church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of *Common Prayer*, (as is before proved) but alſo might highly further the Kings moſt godly proceedings in aboliſhing of divers vain and ſuperſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs out of the hearts of the ſimple, and to bring them to the right uſe taught by holy Scripture of the *Lords Supper*, and ſo appointed he the form of a right Table to be uſed in his Dioceſs, and in the Church of *Paul* brake down the Wall ſtanding then by the high Altars ſide.

The Wall by the high Altars ſide in Paules Church broken down by Nicholas Ridley.

Now we will enter (God willing) into thoſe matters which happened between King *Edward* and his Siſter *Mary*, as by their Letters here following are to be ſeen.

To my Lord Protector and the reſt of the Kings Majeſties Council.

Lady Maries Letters to the Lords of the Councell.

MY Lord, I perceive by the Letters which I late received from you, and other of the Kings Majeſties Council, that ye be all ſorry to find ſo little Conformity in me touching the Obſervation of his Majeſties Lawes; who am well aſſured, that I have offended no Law, unleſs it be a late Law of your own making, for the altering of matters in Religion, which in my Conſcience is not worthy to have the name of a Law, both for the Kings Honour-ſake, the wealth of the Realm, {KING Edw.6} *and giving an occaſion of an evil brute through all Chriſtendom, beſides the partiality uſed in the ſame, and (as my ſaid Conſcience is very well perſwaded) the offending of God, which paſſeth all the reſt: but I am well aſſured that the King his Fathers Lawes were all allowed and conſented to without compulſion by the whole Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all ye Executors ſworn upon a Book to fulfil the ſame, ſo that it was an authoriſed Law, and that I have obeyed, and will do with the Grace of God, till the Kings Majeſty my Brother ſhall have ſufficient years to be a Judge in thoſe matters himſelf: Wherein, my Lord, I was plain with you at my laſt being in the Court, declaring unto you at that time whereunto I would ſtand, and now do aſſure you all, that the only occaſion of my ſtay from altering mine Opinion, is for two cauſes:*

One principally for my Conſcience ſake; the other, That the King my Brother ſhall not hereafter charge me to be one of thoſe that were agreeable to ſuch alterations in his tender years. And what fruits daily grow by ſuch changes, ſince the death of the King my Father, to every indifferent perſon it well appeareth, both to the diſpleaſure of God, and unquietneſs of the Realm.

Notwithſtanding, I aſſure you all, I would be as loth to ſee his Highneſs take hurt, or that any evil ſhould come to this his Realm, as the beſt of you all, and none of you have the like cauſe, conſidering how I am compelled by nature, being his Majeſties poor and humble Siſter, moſt tenderly to love and pray for him, and unto this his Realm (being born within the ſame) wiſh all wealth and proſperity to Gods Honour.

And if any judge of me the contrary for mine Opinions ſake, as I truſt none doth, I doubt not in the end, with Gods help, to prove my ſelf as true a natural and humble Siſter, as they of the contrary Opinion, with all their devices and altering of Laws, ſhall prove themſelves true Subjects; praying you my Lord, and the reſt of the Council, no more to trouble and unquiet me with matters touching my Conſcience, wherein I am at a full point, with Gods help, whatſoever ſhall happen to me, intending, with his Grace, to trouble you little with any worldly Suits, but to beſtow the ſhort time I think to live in quietneſs, and pray for the Kings Majeſty and all you, heartily wiſhing, that your proceedings may be to Gods Honour, the ſafeguard of the Kings Perſon, and quietneſs to the whole Realm.

Moreover, where your deſire is, That I ſhould ſend my Controuler and Doctor Hopton *unto you, by whom you would ſignifie your minds more amply, to my contentation and honour; it is not unknown to you all, that the chief charge of my houſe reſteth only upon the travels of my ſaid Controuler, who hath not been abſent from my houſe three whole days ſince the ſetting up of the ſame, unleſs it were for my Letters Patents; ſo that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little portion would not have ſtretched ſo far. And my Chaplain by occaſion of ſickneſs hath been long abſent, and is not yet able to ride.*

Therefore like as I cannot forbear my Controuler, and my Prieſt is not able to journey, ſo ſhall I deſire you my Lord, and all the reſt of the Council, that having any thing to be declared to me, except matters of Religion, ye will either write your minds, or ſend ſome truſty Perſon, with whom I ſhall be contented to talk, and make anſwer as the caſe ſhall require; aſſuring you that if any Servant of mine, either Man or Woman, or Chaplain, ſhould move me to the contrary of my Conſcience, I would not give ear to them, nor ſuffer the like to be uſed within my houſe. And thus my Lord, with my hearty Commendations, I wiſh unto you and the reſt as well to do as my ſelf.

From my houſe at *Kinning-Hall*, the two and twentieth of *June*, 1549.

Your aſſured friend to my power,

Mary.

A remem-

{KING Edw.6}

A remembrance of certain matters appointed by the Council to be declared by *D. Hopton* to the Lady *Maries* Grace, for anſwer to her former Letter; which ſaid *Hopton* was after ſhe came to her Reign Biſhop of *Norwich*.

Her Grace writeth, That the Law made by Parliament is not worthy the name of Law, meaning the Statute for the Communion, &c.

You ſhall ſay thereto,

THE fault is great in any Subject to diſallow a Law of the King, a Law of a Realm, by long ſtudy, free diſputation, and uniform determination of the whole Clergy, conſulted, debated, and concluded; but the greater fault is in her Grace, being next of any Subject in blood and eſtate to the Kings Majeſty her Brother and good Lord, to give example of diſobedience, being a Subject, or of unnaturalneſs, being his Majeſties Siſter, or of neglecting the Power of the Crown, ſhe being by limitation of Law next to the ſame. The example of diſobedience is moſt perilous in this time, as ſhe can well underſtand; Her unkindneſs reſteth in the Kings own acceptation; The neglecting of the Power before God is anſwerable, and in the World toucheth her honour.

The Executors (ſhe ſaith) were ſworn to King Henry *the Eighth his Laws.*

You ſhall ſay,

It is true, they were ſworn to him, his Laws, his Heirs and Succeſſors; which Oath they duly obſerve, and ſhould offend if they ſhould break any one jot of the Kings Laws now being, without a diſpenſation by a Law, and herein her Grace ſhall underſtand, That it is no Law, which is diſſolved by a Law: neither may her Grace do that injury to the Kings Majeſty her Brother, to diminiſh his Authority ſo far, that he may not, by the free conſent of a Parliament, amend and alter unprofitable Laws, for the number of inconveniences which thereof might follow, as her Grace with conſideration may well perceive.

Offence taken by the ſending for her Officers.

You ſhall ſay,

If her Grace conſider the firſt Letters of that purpoſe, they will declare our good meaning to her, and her gentle uſage, requiring the preſence of her truſty Servant, becauſe ſhe might give more truſt to our Meſſage.

Her Houſe is her Flock.

You ſhall ſay,

It is well liked her Grace ſhould have her Houſe of Flock, but not exempt from the Kings Orders; neither may there be a Flock of the Kings Subjects, but ſuch as will hear and follow the Voice of the King their Shepherd. God diſalloweth it, Law and Reaſon forbiddeth it, Policy abhorreth it, and her Honour may not require it.

Her Grace deferreth her Obedience to the Kings Lawes, until his Majeſty be of ſufficient years.

You ſhall ſay,

She could in no one ſaying more diſallow the Authority of the King, the Majeſty of his Crown, and the State of the Realm. For herein ſhe ſuſpendeth his Kingdom, and eſteemeth his Authority by his Age, not by his Right and Title. Her Grace muſt underſtand he is a King by the Ordinance of God, by deſcent of Royal Blood, not by the numbring of his years.

As a Creature ſubject to Mortality, he hath Youth, and by Gods Grace ſhall have Age; but as a King he hath no difference by days and years. The Scripture plainly declareth it, not only young Children to have been Kings by Gods ſpecial Ordinance, but alſo (which is to be noted) to have had beſt ſucceſs in their Reign, and the favour of God in their proceedings. Yea, in their firſt years have they moſt purely reformed the Church and ſtate of Religion. Therefore her Grace hath no cauſe thus to diminiſh his Majeſties Power, and to make him as it were no King until ſhe think him of ſufficient years. Wherein how much his Majeſty may be juſtly offended, they be ſorry to think.

She ſaith ſhe is ſubject to none of the Council.

You ſhall ſay,

If her Grace underſtandeth it of us in that acceptation as we be private men, and not Counſellors ſworn to the Kings Majeſty, we knowledge us not to be Superiors; but if the underſtand her writing of us as Counſellors and Magiſtrates ordained by his Majeſty, her Grace muſt be contented to think us of Authority ſufficient by the reaſon of our Office to challenge a Superiority; not to rule by private affection, but by Gods Providence; not to our eſtimation, but to the Kings Honour, and finally to increaſe the Kings eſtate with our Counſel, our Dignity and Vocation; and we think her Grace will not forget the ſaying of *Solomon* in the ſixth Chapter of the Book of *Wiſdom*, to move a King to Rule by Counſel and Wiſdom, and to build his eſtate upon them. Wherefore her Grace muſt be remembred, the Kings Majeſties politick Body is not made only of his own Royal material body, but of a Council, by whom his Majeſty ruleth, directeth and governeth his Realm. In the place of which Council her Grace is not ignorant that we be ſet and placed. Wherefore the reputation the ſhall give us, the ſhall give it to the Kings Honor, and that which the ſhall take from us, ſhe ſhall take from his Majeſty, whoſe Majeſty we think if it might take increaſe or honour, as God giveth a daily abundance, it ſhould receive rather increaſe from her, being his Majeſties Siſter, than thus any abatement.

She received Maſter Arundel, *and Maſter* Engleſield.

You ſhall ſay,

All the Council remembreth well her refuſal to have her houſe charged with any more number, alledging the ſmall proportion for her charge, and therefore it was thought to come more for their earneſt Suit, meaning to be priviledged Subjects from the Law, than of her deire, which refuſed very often to increaſe her number. Their cautele the King might not ſuffer, to have his Law diſobeyed, their Countries where they ſhould ſerve by them to be deſtitute, and having been Servants to his Majeſty, the circumſtances of their departure might in no wiſe be liked.

She refuſed to hear any man to the contrary of her Opinion.

You ſhall ſay,

It is an anſwer more of will than of reaſon, and therefore her Grace muſt be admoniſhed neither to truſt her own opinion without ground, neither to miſlike all others having ground. If hers be good, it is no hurt if ſhe hear the worſe. If it be ill, ſhe ſhall do well to hear the better. She ſhall not alter by hearing, but by hearing the better. And becauſe ſhe ſhall not miſlike the offer, let her Grace name of learned men whom ſhe will, and further than they by Learning ſhall prove ſhe ſhall not be moved. And ſo far it is thought reaſon will compel her Grace.

In the end ye shall say,

The good wills and minds of the Lord Protector and the Council is so much toward her Grace, that howsoever she would her self in honour be esteemed, howsoever in conscience quieted, yea howsoever benefited, saving their duties to God and the King, they would as much, and in their doings (if it please her to prove it) will be nothing Inferiors, assuring her Grace, that they be most sorry that she is thus disquieted: and if necessity of the cause, the honour and surety of the King, and the judgment of their own conscience moved them not, thus far they would not have attempted. But their trust is, her Grace will allow them the more, when she shall perceive the cause, and think no less could be done by them, where she provoked them so far.

Note Diligent observants of the Communion in those days.

These and other of like credit, more amply committed to you in speech, you shall declare to her Grace, and further declare your conscience for the allowing of the manner of the *Communion*, as ye have plainly professed it before us.

At Richmond *the fourteenth of June*, 1549.

The Lady *Mary* to the Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, *June* 27. 1549.

{ANNO 1550} *MY Lord, I perceive by Letters directed from you, and other of the Kings Majesties Council, to my Controuler, my Chaplain, and Master* Englefield *my Servant, that ye will them upon their Allegiance, to repair immediately to you, wherein you gave me evident cause to change mine accustomed opinion of you all; that is to say, to think you careful of my quietness and well doing, considering how earnestly I writ to you for the stay of two of them, and that not without very just cause. And as for Master* Englefield, *as soon as he could have prepared himself, having his horses so far off, although he had not sent at this present, he would have performed your request. But indeed I am much deceived. For I suppose ye would have weighed and taken my Letters in better part, if ye have received them; if not, to have tarried my answer, and I not to have found so little friendship, nor to have been used so ungently at your hands in sending for him upon whose travel doth rest the whole charge of my whole house, as I writ unto you lately; whose absence therefore shall be to me and my said house no little displeasure, especially being so far off. And beside all this, I do greatly marvel to see your writing for him, and the other two, with such extream words of peril to insue towards them in case they did not come, and specially for my Controuler, whose charge is so great, that he cannot suddenly be meet to take a journey: which words in mine opinion needed not (unless it were in some very just and necessary cause) to any of mine, who taketh my self Subject to none of you all, not doubting but if the Kings Majesty my Brother were of sufficient years to perceive this matter, and knew what lack and incommodity the absence of my said Officer should be to my house, his Grace would have been so good a Lord to me, as to have suffered him to remain where his charge is. Notwithstanding, I have willed him at this time to repair to you, commanding him to return forthwith for my very necessities sake, and I have given the like leave to my poor sick Priest also, whose life I think undoubtedly shall be put to hazard by the wet and cold painful travel of this journey. But for my part I assure you all, that since the King my Father, your late Master, and every good Lord, died, I never took you for other than my Friends: but in this it appeareth contrary. And saving I thought verily that my former Letters should have discharged this matter, I would not have troubled my self with writing the same, not doubting but you do consider, that none of you all would have been contented to have been thus used at your inferiors hands; I mean, to have had your Officer or any of your Servants sent for by force (as ye make it) knowing no just cause why. Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that ye had not this remembrance towards me, who always have willed and wished you as well to do as my self, and both have and will pray for you all as heartily, as for mine own Soul, to Almighty God, whom I* {KING Edw. 6} *humbly beseech to illuminate you all with his holy Spirit, to whose mercy also I am at a full point to commit my self, whatsoever shall become of my Body. And thus with my Commendations I bid you all farewel. From my house at* Kenninghall, *the* 27*th of* June.

Your Friend to my power, though you give me contrary cause,

Mary.

A Copy of the Kings Majesties Letter to the Lady Mary *the four and twentieth of* January, 1550.

RIght dear, &c. We have seen by Letters of our Council, sent to you of late, and by your answer thereunto, touching the cause of certain your Chaplains, having offended our Laws in saying of Mass, their good and convenient advises, and your fruitless and indirect misliking of the same: which thing moveth us to write at this time, that where good counsel from our Council hath not prevailed, yet the like from our self may have due regard. The whole matter we perceive rests in this, that you being our next Sister, in whom above all other our Subjects nature should place the most estimation of us, would wittingly and purposely, not only break our Laws your self, but also have others maintained to do the same. Truly howsoever the matter may have other terms, other sense it hath not: and although by your Letter it seemeth you challenge a promise made, that so you may do; yet surely we know the promise had no such meaning, neither to maintain, ne to continue your fault. You must know this, Sister, you were at the first time, when the Law was made, born withall, not because you should disobey the Law, but that by our lenity and love shewed you might learn to obey it. We made a difference of you from our other Subjects, not for that all other should follow our Laws, and you only gainstand them, but what you might be brought as far forward by love, as others were by duty. The error wherein you would rest is double, and every part so great, that neither for the love of God we can well suffer it unredressed, neither for the love of you can we but with it amended. First, you retain a fashion in honouring of God, who indeed thereby is dishonoured, and therein err you in zeal for lack of Science, and having Science offered you, you refuse it, not because it is Science, we trust (for then should we dispair of you) but because you think it is none. And surely in this we can best reprehend you, learning daily in our School, that therefore we learn things because we know them not, and are not allowed to say we know not those things, or we think they be not good, and therefore we will not learn them. Sister, you must think nothing can commend you more than reason, according to the which you have been hitherto used; and now for very love we will offer you reason our self. If you are persuaded in conscience to the contrary of our Laws, you or your Persuaders shall freely be suffered to say what you or they can, so that you will hear what shall be said again.

In this Point you see I pretermit my estate, and talk with you as your Brother rather than your supream Lord and King. Thus should you, being as well content to hear of your opinions as you are content to hold them, in the end thank us as much for bringing you to light, as now before you learn you are loth to see it. And if thus much reason with our natural love shall not move you, whereof we would be sorry, then must we consider the other part of your fault, which is the offence of our Laws. For though hitherto it hath been suffered in hope of amendment, yet now, if hope be none, how shall there be sufferance? Our charge is to have the same care over every mans estate, that every man ought to have over his own. And in your own house as you would be loth openly to suffer one of your Servants, being next you, most manifestly to break your Orders, so must you think in our state it shall misconsent us to permit you, so great a Subject, not to keep our Laws. Your nearness to us in blood, your greatness in estate, the condition of this time maketh your fault the greater. The example is unnatural that our Sister should do less for us than our other Subjects. The cause is slanderous for so great a Personage to forsake our Majesty.

Finally,

{KING Edw. 6} Finally, It is too dangerous in a troublesome Commonwealth, to make the people to mistrust a Faction. We be young, you think, in years to confider this. Truly Sister, it troubleth us somewhat the more; for it may be, this evil suffered in you is greater than we can discern, and so we be as much troubled because we doubt whether we see the whole peril, as we be for that we see. Indeed we will presume no further than our years giveth us; that is, in doubtful things not to trust our own wits, but in evident things we think there is no difference. If you should not do as other Subjects do, were it not evident that therein you should not be a good Subject? Were it not plain in that case, that you should use us not as your Sovereign Lord? Again, if you should be suffered to break our Laws manifestly, were it not a comfort for others so to do? And if our Law be broken, and contemned, where is our estate? These things be so plain, as we could almost have judged them fix years past. And indeed it grieveth us not a little, that you, which should be our most comfort in our young years, should alone give us occasion of discomfort. Think you not but it must needs trouble us, and if you can so think, you ought Sister to amend it. Our natural love towards you without doubt is great, and therefore diminish it not your self. If you will be loved by us, shew some token of love towards us, that we say not the with the *Psalm*, *Mala probona mihi adiderunt*. If you will be believed when by writing you confess us to be your Sovereign Lord, bear that which in other things is often alledged, *Offende mihi fidem tuam ex factis tuis*. In the answer of your Letter to our Council, we remember you stick only upon one reason divided into two parts. The first is, that in matters of Religion your Faith is none other, but as all *Christendom* doth confess. The next is, you will assent to no alteration, but with things to stand as they did at our Fathers death. If you mean in the first to rule your Faith by that you call *Christendom*, and not by this Church of *England* wherein you are a Member, you shall err in many Points, such as our Fathers and yours would not have suffered, whatsoever you say of the standing still of things as they were left by him. The matter is too plain to write, what may be gathered, and too perilous to be concluded against you. For the other part, if you like no alteration by our Authority, of things not altered by our Father, you should do us too great an injury. We take our self, for the administration of this our Commonwealth, to have the same Authority which our Father had, diminished in no part, neither by example of Scripture, nor by universal Laws. The stories of Scripture be so plentevous, as almost the best ordered Church of the *Israelites* was by Kings younger than we be. Well Sister, we will not in these things interpret your writings to the worst; Love and Charity shall expound them. But yet you must not thereby be bold to offend in that whereunto you see your writings might be wrested. To conclude, we exhort you to do your duty, and if any impediment be thereof, not of purpose, you shall find a brotherly affection in us to remedy the same. To teach and instruct you we will give Order, and so procure you to do your duty willingly, that you shall perceive you are not used meerly as a Subject, and only commanded, but as Daughter, a Scholar, and a Sister, taught, instructed and persuaded. For the which cause, when you have considered this our Letter, we pray you that we may shortly hear from you.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty.

MY duty most humbly remembred to your Majesty, please it the same to understand that I have received your Letters by Master Throgmorton *this bearer. The contents whereof do more trouble me than any bodily sickness, though it were even to the death; and the rather for that your Highness doth charge me to be both a breaker of your Laws, and also an incourager of others to do the like. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to think that I never intended towards you otherwise than my duty compelleth me unto; that is, to wish your Highness all Honour and Prosperity, for the which I do and daily shall pray. And where it pleaseth your Majesty to write, that I make a challenge of a promise made otherwise than it was meant, the truth is, the promise could not be denied before your Majesties presence at my last waiting upon the same. And although, I confess, the ground of Faith (wherein to I take reason to be but an Handmaid) and my conscience also hath and do agree with the same: yet touching that promise, for so much as it hath pleased your Majesty (God knoweth by whose persuasion) to write, it was not so meant; I shall most humbly desire your Highness to examine the truth thereof indifferently, and either will your Majesties Ambassador, now being with the Emperor, to inquire of the same, if it be your pleasure to have him move it, or else to cause it to be demanded of the Emperors Ambassador here, although he were not within this Realm at that time. And thereby it shall appear that in this point I have not offended your Majesty, if it may please you so to accept it. And albeit your Majesty (God be praised) hath at these years as much understanding and more, than is commonly seen in that Age, yet considering you do hear but one part (your Highness not offended) I would be a Suiter to the same, that till you were grown to more perfect years, it might stand with your pleasure to stay in matters touching the Soul. So undoubtedly should your Majesty know more, and hear others, and never believe by be at your liberty and do your will and pleasure. And whatsoever your Majesty hath conceived of me, either by Letters to your Council, or by their report, I trust in the end to prove my self as true to you, as any Subject within your Realm, and will by no means stand in argument with your Majesty, but in most humble wise beseech you, even for Gods sake, to suffer me, as your Highness hath done hitherto: It is for no worldly respect I desire it, God is my Judge, but rather than to offend my conscience, I would desire of God to lose all that I have and also my life: and nevertheless live and die your humble Sister and true Subject. That after pardon craved of your Majesty for my rude and bold writing, I beseech Almighty God to preserve the same in Honour with as long continuance of health and life, as ever bad Noble King. From* Beaulieu, *the third of* February.

Your Majesties most humble and unworthy Sister, *Mary.*

The Lady *Mary* to the Lords of the Council the fourth of *December*, 1550.

MY Lords, your Letters dated the second of this present were delivered unto me the third of the same. And where you write that two of my Chaplains, Doctor Mallet *and* Barkly, *be indicted for certain things committed by them contrary to the Kings Majesties Laws, and Process for them also awarded forth, and delivered to the Sheriff of* Essex; *I cannot but marvel they should be so used, considering it is done, as I take it, for saying Mass within my house: and although I have been of my self minded always, and yet am, to have Mass within my house; yet I have been advertised that the Emperors Majesty hath been promised that I should never be unquieted nor troubled for my so doing, as some of you my Lords can witness: Furthermore, besides the declaration of the said promise made to me by the Emperors Ambassador that dead is from his Majesty, to put my Chaplains more out of fear, when I was the last year with the Kings Majesty my Brother, that question was then moved, and could not be denied, but affirmed by some of you before his Majesty to be true, being not so much unquieted for the trouble of my said Chaplains, as I am to think how this matter may be taken, the promise to such a person being no better regarded: And for mine own part, I thought full little to have received such ungentleness at your hands, having always (God is my Judge) wished unto the whole number of you as to my self, and have refused to trouble you, or to crave any thing at your hands, but your good will and friendship, which very slenderly appeareth in this matter. Nevertheless, to be plain with you, howsoever ye shall use me or mine (with Gods help) I will never vary from mine opinion touching my Faith: And if ye or any of you bear me the less good will for that matter, or favor in your Friendship towards me only for the same, I must and will be contented, trusting that God will in the end shew his*

mercy upon me, assuring you, I would rather refuse the friendship of all the world (wherewnto I trust I shall never be driven) than forsake any point of my Faith. I am not without some hope that ye will stay this matter, not enforcing the rigour of the Law against my Chaplains. The one of them was not in my house these four monthes, and Doctor Mallet, *having my licence, is either at* Windsor, *or at his Benefice, who, as I have heard, was indicted for saying Mass out of my house, which was not true. But indeed, the day before my removing from* Woodham-water, *my whole Houshold in effect being gone to* Newhall, *he said Mass there by mine appointment. I see and hear of divers that do not obey your Statutes and Proclamations, and nevertheless escape without punishment. Be ye Judges if I be well used to have mine punished by rigour of a Law, besides all the false brutes that ye have suffered to be spoken of me. Moreover, my Chaplain Doctor* Mallet, *besides mine own Commandment, was not ignorant of the promise made to the Emperor, which did put him out of fear. I doubt not therefore but ye will consider it, as by that occasion no piece of friendship be taken away, nor I to have cause but to bear you my good will, as I have done heretofore: for albeit I could do you little pleasure, yet of my friendship ye were sure, as if it had lien in my power, ye should have well known. Thus with my hearty Commendations to you all, I pray Almighty God to send you as much of his Grace, as I would wish to mine own Soul.*

From *Beulieu*, the fourth of *December*.

Your assured friend to my power,

Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary, *the five and twentieth of* December.

After our due Commendations to your Grace. By your Letters to us, as an answer to ours, touching certain Process against two of your Chaplains, for saying Mass against the Law and Statute of the Realm, we perceive both the offence of your Chaplains is otherwise excused than the matter may bear, and also our good wills otherwise misconstrued than we looked for. And for the first part, where your greatest reason to excuse the offence of a Law, is a promise made to the Emperors Majesty, whereof you write, that first some of us be witnesses, next that the Embassador for the Emperor declared the same unto you; and lastly, that the same promise was affirmed to you before the Kings Majesty at your last being with him: we have thought convenient to repeat the matter from the beginning, as it hath hitherto proceeded, whereupon it shall appear how evidently your Chaplains have offended the Law, and you also mistaken the promise. The promise is but one in it self, but by times thrice as you say repeated. Of which times, the first is chiefly to be considered, for upon that do the other two depend. It is very true the Emperor made request to the Kings Majesty, that you might have liberty to use the Mass in your house, and to be as it were exempted from the danger of the Statute. To which request divers good reasons were made, containing the discommodities that should follow the grant thereof, and means devised rather to perswade you to obey and receive the general and godly Reformation of the whole Realm, than by a private fancy to prejudice a common Order. But yet, upon earnest desire and entreaty made in the Emperors name, thus much was granted, that for his sake and your own also, it should be suffered and winked at, if you had the private Mass used in your own Closet for a season, until you might be better informed, whereof there was some hope, having only with you a few of your own Chamber, so that for all the rest of your Houshold the Service of the Realm should be used, and none other; further than this the promise exceeded not. And truly such a matter it then seemed to some of us, as indeed it was, that well might the Emperor have required of the Kings Majesty a matter of more profit, but of more weight or difficulty to be granted his Majesty could not. After this grant in words, there was by the Embassador now dead, oftentimes desired some writing, as a testimony of the same. But that was ever denied; not because we meant to break the promise, as it was made, but because {KING Edw.6} there was daily hope of your Reformation.

Now to the second time, you say the Emperors Embassadors Declaration made mention of a promise to you, it might well so be. But we think no otherwise than as it appeareth before written. If it were, his fault it was to declare more than he heard; ours it may not be, that deny not what we have said. As for the last time when ye were with the Kings Majesty, the same some of us (whom by these words your Letter noteth) do well remember, that no other thing was granted to you in this matter, but as the first promise was made to the Emperor, at which time you had too many arguments made to approve the proceedings of the Kings Majesty, and to condemn the abuse of the Mass, to think that where the private Mass was judged ungodly, there you should have authority and ground to use it. About the same time, the Embassador made means to have some testimony of the promise under the great Seal; and that not being heard, to have it but by a Letter; and that also was not only denied, but divers good reason alledged, that he should think it denied with reasons, and so to be contented with an answer. It was told him, in reducing that which was commonly called the Mass to the Order of the Primitive Church, and the Institution of Christ, the Kings Majesty and his whole Realm had their Consciences well quieted, against the which if any thing should be willingly committed, the same should be taken as an offence to God, and a very sin against a truth known. Wherefore to license by open act such a deed, in the conscience of the Kings Majesty and his Realm, were even a sin against God. The most that might herein be born, was, that the Kings Majesty might, upon hope of your Graces reconciliation, suspend the execution of his Law, so that you would use the license as it was first granted. Whatsoever the Embassador hath said to others, he had no other manner of grant from us, nor having it thus granted, could alledge any reason against it. And where in your Letter your Grace noteth us as breakers of the promise made to the Emperor, it shall appear who hath broken the promise; whether we that have suffered more than we licensed, or you that have transgressed that which was granted. Now therefore we pray your Grace confer the doings of your Chaplains with every point of the premisses; and if the same cannot be excused, then think also how long the Law hath been spared. If it prick our consciences somewhat, that so much should be used as by the promise you may claim, how much more should it grieve us to license more than you can claim? And yet could we be content to bear a great burthen to satisfie your Grace, if the burthen prefled not our consciences so much as it doth, whereof we must say as the Apostle said, *Gloriatio nostra est hæc, testimonium conscientiæ nostræ.* For the other part of your Graces Letter, by the which we see you misconstrue our good wills in writing to you, howsoever the Law had proceeded against your Chaplains, our order in sending to you was to be liked, and therein truly had we special regard of your Graces Degree and Estate. And because the Law it self respecteth not persons, we thought to give respect to you, first signifying to you what the Law required, {Anno 1550.} before it should be executed, that being warned, your Grace might either think no strangeness in the execution, or for an example of obedience cause it to be executed your self. Others we see perplexed with suddenness of matters; your Grace we would not have unwarned, to think any thing done on a sudden. Truly we thought it more commendable for your Grace to help the execution of a Law, than to help the offence of one condemned by Law. And in giving you knowledge what the Kings Laws required, we looked for help in the execution by you the Kings Majesties Sister. The greater Personage your Grace is, the nigher to the King, so much more ought your example to further his Laws. For which cause it hath been called a good Commonwealth where the people obeyed the higher Estates, and they obeyed the Laws. As nature hath joyned your Grace to the Kings Majesty to love him most entirely, so hath Reason and Law subdued you to obey him willingly. The one and the other we doubt not but your Grace remembreth: and as they both be joyned together in you his Majesties Sister, so we trust you will not sever them; for indeed your Grace cannot love him as your Brother, but you must obey his Majesty as his Subject.

Example

{KING Edw.6} Example of your obedience and reverence of his Majesties Laws is instead of a good Preacher to a great number of his Majesties Subjects, who if they may see in you negligence of his Majesty, or his Laws, will not fail, but follow on hardly, and then their fault is not their own but yours, by example, and so may the Kings Majesty, when he shall come to further judgment, impute the fault of divers evil people (which thing God forbid) to the sufferance of your Graces doings. And therefore we most earnestly, from the depth of our hearts desire it, that as nature hath set your Grace nigh his Majesty by bloud, so your love and zeal to his Majesty will further his estate by obedience. In the end of your Letter two things be touched, which we cannot pretermit; the one is, you seem to charge us with permission of men to break Laws and Statutes. We think indeed it is too true, that Laws and Proclamations be broken daily, the more pity it is, but that we permit them, we would be sorry to have it proved. The other is, that we have suffered brutes to be spoken of you, and that also must be answered as the other. It is pity to see men so evil, as whom they may touch with tales and infamies they care not, so they miss not the best. Such is the boldness of people, that neither we can fully bridle them to raise tales of you, nor of our selves. And yet whensoever any certain person may be gotten, to be charged with any such, we never leave them unpunished. Indeed the best way is, both for your Grace, and us also, that when we can find and punish the offender, let us say as he said that was evil spoken of, *Tet will I so live, as no credit shall be given to my backbiters.* Certainly, if we had credited any evil tale of your Grace, we would friendly have admonished you thereof, and so also proceeded, as either the tale-tellers should have been punished, or else to have proved their tales. And therefore we pray your Grace to think no unkindness in us, that any evil brutes have been spread by evil men; but think rather well of us, that howsoever they were spread, we believed them not. Hitherto your Grace seeth we have written somewhat at length, of the promise made to you, and two meanings in our former writings. And now for the latter part of our Letter, we will as briefly as we can remember to you two special matters, whereof the one might suffice to reform your proceedings, and both together, well considered, we trust shall do your Grace much good. The one is, the truth of that you be desired to follow; The other is, the commodity that thereby shall ensue. They both make a just commandment, and because of the first, the later followeth, that first shall be entreated of. We hear say, your Grace refuseth to hear any thing reasoned contrary to your old determination, wherein you may make your opinion suspicious, as that you are afraid to be disswaded. If your faith in things be of God, it may abide any storm or weather; if it be but of sand, you do best to eschew the weather. That which we profess hath the foundation in Scriptures upon plain Texts and no Glosses, the confirmation thereof by the use in the Primitive Church, not in this later corrupted. And indeed our greatest change is not in the substance of our faith, no not in any one Article of our Creed; only the difference is, that we use the Ceremonies, Observations and Sacraments of our Religion, as the Apostles and first Fathers in the Primitive Church did. You use the same that corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousness and ignorance nourished, and seem to hold for Custom against the Truth, and we for Truth against Custom. Your Grace in one or two places of your Letter seemeth to speak earnestly in the maintenance of your faith, and therein (so that your faith be according to the Scriptures) we must have the like opinion; the saying is very good, if the faith be found. But if every opinion your Grace hath (we cannot tell how conceived) shall be your faith, you may be much better instructed. Saint *Paul* teacheth you, that faith is by the Word of God. And it was a true saying of him that said, *Non qui cuivis credit fidelis est, sed qui Deo:* For where hath your Grace ground for such a faith, to think Common Prayer in the *English* Church should not be in *English*, that Images of God should be set up in the Church; or that the Sacrament of Christs body and bloud should be offered by the Priests for the dead; yea, or that it should be otherwise used than by the Scripture it was instituted? Though you have no Scripture to maintain them, we have evident Scriptures to forbid them. And although fault may be found, that of late Baptism hath been used in your Graces house, contrary to law, and utterly without licence, yet is it the worse, that contrary to the Primitive Church, it hath been in an unknown Tongue, by the which the best part of the Sacrament is unused, and as it were a blind bargain made by the Godfathers in a matter of illumination; and thus in the rest of the things in which your Grace differeth from the common order of the Realm, where have you ground or reason, but from custom, which oftentimes is mother of many errors? And although in Civil things she may be followed where she causeth quiet, yet not in Religions where she excuseth no error, as in *Leviticus* it is said, *Ye shall not do after the custom of Egypt, wherein ye dwelled, nor after the custom of Canaan; no, you shall not walk in their laws, for I am your Lord God, keep you my laws and commandments.* The points wherein your Grace differeth in your Faith, as you call it, may be shewed where, when, how and by whom they began since the Gospel was preached, the Church was planted, and the Apostles martyred. At which time your faith depended upon the Scripture, and otherwise there was no necessity to believe. For as *Hierome* saith, *Quod de Scripturis non habet authoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.* And because your Grace, as we hear say, readeth sometimes the Doctors, we may alledge unto you two or three places of other principal Doctors. *Augustine* saith, *Cum Dominus tacuerit, quis nostrum dicat, illa vel illa sunt: aut si dicere audeat, unde probat?* And *Chrysostome's* saying is not unlike; *Multi, inquit, jactant Spiritum sanctum, sed qui propria loquuntur, falso illum prætendunt.* And if you will take their meaning plain, read the fifth Chapter of the first Book of *Ecclesiastica historia*; and where *Constantine* had these words in the Council. *In disputationibus, inquit, rerum divinarum habetur præscripta Spiritus sancti doctrina; Evangelici & Apostolici libri cum prophetarum oraculis plene nobis ostendunt sensum numinis; proinde discordia posita, sumamus ex verbis Spiritus quæstionum explicationes.* What plainer sayings may be than these to answer your fault? Again, too infinite it were to remember your Grace of the great number of particular errors (crept into the Church) whereupon you make your foundation. The fables of false Miracles and lewd Pilgrimages may somewhat teach you. Only this we pray your Grace to remember with your self, the two words that the Father said of his Son Jesus Christ, *Ipsum audite.* To the second point of the commodity that may follow your obedience, we having by the Kings authority in this behalf, the governance of this Realm, must herein be plain with your Grace. And if our speech offend the same, then must your Grace think it is our charge and office to find fault where it is, and our part to amend it as we may. Most sorry truly we be, that your Grace, whom we should otherwise honour for the Kings Majesties sake, by your own deeds should provoke us to offend you; we do perceive great discommodity to the Realm by your Graces singularity (if it may be so named) in opinion; and in one respect, as you are Sister to our Sovereign Lord and Master, we most humbly beseech your Grace to shew your affection continually towards him, as becometh a Sister. And as your Grace is a Subject, and we Counsellers to his Majesties Estate, we let you know the example of your Graces opinion hindreth the good weal of this Realm, which thing we think is not unknown to you; and if it be, we let your Grace know it is too true. For Gods sake we beseech your Grace, let nature set before your eyes the young age of the King your Brother. Let reason tell you the looseness of the people; how then can you without a wailing heart think that you should be the cause of disturbance? If your Grace see the King, being the ordinary Ruler under God, not only of all others in the Realm, but of you also, call his people by ordinary laws one way, with what heart can your Grace stay your self without following; much worse to stay other that would follow their Sovereign Lord? Can it be a love in you to forsake him, his rule and law, and take a private way by your self? if it be not love, it is much less obedience. If your Grace think the Kings Majesty to be over his people as the head in a mans body is over the rest, not only in place but in dignity and science, how can you,

being a principal member in the same body, keep the nourishment from the head? We pray your Grace most earnestly, think this thing so much grieveth us, as for our private affection and good wills to you (though we should dissemble) yet for our publick office we cannot but plainly inform your Grace, not doubting but that your wisdom can judge what our office is, and if it were not your own cause, we know your Grace by wisdom could charge us, if we suffered the like in any other. Truly every one of us apart honoureth your Grace for our Masters sake, but when we joyn together in publick service, as in this writing we do, we judge it not tolerable, to know disorder, to see the cause, and leave it unamended. For though we would be negligent, the World would judge us. And therefore we do altogether estsoons require your Grace, in the Kings Majesties name, that if any of your two Chaplains, *Maller* or *Barkley*, be returned, or affoon as any of them shall return to your Graces house, the same may be, by your Graces commandment or order, sent and delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, who hath commandment from the Kings Majesty, by order of the Law and of his Crown, to attach them, or if that condition shall not like your Grace, yet that then he may be warned from your Graces house, and not kept there, to be as it were defended from the power of the Law. Which thing we think surely neither your Grace will mean, nor any of your Council assent thereto. And so to make an end of our Letter, being long for the matter, and hitherto deferred for our great business, we trust your Grace first seeth how the usage of your Chaplains differeth from the manner of our licence, and what good intent moved us to write to you in our former Letters; lastly, that the things whereunto the King and the whole Realm hath consented, be not only lawful and just by the policy of the Realm, but also just and godly by the laws of God. So that if we, which have charge under the King, should willingly consent to the open breach of them, we could neither discharge our selves to the King for our duties, neither to God for our conscience, the consideration of which things we pray Almighty God, by his holy Spirit, to lay in the bottom of your heart, and thereupon to build such a profession in you, as both God may have his true honour, the King his due obedience, the Realm concord, and we most comfort. For all the which we do heartily pray, and therewith for the continuance of your Graces health to your hearts desire.

From *Winchester* the five and
twentieth of *December*.

The Lady *Mary* to the Lords of the Council, the second of *May*, 1551.

MY Lords, after my hearty commendations to you, although both I have been and also am loth to trouble you with my Letters, yet nevertheless the news which I have lately heard touching my Chaplain Doctor Mallet, *forceth me thereunto at this present; for I hear by credible report, that you have committed him to the Tower, which news seems to me very strange. Notwithstanding I thought it good by these to desire you to advertise me what is the cause of his imprisonment, assuring you I would be sorry that any of mine should deserve the like punishment, and there is no creature within the Kings Majesties Realm would more lament, that any belonging to them should give just cause so to be used, than I would do; who would have thought much friendship in you, if you had given me knowledge wherein my said Chaplain had offended, before you had ministred such punishment unto him, estsoons requiring you to let me know by this bearer the truth of the matter. And thus thanking you for the short dispatch of the poor Merchant of* Portugal, *I wish to you all no worse than to my self, and so bid you farewel.*

From Beaulieu *the second of* May.

Your Friend to my power,

Mary.

{KING Edw. 6}

The Council to the Lady Mary, *the sixth of* May, 1551.

AFter our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Letters of the second of this Month, by the which your Grace seemeth to take it strangely that Doctor *Mallet* is committed to Prison, whereof we have the more marvel, seeing it hath been heretofore signified unto you, that he hath offended the Kings Majesties Laws, and was therefore condemned, and your Grace hath been by our Letters earnestly desired that he might be delivered to the Sheriff of *Essex*, according to the just proceſs of the Law, to the which all manner of persons of this Realm be subject: Wherefore howsoever it seem strange at this time to your Grace, that he is imprisoned, it may seem more strange to other that he hath escaped it thus long; and if the place, being the Tower, move your Grace not to impute his imprisonment to his former offence, then we pray your Grace to understand that indeed it is for the very same, and the place of the imprisonment to be at the Kings Majesties pleasure, from whom, besides the charge of his Laws, we have expreſs commandment to do that we do. And so we beseech your Grace to think of us, that neither in this case, nor in any other, we mean to do any other than minister, and see, as much as in our power lieth, justice ministred indifferently to all persons. Which doing, then we think your Grace should not think it any lack of friendship that we did not certifie you of the offence of your Chaplain, although indeed the cause hath already been certified. And we trust your Grace both of your natural nearness to the Kings Majesty, and your own good wisdom, will not misake our Ministry in the execution of the Laws of the Realm, and the pleasure of the Kings Majesty. So we with to your Grace, from the bottom of our heart, the grace of Almighty God, with the riches of his holy gifts.

The Lady *Mary* to the Council, the eleventh of *May*.

MY Lords, it appeareth by your Letters of the sixth of this present which I have received, that the imposonment of my Chaplain Doctor Mallet *is for saying of Masse, and that he was condemned for the same. Indeed I have heard that he was indicted, but never condemned. Nevertheless I must needs confess and say, that he did it, but by my commandment, and I said unto him, that none of my Chaplains should be in danger of the Law for saying Masse in my house. And thereof to put him out of doubt, the Emperors Embassador that dead is, declared unto him before that time, how and after what sort the promise was made to his Majesty, whereby it appeareth that the man hath not in that willingly offended. Wherefore I pray you to discharge him of imprisonment, and set him at liberty; if not, ye minister cause not only to him, but to others, to think that I have declared more than was true, which I would not wittingly do, to gain the whole World. And herein, as I have often said, the Emperors Majesty can be best Judge. And to be plain with you according to mine old custom, there is not one amongst the whole number of you all, that would be more loth to be found untrue of their word than I. And well I am assured, that none of you have found it in me. My Lords, I pray you seek not so much my dishonour, as to disprove my word, whereby it shall appear too plain, that you handle me not well. And if you have cause to charge my Chaplain for this matter, lay that to me, and I will discharge it again, by your promise made to the Emperors Majesty, which you cannot rightfully deny; wishing rather that you had refused it in the beginning, than after such promise made, and to such a person, to seem to go from it; which my Lords, as your very friend I heartily desire you to consider, and to give me no cause to think you otherwise than my friends, considering I have always, and yet do (God is my judge) wish to you all no worse, neither in souls nor bodies, than to my self, and so, with my hearty commendations, I commit you all to God.*

From Beaulieu *the 11th of* May.

Your assured friend to my power, Mary.

The

{KING Edw. 6}

The Council to the Lady Mary, *the seven and twentieth of* May 1551.

AFter our due commendations to your Grace, although the same receiveth not answer so soon, as perchance was looked for upon the return of your Graces servant: Yet we doubt not but your Grace understanding that where we have matters of estate pertaining to the Kings Majesty in hand, as indeed we have had of late, the deferring of the answer, in a matter being no greater, requireth to be born withal. And touching the answer of your Graces Letter for Doctor *Mallet*, we pray your Grace to understand, that although you write he was indicted, but not condemned, and so seem to take exception at the manner of his imprisonment; yet if they which informed your Grace of that manner of reason in the law, were as well disposed to please your Grace with truth, as the reason indeed is not true, then should they have told your Grace that by the Act of Parliament, if either *Mallet* hath been convicted by the Oaths of twelve men, or that the fact have been notorious, then the punishment doth follow justly. The truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the proceſs of the law. And where your Grace, to relieve him, would take the fault upon your self, we are sorry to perceive your Grace so ready to be a defence to one that the Kings Law doth condemn. Nevertheless, he is not punished because your Grace had him, and willed him to do that which was an offence, but he is punished for doing it; And if we should not so see the Kings laws executed without respect, it might appear that we have too much neglected our duty; and for that your Grace taketh it as a discredit to your self, that he should be punished for that you bad him do, alledging to him that you had authority so to do, and that so promise was made to the Emperor, it hath been both written and said to your Grace what is truth in that behalf. And howsoever that your Grace pretendeth your Licence to have Masse said before your self, for a time of your reconciliation, it had been far out of reason to have desired that whosoever was your Chaplain, might say Masse in any house that was yours, when your Graces self was not there; for so is Dr. *Mallet*'s offence, for saying Masse at one of your houses where your Grace was not, which thing as it was never granted, so do we not remember that ever it was demanded. The suit that hath been at any time made, either by the Emperors Embassador that dead is, or by him that now is, was never but in respect of your Grace, and not to be taken that the Emperor or his Embassador meant to priviledge Maller Doctor *Mallet*, or any other, to say Masse out of your presence. Wherefore as we do plainly write to your Grace, so we do pray you to take it in good part, and think we be as ready to do our due reverence towards your Grace in any thing we may do with our duty to our Master, as any your Grace may command; and of such wisdom we know your Grace to be, that ye should judge the better of us, for that we be diligent to see the Laws of the Realm executed, wherein resteth the strength and safeguard of the Kings Majesty our Sovereign Lord and Master.

The Lady *Mary* to the Lords of the Council the one and twentieth of *June* 1551.

MY Lords, although I received by my servant this bearer (who lately delivered unto you my Letters, wherein I desired to have my Chaplain Dr. Mallet *discharged of his imprisonment) your gentle message in general words, for the which I give you most hearty thanks; yet have I no knowledge whether you will set him at liberty or no; but I think that your weighty affairs at that time was the let and cause ye did not write, for else I doubt not but ye would have answered me. Wherefore not being satisfied, and understanding ye would gladly pleasure me, I thought good estsoons to desire you that my said Chaplain may have his liberty, wherein I assure you ye shall much gratifie me, being not a little troubled, that he is so long in Prison without just cause, seeing the matter of his imprisonment is discharged by the promise made to the Emperors Majesty, as in my late Letter I declared unto you. Wherefore, my Lords, I pray you let me have knowledge by this Bearer, how ye will use me in this matter; wherein if ye do pleasure me accordingly, then shall it well appear that ye reguard the foresaid promise, and I will not forget your gentleness therein, God willing, but requite it to my power. And thus with my hearty commendations to you all, I bid you farewel. From* Beaulieu *the one and twentieth of* June.

Your assured friend to my power,
Mary.

The Council to the Lady Mary *the twenty fourth of* June 1551.

AFter our humble commendations to your Grace, we have received your Graces Letter of the one and twentieth hereof, wherein is received the same request that in your former Letters hath been made for the release of Doctor *Mallet*, and therein also your Grace seemeth to have looked for the same answer of your former Letter, the which indeed partly was omitted (as your Grace conjecture th) by the reason of the Kings Majesties affairs, wherewith we be throughly occupied: partly for that we had no other thing to answer, than you had heretofore heard in the same matter. And therefore where your Grace desireth a resolute answer, we assure the same we be right sorry for the matter, and that it should be your Graces chance to move it, sith we cannot with our duties to the Kings Majesty accomplish your desire. So necessary a thing it is to see the laws of the Realm executed indifferently in all manner of persons, and in these cases of contempt of the Ecclesiastical Orders of this Church of *England*, that the same may not, without the great displeasure of God, and the slander of the State, be neglected; and therefore your Grace may please to understand, that we have not only punished your Chaplain, but all such others whom we find in like case to have disobeyed the Laws of the Kings Majesty. And touching the excuse your Grace oftentimes useth, of a promise made, we assure your Grace, none of us all, nor any other of the Council, as your Grace hath been certified, hath ever been privy to any such promise, otherwise than hath been written. And in that matter your Grace had plain answer both by us of the Kings Majesties Council, at your being last in his Majesties presence; and therein also your Grace might perceive his Majesties determination; whereunto we beseech your Grace not only to incline your self, but also to judge well of us that do addict our selves to do our duties. And so also shall we be ready to do, with all our hearts, our due reverence toward your Grace, whose preservation we commend to Almighty God with our prayer.

The Copy of the Lady *Maries* Letter to the Kings Majesty.

MY Duty most humbly remembred to your Majesty; it may please the same to be advertised, that I have received by my servants your most honourable Letters, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me, and so much the more, for that any of my said servants should move or attempt me in matters touching my soul, which I think the meanest Subject within your Highness Realm could well bear at their servants hands, having for my part utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least reguarded them therein, to whom I have declared what I think, as she which trusted that your Majesty would have suffered me your poor Sister and Beadwoman to have used the accustomed Mass, which the King your Father and mine, with all his Predecessors did ever more use. Wherein also I have been brought up from my youth. And therewith my Conscience doth not only bind me, which by no means will suffer me to think one thing, and do another, but also the promise made to the Emperor by your Majesties Council was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not offend the Laws, although they seem now to qualifie and deny the thing. And at my last waiting upon your Majesty,

I was so bold to declare my mind and Conscience to the same, and desired your Highness, rather than you should constrain me to leave Mass, to take away my life, whereunto your Majesty made me a very gentle answer. And now I most humbly beseech your Highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your Majesties Letters. Indeed, they be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless (in mine opinion) not your Majesties in effect, because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highness) that although your Lord be praised, your Majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than other of your years, yet it is not possible that your Highness can at those years be a Judge in matters of Religion; and therefore I take it that the matter in your Letters proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings your Majesty not offended, I intend not to rule my Conscience. And thus without molesting your Highness any further, I humbly beseech the same, even for Gods sake, to bear with me as you have done, and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your Majesty or your Realm; for I use it not after such sort, putting no doubt but in time to come, whether I live or dy, your Majesty shall perceive that mine intent is grounded upon a true love towards you, whose Royal Estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my daily prayer according to my duty. And after pardon craved of your Majesty for these rude and bold Letters, if neither at my humble suit, nor for the regard of the promise made to the Emperor, your Highness will suffer and bear with me as you have done, till your Majesty may be a Judge herein your self, and rightly understand their proceedings, (of which your goodness yet I despair not:) otherwise rather than to offend God and my Conscience, I offer my body at your will, and death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled Conscience; most humbly beseeching your Majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your Letters. For mine old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your Majesty in all vertue and honour, with good health and long life to his pleasure.

From my poor House at Copped-Hall, *the Nineteenth of* August.

Your Majesties most humble Sister

Mary.

A Copy of the Kings Majesties Letters to the said Lady Mary.

Right dear and right entirely beloved Sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you, of that which we for Gods cause, your souls health, our conscience, and the common tranquillity of our Realm, have so long desired; assuring you that our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love, than contentation of our Conscience, and forefight of our safety. Wherefore although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love; yet we be loth to feel it decay, and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked.

And therefore meaning your weal, and therewith joyning a care not to be found guilty in our Conscience to God, having cause to require forgiveness that we have so long, for respect of love toward you, omitted our bounden duty, we send at this present our right trusty and right well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord *Rich* Chancellor of *England*, and our trusty and right well-beloved Counsellors, Sir *A. W.* Knight, Controllor of our Houshold, and Sir *W. P.* Knight, one of our Principal Secretaries in message to you, touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firm credit in those things they shall say to you from us, and do there in our name.

Given under our Signet at our Castle of *Windsor*, the 24*th* of *August*, in the first year of our Reign.

{KING Edw.6}

A Copy of the Kings Majesties instructions, given to the said Lord Chancellor, Sir A. W. *and* W. P. *Knights, &c. the four and twentieth of* August 1551.

First you the said Lord Chancellor and your Collegues shall make your immediate repair to the said Lady *Mary*, giving to her his Majesties hearty commendations, and shew the cause of your coming to be as followeth.

Although his Majesty hath long time, as well by his Majesties own mouth and writing, as by his Council, travelled that the said Lady being his Sister, and a principal Subject and Member of his Realm, should both be indeed, and also shew her self conformable to the Laws and Ordinances of the Realm, in the Profession and Rites of Religion, using all the gentle means of exhortation and advice that could be devised, to the intent that the Reformation of the fault might willingly come of her self, as the expectation and desire of his Majesty, and all good wise men was; yet notwithstanding his Majesty seeth that hitherto no manner of amendment hath followed, but by the continuance of the error, and manifest breach of his laws no small peril consequently may hap to the state of his Realm, especially the sufferance of such a fault being directly to the dishonour of God, and the great offence of his Majesties Conscience, and all other good men; and therefore of late, even with the consent and advice of the whole state of his Privy Council, and divers others of the Nobility of his Realm, whose names ye may repeat, if you think convenient, his Majesty did resolutely determine it just, necessary and expedient, that her Grace should not in any wise use or maintain the private Mass, or any other manner of Service, than such as by the Law of the Realm is authorised and allowed: And to participate this his Majesties determination to her Grace, it was thought in respect of a favourable proceeding with her self, to have the same not only to be manifested by her own Officers and Servants, being most effeemed with her, but also to be executed with them in her house, as well for the quiet proceeding in the very matter, as for the less troubling of her Grace with any message by strangers, in that time of her solitariness, wherein her Grace was then by reason of the late sickness. For which purpose her three servants, *Rochester*, *Englefield* and *Walgrave* were sent in message in this manner. First to deliver his Majesties Letter to her, next to discharge the complaints of saying Mass, and prohibiting all the Houshold from hearing any. Wherein the Kings Majesty perceiveth upon their own report, being returned to the Court, how negligently, and indeed how faintly they have executed their commandment and charge, contrary to the duty of good Subjects, and to the manifest contempt of his Majesty. Informed as manifestly they have before his Majesties Council refused to do that which pertaineth to every true faithful Subject, to the offence so far of his Majesty, and derogation of his authority, that in no wise the punishment of them could be forborn; and yet in the manner of the punishment of them, his Majesty and his Council hath such consideration and respect of her person being his Sister, that without doubt his Majesty could not with honour have had the like consideration or favour in the punishment of the dearest Counsellor he hath, if any of them had so offended; and therefore his Majesty hath sent you three not only to declare to her Grace the causes of their sending thither of late his Officers in message, but also the causes of their absence now presently. And further, in the default of the said Officers, to take order, as well with her Chaplains, as with the whole Houshold, that his Majesties laws may be there observed. And in the communication with her, you shall take occasion to answer in his Majesties name certain points of her Letter, sent now lately to his Majesty. The Copy of which Letter is now also sent to you to peruse, for your better instruction how to proceed therein. First, her allegation of the promise made to the Emperor, must be so answered, as the truth of the matter serveth, whereof every of you have heard sufficient testimony divers times in the Council. For her offering of her body at the Kings will, rather than to change her

{KING Edw.6} her Conscience, it grieveth his Majesty much, that her Conscience is so settled in error, and yet no such thing is meant of his Majesty, nor of any one of his Council, once to hurt, or will evil to her body, but even from the bottom of their heart they wish to her *Mentem sanam in corpore sano*. And therefore ye shall do very well to perswade her Grace, that this proceeding cometh only of the Conscience the King hath to avoid the offence of God, and of necessary counsel and wisdom to see his laws in so weighty causes executed. *Item*, because it is thought that *Rochester* had the care and consideration of her Graces provision of houshold, and by his absence the same might be disordered or disfurnished; his Majesty hath sent a trusty skilful man of his own houshold, to serve her Grace for the time. Who also is sufficiently instructed of *Rochester* of the state of her things of houshold. And if there shall be any thing lacking in the same, his Majesties pleasure is, that his servant shall advertise his own chief Officers of houshold, to the intent if the same may be supplied of any store here, or otherwhere helped conveniently, her Grace shall not lack.

Item, Having thus proceeded with her Grace, as for the declarations of the causes of your coming, ye shall then cause to be called before you the Chaplains, and all the rest of the houshold there present, and in the Kings Majesties name most straightly forbid the Chaplains either to say or use any Mass or kind of Service, other than by the laws authorised; and likewise ye shall forbid all the rest of the company to be present at any such prohibited service, upon pain to be most straightly punished, as worthily falling into the danger of the Kings indignation, and alike charge to them all, that if any such offence shall be openly or secretly committed, they shall advertise some of His Majesties Council. In the which clause ye shall use the reasons of their natural duty and allegeance that they owe as Subjects to their Sovereign Lord, which derogateth all other earthly duties.

Item, If you shall find either any of the Priests, or any other person disobedient to this order, ye shall commit them forthwith to Prison, as ye shall think convenient.

{An. 1550} *Item*, Forasmuch as ye were privy to the determination at *Richmond*, and there understood how necessary it was to have reformation herein; his Majesty upon the great confidence he hath in your wisdom and uprightness, remitteth to your discretion the manner of the proceeding herein, if any thing shall chance to arise there that in your opinions might, otherwise than according to these Instructions, conduce you to the execution of your charge, which in one summ is to avoid the use of the private Mass, and other unlawful service in the house of the said Lady *Mary*.

Item, Ye shall devise by some means as you may, to have understanding after your departure, how the order you give is observed, and as you shall judge fit, to certifie hither.

E. S. W. W. I. W. I. B
W. N. W. H. F. H. I. G.
T. D. W. C.

The Story of Stephen Gardiner *Bishop of* Winchester *briefly collected, the residue whereof concerning his acts and doings may further appear in the Book of Acts and Monuments, in the first Edition*, Pag. 728.

The story of Stephen Gardiner.

Although the first imprisonment of *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, in order of time was before the deprivation of Bishop *Bonner*; yet forsomuch as he was not deposed from his Bishoprick till the next or second year after, which was 1551. I have therefore driven off the History of the said Bishop of *Winchester* to this present place, intending nevertheless here not to extend and prolecute the explication of that busie matter, with all circumstances and particularities thereof, so amply and full as I might, partly for that being done in my first Volume of *Acts and Monuments*, it may here suffice and content the Reader, being disposed there to search and further to read touching the same, partly also considering how this present Volume is grown already very large and great, I thought not to pester the same with any more superfluity than needs must; and therefore leaving out his idle Letters, his long proces of Articles and Examinations, his tedious talk, with the multitude of Depositions brought in against him, and other his acts and interlocutories superfluous, I mind here (the Lord willing) briefly and summarily to excerp only the principal effects, as to the Story may seem moit appertinent, referring the resldue to be searched (if any Reader so list to do) to the Book of *Monuments* aforesaid, beginning in the Page 728.

For the full satisfaction of *Stephen Gardiner's* story read in the Book of *Acts and Monuments* of the first Edition, Pag. 728.

Briefly therefore, as touching the acts, doings, defer-wings and misdemeanors of this stout Prelat and Bishop of *Winchester*; first we will set before the Reader the Copy of a certain Writ or Evidence against the said Bishop, wherein as in a brief sumen generally is described the whole order and manner of his misordered demeanor, copied out of the publick Records in manner as followeth.

The Copy of a Writ or Evidence touching the order and manner of the misdemeanor of Winchester, *with declaration of the faults wherewith he was justly charged.*

The Writ or Evidence given out against *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*.

Whereas the Kings Majesty, by the advice of the Lord Protector and the rest of his Highness Privy Council, thinking requisite for sundry urgent considerations to have a general visitation throughout the whole Realm, did about ten Months past address forth Commissions, and by the advice of sundry Bishops, and other the best learned men of the Realm, appointed certain Orders or Injunctions to be generally observed; which being such as in some part touched the Reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the Realm, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who as well by conference with others as by open Protestation and Letters also, shewed such a wilful disobedience therein, as if it had not been quickly espied, might have bred much unquietness and trouble: Upon the knowledge thereof he being sent for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole Council of used himself, (as well in denying to receive the said Orders and Injunctions, as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet considering the place he had been in, he was only sequestred to the *Fleet*; where after he had remained a certain time, as much at his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity he was both set at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his Diocese at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance and contention in that one small City and Shire, than was almost in the whole Realm after. Besides that, the Lord Protectors Grace and the Council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from their Grace and Lordships into those parts, he had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed; and moreover when such Preachers, as being men of godly life and learning were sent into that Dioces by his Grace and Lordships to preach the Word of God, had appointed to preach, the Bishop, to disappoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his Majesties proceedings, did occupy the Pulpit himself, not fearing in his Sermon to warn the people to beware of such new Preachers, and to embrace none other Doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perilous and seditious. Whereupon being thrice sent for, and their Grace and Lordships objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end upon his second promise leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his house at *London*; because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his Dioces for a time; and being come to his house, he began afresh to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had

Winchester refusing himself before the Council.

Winchester committed to the *Fleet*.

Winchester delivered out of the *Fleet*, and set at liberty.

Winchester forgetteth himself again in his Dioces.

Winchester sent for again by the Council.

Winchester commanded to keep his house.

Winchester again breaketh promise with the Council.

neither commission nor authority; part whereof touched the Kings Majesty. Whereof being yet once again admonished by his Grace and their Lordships, he did not only promise to conform himself in all things like a good Subject, but also because he understood that he was diverstly reported of, and many were also offended with him, he offered to declare to the World his conformity, and promised in an open Sermon so to open his mind in sundry Articles agreed upon, that such as had been offended should have no more cause to be offended, but well satisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his own Confcience was well satisfied, and liked well the Kings proceedings within this Realm, so would he utter his Conscience abroad, to the satisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet all this notwithstanding, at the day appointed, he did not only most arrogantly and disobediently, and that in the presence of his Majesty, their Grace and Lordships, and of such an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been seen, speak of certain matters contrary to an express commandment given to him on his Majesties behalf both by mouth and by Letters, but also in the rest of the Articles whereunto he had agreed before, used such a manner of utterance as was very like, even there presently, to have stirred a great tumult, and in certain great matters touching the policy of the Realm, handled himself so colourably, as therein he shewed himself an open great offender, and a very seditious man; forsomuch as these his proceedings were of such fort, as being suffered to escape unpunished, might breed innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies shewed to him afore, by their Grace and Lordships, did work in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldness to demean himself more and more disobediently against his Majesties and his Graces proceedings; it was determined by their Grace and Lordships, that he should be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, and that at the time of his committing, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and *William Hummings* Clerk of the Council, should seal up the Doors of such places in his house as they should think meet; all which was done accordingly.

Winchester promiseth to shew his conformity openly in preaching.

Winchester in his sermon forsweth from his own promise and the Kings Commandments.

Winchester for his seditious disobedience had to the Tower.

By this Evidence above mentioned, first here is of the Reader to be noted how lewdly and disobediently the said *Stephen Gardiner* misused himself in the Kings general Visitation, in denying to receive such Orders and Injunctions, as for the which he justly deserved much more severe punishment, albeit the King with his Uncle the Lord Protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taste the *Fleet*. In the which house, as his durance was not long, so his intreating and ordering was very easie. Out of the which *Fleet* divers and many Letters he wrote to the Lord Protector and other of the Council, certain also to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and some to Master *Ridley* Bishop of *London*; the particulars were too long here to rehearse, considering how this Book is overcharged as ye see already; and especially seeing the same to be notified in our first Edition sufficiently, as a foresaid. Wherefore omitting the rehearsal of these said Letters, and referring the Reader to the Book aforesaid, I will only repeat one Letter of the said Bishop, with the answers of the Lord Protector unto the same; the contents whereof be these as follow.

For the Letters of Winchester read in the Book of Acts and Monuments of the first Edition, Page 732.

A Letter of *Winchester* to Master *Vaughan*.

A Letter of Stephen Gardiner to Captain Vaughan.

MAster Vaughan, *after my right hearty commendations: In my last Letters to my Lord Protector, signifying, according to the general commandment by Letters given to all Justices of Peace, the state of this Shire, I declared (as I supposed true) the Shire to be in good order, quiet and conformity, for I had not then heard of any alteration in this Shire, which the said Letters of commandment did forbid. Now of late within these two days I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the Town of* Portsmouth, *where the Images of Christ and his Saints have been most contemptuously pulled down, and spitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the Mayor, the Kings Majesties chief Ministers, as well to know the truth, as to consult with you for the Reformation of it, to the intent I may be seen to discharge my duty, and discouraging if indeed both to God and to the Kings Majesty, under whom I am here appointed to have Cure, and care to relieve such as be by any ways fallen, and preserve the rest that stand from like danger.*

Image plucked down at Portsmouth.

Ye are a Gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wise, and esteem to have more knowledge, wisdom and discretion than to allow any such enormities, and therefore I do the more willingly consult with you herein, with request friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter, who be the doers, and the circumstances of it, and whether ye think the matter so far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and disproving of the deed, might without a further danger be enterprised in the Pulpit or not, minding, if it may so be, to send one thither for that purpose upon Sunday next coming. I would use preaching as it should not be occasion of any further folly where a folly is begun, and to a multitude, perswaded in the opinion of destruction of Images, I would never preach. For (as Scripture willeth us) we should cast no precious stones before Hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be Hogs and worse than Hogs, if there be any grosser Beasts than Hogs be, and have been ever so taken, and in England *they are called* Lollards, *who denying Images, thought therewithal the Crafts of painting and graveing to be generally superfluous and naught, and against Gods laws.*

In Germany *such as maintained that opinion of destroying of Images were accounted the dregs cast out by* Luther *after he had tumned all his brewings in Christs Religion, and so taken as Hogs meat. For the reproof of whom* Luther *wrote a Book specially, and I have with mine eyes seen the Images standing in all Churches, where* Luther *was had in estimation. For the destruction of Images containeth an enterprise to subvert Religion, and the state of the World with it, and especially the Nobility, who by Images set forth and spread abroad to be read of all people, their Lineage, Parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the Pursevant carrieth not on his breast the Kings name written with such Letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read be they never so rude, being great knowns Letters in Images of three Lions, and three flowers de luce, and other beasts holding those Arms. And though he that cannot read the Scripture written about the Kings Great Seal, yet he can read* St. George *on Horseback on the one side, and the King sitting in his Majesty on the other side, and readeth so much written in those Images, as if he be an honest man, he will put off his Cap; and although if the Seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a Candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the Seal for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax only whilst it continueth whole. And if by revoling of stocks and stones, in which matter Images be graven, the setting of the truth to be read of all men, shall be contemned; how shall such writing continue in honour as is comprised in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our Books be made, such as few can skill of, and not the hundredth part of the Realm? and if we a few that can read, because we read in one sort of Letters, so priviledged as they have many reliefs, shall pull away the Books of the rest, and would have our letters only in estimation, and blind all them, shall not they have just cause to mistrust what is meant? And if the Croft be a truth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not have a writing thereof, such as all can read, that is to say an Image? If this opinion should proceed, when the Kings Majesty hereafter should shew his person, his lively Image, the honour due by Gods law among such might continue; but as for the Kings Standards, his Banners, his Arms should hardly continue in their due reverence for fear of* Lollards Idolatry, *which they gather upon Scripture beastly, not only untruly. The Scripture reproveth false Images made of stocks and stones, and so it doth false men made of flesh and bones.*

When the Emperors mony was shewed to Christ wherein was the Image of the Emperor, Christ contemned not that Image calling it an Idol, nor noted that mony to be against Gods law, because it had an Image in it, as though it were against the precept of God, Thou shalt have no graven Image; *but taught them good civility, in calling it the Emperors Image, and bad them use the mony as it was ordered to be used in his right use.*

{KING Edw. 6.}

{ANNO 1550.}

There

{KING Edw. 6.}

There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth falshood. False writings, false books, false images and false men, all be naught, to be contemned and despised: as for paper, ink, parchment, stones, wood, bones, A.B. of the Chancery hand, and A. B. of the Secretary hand, a Letter of Germany *fashion, or of any other form, they be all of one estimation, and may be, of men inclining to the Devil, used for falshood, or applying to Gods gracious calling, used to set forth truth. It is a terrible matter to think, that this false opinion conceived against Images should trouble any mans head: and such as I have known vexed with that Devil (as I have known some) he never beleft so wondrously obstinate in it; and if they can find one that can spell* Latine *to help forth their madness, they be more obdurate than ever were the* Jews, *and slander whatsoever is said to them for their relief. Of this sort I know them to be, and therefore if I wist there were many of that fort with you, I would not invitate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my Lord Protector. But if you thought there might be other ways used first to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceeding with you and the Mayor, with both your helps to do that may ly in me to the redreft of the matter, which I take to be such an enterprise against Christs Religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitate with the Devils instigation, and at this time much hurtful to the common state, as ye can of your wisdom consider. Whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer by this Bearer to these my Letters, to the intent I may use my self in sending of a Preacher thither, or writing to the Lord Protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.*

If every Image representing a thing of truth may stand in a place of Worship, then let Winchesters face stand in the Church also.

From my house at Wolvefay, *the 24 of* May, *1547.*
Steph. Wint.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, answering to the Letter above.

AFter hearty commendations, I received of late two Letters from your Lordship, the one inclosed in a Letter of Master *Vaughan*'s to us, and directed to him, the other directed straight unto us, very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are that no Innovations should be had. The which mind of yours, as we do highly esteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietness, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much fear of innovation or disturbance doth not cause both of them to be. Many times in an Host, he that crieth *Enemies, Enemies*, when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a Mutiny or Rebellion to be made; and he that for fear of a fickness to come, taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himself sick indeed. We perceive by the said your Letters, that heinouser facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cause why; and those facts which were punishable, be already by him redreft.

Winchester's reason. The Pursevant carrieth about Saint George on Horseback, and the Kings Plate, &c. Ergo Images muft stand in Churches.

For Images.

For the matter of Images, an order was taken in the late King of famous memory, our Sovereign Lords days. When the abused Images (yet lurking in some places by negligence of them who should ere this time have looked unto the same) be now abolished, let not that be a matter of the abolishing of all Images. Though Fables and Adulteres be punished, all men be not slain. Though the Images which did adulterate Gods glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of Images to be destroyed. Yet after our advice, better it were for a time to abolish them all, than for that the dead Images, the Kings loving Subjects, being faithful and true to the Kings Majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietness the Magistrates and Rulers shall keep them well in order, whom contentious Preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it muft be provided that the Kings Majesties Images, Arms and Ensigns, should be honoured and worshipped after the decent order and invention of human laws and ceremonies, and nevertheless that other Images, contrary to Gods Ordinances and Laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration and invocation, (which forbidden by God) should derogate his honour, and be occasion to accumulate Gods wrath upon us. Where they be taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the Church or Market stead, following the late King of famous memory his counsel and order; yet more gentleness was shewed to those Books of Images, than to the true and unfeigned Books of Gods Word, both being abused, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certain persons, and almoft from all: The Images were left still to them who most dib dote them, the thing being yet closed from them which should teach the use. Wherefore it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken that the abused before be not abused again, the advantage of some Priests, simplicity of Laymen, and great inclination of mans nature to Idolatry, giving cause thereto.

Diffidation of Images.

More good cloaked conveyed to the Books of Images, than to the Books of Gods Word in K. Henrys time.

They that confemn Images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as flocks and stones, may likewise defpise printing in Paper because the Ink hath Pitch in it, and the Paper is made of old Rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more agrieved, that an Image of Wood, though it were of Saint *Ann*, or St. *Margaret* should be burned, than he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted Word of God is comprised, should be torn in pieces, burned or made paste of. Nor do we now speak of false Bibles, nor false Gospels, but of the very true Gospel, either in *Latine*, *Greek* or *English*, which we see every day done, and sometime commanded, because the Translator displeaseth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one Image either for age, and because it is wormeaten, or because it hath been foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a flock or a stone, but a true Saint of fleth and bone should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible fight. We cannot see but that Images may be counted marvellous Books to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our Beads and Handkerchiefs, unto whom we have lighted Candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help, which thing hath feldom been seen done to the Gospel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kissech that but the Priest at the Mass, at a painted Picture, or in such a ceremony? Or who kneeleth unto it, or fetteth a Candle before it? And yet it seeth or heareth, as well as the Images or Pictures either of S. *Jhon*, or our Lady, or Christ.

Pessis cum better abide the Book of Gods Word, than Images to be burned.

Images falsly called Books, and counted for the Lay-mens Books.

Indeed Images be great Letters; yet as big as they be, we have seen many which have read them aright. And believe they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the *Jews* to become evil Readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your Lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common Image. Your Lordship hath found out, in the Kings Highness Great Seal, St. *George* on Horseback, which the Graver never made in it, nor the Sealer ever sealed with it: and this Inscription is not very little, and if it were, it could not escape your Lordships eyes. As the Inscription testifieth, the Kings Image is on both the sides; on the one side as in War the chief Captain; on the other side as in Peace the liege Sovereign; in harness with his Sword drawn to defend his Subjects; in his Robes in the Seat of Justice with his Scepter rightfully to rule and govern them, as he whom both in Peace and War we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest Head, Ruler and Governour. If it were St. *George* (my Lord) where is his Spear and Dragon? And why should the Inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the Image? Yet it is called sometimes of the rude and ignorant people's but not by and by, that that is commonly called so, is always trueth. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your Lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the Image of *Bellerophon* or *Perseus* was turned first and appointed to be St. *George*, and of *Polyphemus*, of *Hercules*, or of some other *Colossus*, to be S. *Christopher*, because authentical Histories have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon some device, or rising of a true fact or History, and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

Winchester overseen in mistaking the Kings Image for St. George on Horseback.

If

It were hardly done indeed my Lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their Books of their Images: but it were more hardly done, if that you or a few which can read in one or two Languages, (as *Greek* and *Latin*) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and priviledges, should pull away the *English* Books from the reft which only understand *English*; and would have only your Letters of *Greek* and *Latin* in estimation, and bind all them much more only understand *English*; much more is it against reason to take from them the books of Gods word.

1 *Cor.* 8. *Winchester's* distinction between meat and false images resisted.

What you mean by true Images and false Images, it is not fo eafie to perceive. If they be only falfe Images, which have nothing that they represent, as Saint *Paul* writeth, *An Idol is nothing*, (because there is no fuch god) and therefore the Croſs can be no falſe Image, becauſe it is true that Chriſt ſuffered upon it: then the Image of the Sun and the Moon were no Idols, for ſuch things there be as the Sun and the Moon, and they were in the Image then ſo repreſented, as Painting and Carving doth repreſent them. And the Image of *Ninus* and *Ceſar*, and (as ſome write) the Images of all the twelve choſen gods (as they called them) were the Images of once living men. And it might be ſaid that the Image of God the Father hath no eyes, noſe, lips, and a long gray beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But if that be a falſe Image and an Idol which is otherwiſe worſhipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the Braſen Serpent, being a true Image and repreſentation of Chriſt, by abuſe was made an Idol; it may be thought in times paſt, and peradventure now at this time, in ſome places, the Images not only of St. *John*, or St. *Anne*, but of our Lady and Chriſt be falſe Images and Idols, repreſenting to fooliſh, blind and ignorant mens hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you (my Lord) to have been removed ſooner, and before that the Captain there ſhould have need to have done it. But if your Lordſhip be ſtack in ſuch matters, he that removeth falſe Images and Idols abuſed, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

The Image of the Father is falſe, and therefore ſaid by *Winchester's* reaſon to be abolished.

Chriſt called not the money, having *Ceſars* Image in it, an Idol, when it was uſed to lawful uſes, and to pay the due tribute withal. But when a man doth not uſe thoſe Images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the Commonwealth ſervice, St. *Paul* Chriſts Diſciple called that covetouſneſs, and the ſerving and bondage to Idols. So that even in money may be Idolatry, if we make too much of thoſe Images which Chriſt here doth not reprehend. There be ſome ſo tickliſh, and ſo fearful one ways, and ſo tender ſtomached, that they can abide no old abuſes to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterpriſe againſt all Religion and good order; as there be on the contrary ſide ſome too raſh, who having no conſideration what is to be done, headlong will ſet upon every thing. The Magiſtrates duty is betwixt theſe, ſo in a mean to ſee and provide that old doting ſhould not take further or deeper ruſt in the Commonwealth, neither antient error overcome the ſeen and tried truth, nor long abuſe, for the age and ſpace of time only, ſtill be ſuffered; and yet all theſe with quietneſs and gentleneſs, and without all contention, if it were poſſible to be reformed. To the which your Lordſhip, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and perſwation, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleaſure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full deſire and purpoſe, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the Kings Majeſties time, whoſe Majeſties Reign God preſerve, all abuſes with wiſdom reformed, Chriſts Religion with good and politick order of the Commonwealth, without any contention and ſtrife among the Kings ſubjects, might flouriſh and daily increaſe. And this to your Lordſhips Letter ſent to Maſter *Vaughan* of *Portſmouth*.

If it be againſt reaſon, that learned men ſhould take from the unlearned the books of their Images, much more is it againſt reaſon to take from them the books of Gods word.

{KING *Edw.6*}

Winchester to the Lord *Protector*.

He noted ſome points in my Lord of *St. Davids* Sermon, which I ſend unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you ſome part what I think, for the whole I cannot expreſs: ſomewhat I ſhall incumber you with my babling, but he hath incumbred ſome friends more with his tatling. And alas, my Lord, this is a piteous caſe, that having ſo much buſineſs as ye have, theſe inward diſorders ſhould be added unto them, to the courage of ſuch as would this Realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would deſire, with hope thereby to diſorder this Realm, being now a time rather to repair that which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord ſhall maintain eſtimation. The contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid. There was never attempt of alteration made in *England*, but upon comfort of diſcord at home, and wo be to them that mind it. If my Lord of *St. Davids*, or ſuch others have their head cumbred with any new Platform, I would with they were commanded, between this and the Kings Majeſties full age, to draw the Plat, diligently to hew the ſtones, dig the ſand, and chop the Chalk in the unſeaſonable time of building, and when the Kings Majeſty cometh to full age, to preſent their labours to him, and in the mean time not to diſturb the State of the Realm, where of your Grace is Protector, but that you may in every part of Religion, Laws, Lands, and Decrees (which four contain the State) deliver the ſame unto our Sovereign Lord, according unto the truſt you be put in, which ſhall be much to your honour, and as all honeſt men wiſh and deſire. To which delired effect there can be nothing ſo noiſome and contrarious, as trouble and diſquiet. Wherein your Grace ſhall be ſpecially troubled, as on whoſe ſhoulders all the weight lyeth, and whatſoever ſhall happen amiſs by the faults of other, ſhall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foreſight in time to withſtand the ſame. And albeit that you mind not to be faulty in either, yet if the effect be not to the Realm as it were to be wiſhed, the Prince though he were of age ſhould be excuſed, and the Governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of preheminence and authority, and ſpecially in this Realm, as ſtories make mention, which ſhould not diſcourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reſerved at home; and at home if the beginning be reſiſted, the intended folly may eaſily be interrupted. But if my Brother of S. *Davids*, may like a Champion with his ſword in his hand, make entry for the reſt, the door of licence opened, there ſhall more by folly thruſt in with him than your Grace would wiſh. Thus, as I think, I write homely to your Grace, becauſe you were content I ſhould write, wherein I conſider only to have all things well. And becauſe your Grace is the Protector, and the chief Director of the Realm, to preſent unto your wiſdom what my fooliſh is, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing over much, and yet I have had an inkling that they that ſo blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the ſtate that you be in, it ſhall be ever commendable to foreſee the worſt. In quiet ye be ſtrong, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring your ſelf in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to ſcourge the other. Whereas in concord they be both yours, in an honeſt, reverent, lovely fear to do their duty, which I doubt not your wiſdom can conſider. And conſider alſo how noiſome any other outward incumber might be in the time of the minority of our Sovereign Lord. I told the Emperors Counſel, That our late Sovereign Lord did much for the Emperor, to enter War with him, and to put his Realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he ſhould enjoy it or no, for that is the nature of War. And ſometime the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye adminiſter the Realm for another, it were a marvelous queſtion of him that ſhall enjoy the Realm to ſay, What meant you in the time of adminiſtration to adventure my Realm? Why took ye not rather for the time of my minority any Peace, whatſoever it were, which is better than the beſt War, as ſome men have written? I know you have authority

Mr. Barlow.

Where quitent and tranquility go with eaſe, there is reaſon with eaſe form-ed religion, but contrary, where Gods religion lacketh his right, there is ſecond Table muſt give place to the firſt.

This Biſhop is one of the having more reſpect to worldly tranquility than to Chriſts glory.

Willy *Winchester* unreadineſs of giving ſage counſel, craftily going about to incenſe and ſet the Lord Protector againſt all good men, and all godly proceedings.

{KING *Edw.6*}

Winchester againſt the expedition into *Scotland*.

Winchester here meaneth a fetch, if he could have brought it about.

Winchesters Letters againſt *Riddley*.

Gods Word is folly to *Winchester*, but to them that be wiſe in the Lord he is the wiſdom of the Lord to ſalvation.

thority ſufficient, and wiſdom plenty, and yet being entred to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at *Bruſſels* with you, deviſing of the world at large. And if I were ſworn to ſay what I think of the ſtate of the world, I would for a time let *Scots* be *Scots*, with diſpair to have them, unleſs it were by conqueſt, which ſhall be a goodly enterpriſe for our young Maſter when he cometh to age. And in the mean time prepare him mony for it, and ſet the Realm in an order which it hath need of. And for a ſtay, if the Emperor would offer the King of *Romans* daughter, as he did; do with him in our Maiſters minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your eſtimation ſhall encreaſe, and our Sovereign Lords ſurety not a little encreaſe and be augmented. For of *France* it muſt be taken for a rule, They be ſo wanton, they cannot do well longer than they fee how they may be ſcourged if they do not. Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occaſion of writing, and ſhall pray God to put into your mind that which ſhall be for the beſt, as I truſt he will; and in the mean time to extinguiſh this barbarous contention at home, which can ſerve only to do hurt, and no good. I had faſhioned a Letter to Maſter *Ridley*, which I ſend unto your Grace, and encumber you with theſe melancholly writings, ingendred of this fondneſs, which be not worth the reading. And ſo it may like you to uſe them, for having heard that which ye have ſaid unto me, and otherwiſe heard and ſeen what you do, I ſhall go occupy my wit in other matters, and now ſuch as have found enterpriſes ſhall fee that I letted not their follies, which they called Gods Word. But for his time the King our Sovereign Lord that dead is, and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation; howſoever any ſhall be here not contented; which miſcontentation hath been ſo fond in ſome, as they have burſt out and wiſhed, that they might without breach of his Laws kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cauſe why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the ſooner, and pray to God to order all things for the beſt, With preſervation of our Sovereign Lord, and increaſe of your Graces honour. At my Houſe in *Southwark*, the laſt of *February*.

Your Graces humble Beadman, S. W.

Another Letter of S. W.

Winchester revengeth himſelf againſt *Bales* Books.

After my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the ſame to underſtand, I have ſeen of late two Books ſet forth in *Engliſh* by *Bale*, very pernicious, ſeditious, and ſlanderous. And albeit that your Grace needeth not mine adverteſtement in that matter, yet I am ſo bold to trouble your Grace with my Letters for mine own commodity, wherewith to ſatisfie mine own conſcience, to write and ſay as becometh me in ſuch matters, which I deſire your Grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to ſee, ſo ſoon after my late Sovereign Lord and Maſters death, a Book ſpread abroad more to his diſhonour (if a Princes honour may be by vile inferiour ſubjects impeached) than profeſſed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have ſuffered under him as a Martyr, and the woman therewith to be by *Bales* own elucidation (as he calleth it) ſo fet forth and painted as ſhe appeareth to be, and is boaſted to be a Sacramentary, and by the Laws worthy (as ſhe ſuffered) the pains of death; ſuch like things have by ſtealth in our late Sovereign Lords days gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in ſuch caſes to ſpeak, I keep my wont to write to your Grace now, in whoſe hands I know the ſtate of the Realm to be for the time in Government, and to whom for reſpects of old acquaintance I with all felicity. In theſe matters of Religion I have been long exerciſed, and have (thanks be to God) lived ſo long as I have ſeen them throughly tried, and beſides that I have learned in written Books of authority, I have perceived by Books written without authority, as by Maſter *Bale*, *Foy*, and other, and eſpecially as *Bale* uſeth now, that Scripture doth by abuſe, ſervice to the right hand and the left at once, in ſo much as at one time *Bale* praiſeth *Luther*, and ſetteth his death forth in *Engliſh*, with commendation as of a Saint, which *Luther* (whatſoever he was otherwiſe) ſtoutly affirmed the Preſence really of Chriſts natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar. And yet *Bale* the noble Clerk would have *Anne Askew*, blaſphemouſly denying the Preſence of Chriſts natural Body, to be taken for a Saint alſo. So as *Bales* Saints may vary in Heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might ſuffice to diſprove the mans credit, if thwarting talk were more delired of many than the truth indeed, which truth was ſuppoſed to have been both in writing and exercile well eſtabliſhed, long before our late Lords death; and *Bale* and his adherents in their madneſs plainly reproved and condemned. I cannot forget, your Grace told me you would ſuffer no innovation: and indeed if you deliver this Realm to the King at eighteen years of age, as the King his Father, whoſe ſoul God aſſoil, left it, as I truſt you ſhall, the act is ſo honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation, which were a charge to your Grace more than needed, being already burthened heavily. And albeit in the Commonwealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the Kings Majeſty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you both here and abroad, you ſhall ſhadow mens doings if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And for my part beſides my duty to the Kings Majeſty and the Realm, I would that your Grace in whom ſince your Government I have found much gentleneſs and humanity, had as much honour with good ſucceſs as ever any had, and pray to God that mens would let your Grace alone, and ſuffer the Realm in the time of your Government in quiet among our ſelves whereby we may be the more able to reſiſt foreign trouble, which your Grace doth prudently foreſee. Certain Printers, Players, and Preachers make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be juſtified, nor what Sacraments we ſhould have. And if the agreement in Religion made in the time of our late Sovereign Lord be of no force in their judgment, what eſtabliſhment could any new agreement have? And every uncertainty is noiſome to any Realm. And where every man will be Maſter, there muſt needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous at that the ſame time it is taught that all men be liers, at the ſelf ſame time almoſt every man would be believed; and amongſt them *Bale*, when his untruth appeareth evidently in ſetting forth the Examination of *Anne Askew*, which is utterly miſreported. I beſeech your Grace to pardon my babling with you. But I ſee my late Sovereign Lord and Maſter ſlandered by ſuch ſimple perſons, Religion aſſaulted, the Realm troubled, and peaceable men diſquieted, with occaſion given to enemies to point and ſay, that after *Wickliffs* ſtrange teaching in the Sacrament of Chriſts Church hath vexed other, it is finally turned unto us to moleſt and ſcourge us, for other fruit cannot *Bales* teaching have, ne the teaching of ſuch other as go about to trouble the agreement eſtabliſhed here. In which matter I dare not deſire your Grace ſpecially to look earneſtly unto it, leſt I ſhould ſeem to note in you that which becometh me not. And I know that your Grace being otherwiſe occupied, theſe things may creep in as it hath been heretofore; ſometime it may be hard for your Grace to find out or pull out the root of this naughtineſs: but yet I am bold to write of theſe, of mine own ſtomach, who have ever uſed, for diſcharge of my ſelf, to ſay and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the reſt to the diſpoſition of God, who hath wrought wonders in theſe matters, ſince they were firſt moved, and given me ſuch knowledg and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth; I mean knowledg and experience of them that be chief ſtirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot ſpeak or report truly in common matters: The preſence is of the ſpirit, and all is for the fleſh, women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a diſſolution and diſſipation of all eſtates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your Grace unto. For it tendeth all to confuſion and diſorder, which is the effect of untruth.

Bale hath ſet forth a prayer for the Duke *John* of *Saxony*, wherein the Duke remitteth to Gods judgment to be ſhewed here in this world the juſtneſs of his cauſe concerning Religion, and deſireth God, if his cauſe be not good,

Luther and *Anne Askew* why not as well Saints both in Heaven, though they varied in one point here, as you and Swich, both the Popes friends, and yours, as ye ſay, ſaid your faith in diverts.

If the ſix Articles might have continued ſtill, all were quiet with *Winchester*, how ſoever it were eſtabliſhed in the true Church of Chriſt. Players and Preachers trouble *Winchester*. Every incertainty is noiſome I grant. But reformation of Religion is not by and by the cauſe of incertainty in a Commonwealth, nor maketh even to a Miſchief. The Realm is troubled by the much like as the Prophet *Jeremy* was by ſaint troubled the Kingdom of Judah. Salt laid on a ſore, if it do not eat it, the ſoar is not in the fleſh, but in the fleſh, which can not abide it

to

A strange sign in the Sun, at the Duke of *Somerset*'s taking. The true Religion and opinion of their Governors will be found not to disagree, when the Bishop of *Winchester* shall not be able to prove the contrary, as yet he hath not done it hitherto.

† *Germany* with their Parliament doth stand maintained and governed by Gods Law, and hath rule of all Men and Women, they order their Children, Boys and Girls, men and women have rule of all. Nego argumentum quis confitur a remissio. His argument should be denied, Gods Law hath rule of all Men and Women by they are Gods Law, Fish, fish Men and Women have rule of all, and this is the form of the argument, good, and the matter false. *Winchester* fished to Lent, therefore he loved no Fish.

The Allies of Christ have divers and sundry ends: some were necessary to establish laws.

Some practise to his own person Some pertaining to publick examples.

to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words whereby to tempt God; since which prayer the Duke is indeed taken as all the world saith, and at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the Sun, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and he both marvellous; but whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many Commonwealths have continued without the Bishop of *Romes* Jurisdiction, but without true Religion, and with such opinions as *Germany* maintained, no estate hath continued in the circuit of the world to us known since Christ came. For the *Turks* and *Tartars* Government is as it were a continual war, and they uphold their rule with subduing of Nobility by fire and sword. † *Germany* with their Religion could never have flood, though the Emperor had let them alone: for if it be perswaded the understanding of Gods Law to be at large in women * and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, and then Gods Law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be indeed truths children, and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of it self, in a right meaning mans mouth, more eloquent than forged matters can with study bring forth. What Rithmes be set forth to defend the Lent, and how fond Fish (saving your Graces honour) and foolish? and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now in *Lent* to be so sick as the Rime purporteth and like to die indeed, to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year. And thereto shall it come if the common diet be not certain. For the Fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the Butcher may with Flesh out-face him. And Fish is that great furniture of this Realm, and food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not my self: for such as love not Fish should nevertheless commend it to other, to the intent the Flesh by them forborn might be to such as love it only the more plenty. The publick defamation and trifling with *Lent* is a marvellous matter to them that would fay evil of this Realms for there is nothing more commended unto us Christian men in both of the Churches of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, than Lent is, if all men be not liers. In the King our late Sovereign Lords days this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would with we had no *Lent*. Every Country hath his peculiar inclination to naughtiness: *England* and *Germany* unto the Belly, the one in Liquor, the other in Meat's; *Fraunce* a little beneath the Belly; *Italy* to vanities and pleasures devised; and let an *English* Belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was Purveyor for the Seas, what an exclamation was there (as your Grace shewed me) of the Bishops fasting-day, as they called Wednesday, and *Winchester*, *Winchester*, grand mercy for your Wine, I threwe your heart for your water? Was not that Song, although it was in sport, a fignification how loth men be to have their license restrained? or their accustomed fare abated? unless it were in extream necessity. I hear fay that the Lent is thus spoken of by *Joseph* and *Tongue*, with other new (whom I know not) as being one of Christs Miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow, at which teaching all the world will laugh. For Christ men have Christ for an example in all things, both to use the world as he did only for necessity, and to contemn the world as he did, and, in case to refuse it, and chuse the vile death, as he did the death of the Cross, which things he did like a Master most perfect, for he was very God, and we must endeavour ourselves in the use of his gifts to follow that he did, not to fast forty days without meat as Christ did, for we be but prentises, and carry about a ruinous carkass, that must have some daily reparation with food: but yet was there never any that said, how therefore we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christs Fast for a miracle only. And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily Miracles, in subduing and conforming by Gods grace their sensual appetites, and humble obeying to the will of God, which no man can of himself do. And Christ promised that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christs Miracles, for so it was to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught Christian men to follow, because it was a Miracle, as they might say: it were more tolerable to forget Lent (as *Pegge* telleth) of a Priest in the Mountains, that knew not how the year went about, and when the Weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards *Palm* Sunday, he devised an excuse to his Parish, and bad them prepare therefore, for indeed the year had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so, as they should be as soon at *Easter* as the rest; and thus did he pass over *Lent* with much less slander, than to teach it for a Doctrine, that *Lent* was one of Christs Miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great Miracle, (as all Christs doings were) yet was it not a greater Miracle, nor more against mans nature, than to love them that laboured and were busie to take away the natural life of his Manhood. For as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth it abhor destruction or hurt. In will and define men follow Christ in all things; in execution they cannot; for we have brittle Vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he seeth expedient for his Church; to as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the Flock assembled.

This proveth nor, for though a man of nature abhorreth his destruction, as he desireth relief; yet it followeth not that a man should desire for the destruction of another mans soul, as he desireth relief of his body.

Gregory Nazianzen speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate Christs Fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not disallow, not requiring of all men so to do, for that is an extremity, ne yet affoiling the matter, as our new Schoolmen do, that Christian men should let Christs Fast alone as a Miracle; which manner of solution I heard a good Fellow make, when is was told him he might not revenge himself, And when he was strucken on the one ear, he should put forth the other. *I am*, quoth he) *a man, I am no God, if Christ being God did so, he might* (quoth he) *if it had pleased him, have done otherwise.* And so when it hath been alledged, that Christ fasted forty days, he might (quoth he) have eaten if he had list; these trifings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if Christian men shall refuse to follow Christ in Miracles. For all his life was Miracles, and his love that is our Badge moft miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beseech your Grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the Common-house, that when I am in my tale, think I should have liberty to make an end, and specially writing to your Grace, with whom I account I may be bold, assuring you it proceedeth of a zeal towards you to whom I with well, whose intent although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to shew me it was, yet are such things spread abroad whereof the evil willers of the Realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on Wheels. If any man had either fondly or undirectly spoken of *Lent* to engrieve it to be an importable burthen, I would with his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the *Lent* in the form received, but this I reckon, that no Christian man may contemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his Fast, and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year, worldly to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the Feast of *Easter*, whereof St. *Chrysostome* speaketh expreffly. And for avoiding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the superiour serveth. And so I heard the Kings Majesty our Sovereign Lord declare when your Grace was present. And therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of Licences; and to declare that himself contemned not the Fast, he was at charge to have (as your Grace knoweth) the *Lent* diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself, and the like hereof I hear fay your Grace hath ordered for the Kings Majesty that now is, which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, ne the Rimes set abroad. *Lent* is among Christian men a godly Fast to exercise men to forbear, and in *England* both godly and politick, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall shew, if it be ever attempted, which God forbid. And yet *Lent* is buried in Rime, and *Stephen Stockfish*

{KING 1 Edw 6} *Stockfish* bequeathed, not to me, though my name be noted, wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would define of God to have the ftrength of this Realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations.

Stockfish bequeathed to Sir. Gardiner.

Here well you remembred this lesson of anger in Q. Maries time let others judge.

And if all men be liers, as it is now to my understanding ftrangely published, methink *Bale* and such new men, as be new liers, should be moft abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in *Italy* and *France* is a matter of combate, is now found to be improprate to all men. God grant the truth to be defired of all men truly. But as one asked, when he saw an old Philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on; and it was answered how the old man was discussing what was vertue; it was replied, If the old man yet dispute of vertue, when will he use it? So it may be faid in our Religion, If we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution? I would make an end of my Letters, and cannot, wherein I account my self faulty. And though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I fay as I think, forsomuch as I have faid, and further think your Grace hath no trouble troublesome, but this matter of Religion unseasonably brought into the defamation of our late Sovereign Lords acts, doings, and Laws. I beseech your Grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldness, which groweth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your Grace, which I cannot forget. And thus inforcing my self to an end, I shall pray to Almighty God to preserve your Grace in much felicity, with increase of honour and atchieving of your hearts desire.

At Winchester *the one and twentieth of* March.

Your Graces Humble Beadman,
S. W.

The Letter of the Lord Protector, answering to Winchester.

YOUR Letters dated the one and twentieth day of *May*, as concerning two Books new set forth by one *Bale* and certain Sermons preached here, were with convenient speed delivered unto us. And like as in your Letters to *Edward Vaughan* of *Portsmouth*, so in those to us we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is defirous of quiet, good order and continuance of the godly state of this Realm; so we do marvel that so soon, so far off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which indeed we being here and attendant upon the same cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet or so unite, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, Printers, Players, and Preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the Magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the Realm, as suffering the laft punishment, be boldeft to set forth their mind; and dare use their extreme license or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid. There have foolish and naughty Rimes and Books been made and set forth, of the which as it appeareth you have seen more than we, and yet to our knowledg too many be bought; but yet after our mind it is too fore and too cruelly done to lay all those to our charge, and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the moft exact cruelty and tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*, yet *Pasquill* (as we hear say) writeth his mind, and many times against the Bishops tyranny, and sometime toucheth other great Princes, which thing for the moft part he doth safely, not that the Bishop alloweth *Pasquills* Rimes and Verses, specially against himself, but because he cannot punish the Author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late Kings days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wife, and politick Prince, and a diligent executer of his Laws; and when your Lordship was moft diligent in the same, yet as your Lordship it self writeth, and it is too manifeft to be unknown, there were that wrote such lewd Rimes and Plays as you speak of, and some against the Kings proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that, about *Jack of Lents* lewd Ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly Sermons (which be evil in your Letters joyned together) you be so earneft, when against Dr. *Smiths* Book, being a man learned in the Doctors and Scripture, which made so plain against the Kings Highnefs authority, and for the furtherance of the Bithop of *Romes* usurped power, your Lordship neither wrote nor faid any thing. And as it appeared you be so angry with his retractation (which frankly without fear, dread, compullion, or impriforment, only with learning and truth, overcomed, he came unto) that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture. Except peradventure you think that the saying of *David*, *Omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted, *Every man is a lier*, which howsoever your Lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeareth unto us then of him taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of a man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so Clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtil difference of lying and telling of a lie, or as it is in *Latin* called, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*: but if your Lordship be loth to be counted *mendax*, which belike he hath interpreted a lier, or a lying man, and think it a matter of combate, he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for Clerks to dispute of; we would have wished your Lordship to have written against his Book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the Author himself refuseth to aver: your Lordship writeth earneftly for *Lent* which we go not about to put away, no more than when Dr. *Smith* wrote so earneftly that every man should be obedient to the Bishops; The Magistrates by and by went not about to bring Kings and Princes and other under their subjection. Writers write their fantasie, my Lord, and Preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done that is spoken. The people buyeth those foolish Ballads of *Jack-a-Lent*. So bought they in times past Pardons, and Carols, and *Robin Hoods* Tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet; and peradventure of the Sermons there is, and indeed there is (if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the Preachers there and then spoken or meant. *Lent* remaineth still my Lord, and shall God willing till the Kings Highness, with our advise and the reside of his Graces Council, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the Kings Majesty remaineth Head of the Church, although through sinister ways, and by subtil means some Traytors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the Kings Majesties Supremacy, and bring in the Bishop of *Romes* Tyranny, with other Superstition and Idolatry. On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordship writeth, we are set in a painful room to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour our self to the beft of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would with, yet not so loosely that there needeth such exclamations or great fear to be. We do study to do all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order. And we would with nothing more than your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither Superstition, Idolatry, or Papacy, should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken by jealousie as by negligence, with too much fear or too much patience. No ways worse than when one is over light eared to the one way, and deaf on the other side. Rumours by space and times increase naturally, and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will with (and truft you have) your heart faithful to us: our moft hearty and continual prayer to God is, to leave this Realm to the Kings Highnefs, at his Graces age by you written, rather more flourishing in men, poffeffions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and Gods Religion and Doctrine, if it were poffi-

Quiet may be as well broken by jealousie as by negligence.

ble,

ble and Gods will, than we found it. And that is our whole intent and eſperance, to the which we refuſe no mans help, as knoweth God; in whom we bid you heartily Farewell.

Another Letter of *Winchester* to the Lord *Protector.*

After my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace: upon the return of my ſervant *Meſſie* with your Graces Letters, anſwering to ſuch my Letters, whereein I ſignified the robbing of my Secretary, I read the ſame in I ſignified the robbing of my Secretary, I read the ſame in I ſignified the robbing of my Secretary, I read the ſame in

dax, so Englished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the Doctors of the Church Liars with himself, knowing what opinions were abroad, it inforced me to write unto your Grace for the cafe of my conscience; giving this judgment of *Smith*, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten veritles, nor yet his retractation, and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wote, these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the Commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten veritles he was so mad to say, Bishops in this Realm may make Laws; I have witness, that I said at that word, we should be then *Daws*, and was by and by sorry that ever he had written of the Sacrament of the Altar, which was not, as it was noised, untouched with that word, All men are liars, which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house than a liar. And the depraving of mans nature in that fort is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered through mans hand, and taught by mans mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men, and that is contrary to liars. And therefore St. *Augustin* in his Book *de Mendacio*, saying, *Omnis homo mendax*, signifieth, *Omnis homo peccans*. If *Smith* had only written of Bishops Laws, and then said he had, saving your honour lied loudly, or to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly; for he that seeketh for much company in lying as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much as touching *Smith*, of whom, or his Book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking. But to the matter I wrote of, I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over quickly, and never had any such thought in my life, as I denyed to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them, by them I mean that may hereafter charge; for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your Grace in that fort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoyce; but where things were otherwise (as I truft they fhall not) I have nothing to do to ask any account. I truft I fhall never forget my self so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late Sovereing Lords life. And for my quietnes in this estate I account my self to have a great treasure of your Graces rule and authority, and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise than to use such manner of prelumption to ask any account. And I know your Grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly, and I esteem it a great matter, that things be fhauld hitherto thus; but if things had encreafed as the rumors purported, your Grace might have been incumbred more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to stay it. As for my self, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my Diocefs. I know but one way of quiet, to keep and follow such Laws and Orders in Religion as our late Sovereign Lord left with us; which, by his life, as the Bishops and Clergy faid was the very truth, so I never read yet or heard any thing why to fwarve from it, nor think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the Kings Majesties minority, whereby to impair the ftrength of the accord eftablished. Which I write not mistrusting your Grace in the contrary, but declaring my self, and wishing the same mind to other about you, as I truft they have, for which I fhall pray to God, who prospered our late Sovereign Lord in that rebellion, as we have feen experience, and by your Graces forefight and politick government fhall fend the like prosperity to our Sovereign Lord that now is; wherein I fhall do my part, as a Subject moft bounden many ways thereunto. I fend unto your Grace herewith my difcuffion of My Lord of St. *Davids* Purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty than writing to your Grace, and yet I take my self liberty enough, with a reverend mind nevertheleſs to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I truft your Grace will bear with me after your accuftomed goodneſs, for whose prosperity {KING *Edw.6.*} I fhall continually pray, with encreafe of honour.

At Winchester the sixth of June.

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

After moft humble commendations to your Grace, I have received this day Letters from My Lord of *Canterbury*, touching certain Homilies, which the Bishops in the Convocation holden *Anno Dom. M. v. xlij* agreed to make for ſtay of ſuch errours as were then by ignorant preachers ſparkeled among the people, for other agreement there had not then paſſed among us. Since that time God gave our late Sovereign Lord the gift of pacification in those matters, which eſtablished by his Highneſs authority in the convocation extinguiſhed our devices, and remaineth of force with your Grace, wherein to avoid many encumbrous arguments which wit can deviſe againſt the truth, I ſend to your Grace the Copy of mine anſwer to My Lord of *Canterbury*, to whom I write and offer my ſelf more largely, than I ever did in any matter of the Realm, to any man beſides my Sovereign Lord, or the chief Governour as your Grace, for I am not factious, and uſe only to ſay as I am bound to ſay as occaſion ſerveth, for that is my duty, having no other thing purpoſed but truth and honeſty, whatſoever any man ſhall otherwiſe ſay of me, I am buſier with your Grace than needeth but; ſuch commendations as it pleaſed your Grace to ſend me by Maſter *Coke* (for the which I moſt humbly thank your Grace) hath engendred thus much more boldneſs, that ever me thinketh I ſhould deſire your Grace, not to ſuffer the Kings Majeſty our late Sovereign Lords determination to ſlip the Anker-hold of authority, and come to a diſputation, for eviction whereof, afterward the burden muſt reſt on your Grace, unto whom I deſire all proſperous ſucceſs, and the increaſe and continuance of ſuch honour as God hath granted to your vertue, not to fall in encumber of any matter that need not to be ſtirred. If your Grace think not your ſelf encumbred with my babling, and inculking that needeth not unto you, I would anſwer your Graces Letters of 6. of *April*, ſo as your Grace will by other Letters withdraw your name, that I may be ſeen to diſpute with one not ſo far above me in authority, as your Grace is, which I have thought requiſite to advertiſe, left by my ſilence your Grace ſhould deem I thought my ſelf overcome in thoſe matters, where indeed I am of a contrary mind, and can ſhew whereupon to ground me, why I ſhould ſo think: And thus deſiring your Grace to take in good part my doings, I ſhall continually pray for the preſervation of your Grace long in felicity. At *Weſtminſter* the 10th of *June* 1547.

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my moſt humble commendations to your Grace, ſince my Letters unto your Grace wherewith I ſent unto you ſuch Letters as I had writtan to My Lord of *Canterbury* for anſwer to his Letters touching Homilies, I have eſtſoons received other Letters from My ſaid Lord of *Canterbury*, requiring the ſaid Homilies by vertue of a Convocation holden 5 years paſt, wherein we communed of that which took none effect then, and much leſs needeth to be put in execution now, nor in my judgement cannot without a new authority from the Kings Majeſty that now is, commanding ſuch a matter to be enterpriſed. I wrote at length to My Lord of *Canterbury*, and ſent the Copy of thoſe Letters to your Grace, not to the intent your Grace ſhould loſe ſo much time to read them, for they be tedious in length, but only for my diſcharge, who never meddled, yet by private Letters with any man in the Realm to perſwade or diſſwade matters of Religion,

{KING *Edw.6.*} ligion, but with the Prince himſelf, or him that had the managing of the great matters under him. And following this determination am ſo bold to ſend your Grace the Copy of ſuch Letters as I write to My Lord of *Canterbury*, whoſe Letters to me, I could not of congruence forbear to anſwer, nor anſwering forbear to ſpeak freely as I think. And ſorry I am to hear the matter of Homilies ſpoken of in this time, your Grace hath done prudently to ſtop the vain rumours by Proclamation, and it hath wrought good effect, and me thinketh is not beſt to enterpriſe any thing to tempt the people with occaſion of tales, whereby to break the Proclamation and offend: And to this effect I wrote to My Lord of *Canterbury*: For like as in a natural body, reſt without trouble doth confirm and ſtrengthen it, ſo is it in a Commonwealth, trouble traveleth and bringeth the things to looſeneſs: And My Lord of *Canterbury* is not furer of his life when the old order is broken, and a new brought in by Homilies, that he ſhall continue to ſee his new device executed, for it is not done in a day, I would there were nothing elſe to do now, I have known buſineſs to occupy ſuch as were put in truſt, when Religion hath been untouched, a new order engendereth a new cauſe of punishment againſt them that offend: And punishments be not pleaſant to them that have the execution, and yet they muſt be, for nothing may be contemned. And thus I travel in the matter with My Lord of *Canterbury*, becauſe he would I ſhould weigh things, and ſo do I as indifferently as ever did man for the preſervation of the Ship wherein I ſail my ſelf, and ſo many other whoſe proſperity I am bound to wiſh, I can admit no invocations.

S. W.

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

After my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace with thanks, that it hath pleaſed you to be content to hear from me, wherein now I have from your Grace liberty to write at large, I cannot find the like gentleneſs in my body to ſpend ſo much time as I would: And therefore ſhall now deſire your Grace to take in good part, though I gather my matter into brief ſentences.

The Injunctions in this viſitation contain a commandment to be taught and learned, two Books, one of the Homilies that muſt be taught other by Prieſt. Another of *Eraſmus* Paraphraſis, that the Prieſt muſt learn himſelf, theſe Books ſtrive one with another directly, *&c.* Thus I have ſignified to your Grace ſome ſpecial faults that be *Eraſmus* own faults; and in my judgment great faults, but I have not written all: And your Grace ſhall further underſtand that he who it is, I know not who hath taken the labours to tranſlate *Eraſmus* into Engliſh, hath for his part offended ſometime, as appeareth plainly by ignorance, and ſometime evidently of purpoſe, to put in, leave out, and change as he thought beſt, never to the better but to the worſe, with the ſpecialties whereof, I will not now encumber your Grace, but aſſure you it is ſo. And here I will grant to your Grace, that for every lie I make unto you, ſet one c. pound fine upon mine head, and let me live here like a Beggar, whilſt my revenews pay it: My words you have in writing, and be againſt me matter of record; and ſo I yield to have me charged, as the Bishop of *London* was with offering the form of his Biſhoprick, which matter came to my remembrance in the writing hereof; and now I have written unto your Grace upon what foundation my Conſcience is grounded, I ſhall truly declare unto you the manner of my proceeding from the beginning I never heard of the execution of the viſitation, till your Grace was departed from *London* Northward; and as the Books flowed abroad by liberty of the Printers, they came to my hands, I never ſlept while I had peruſed them, as ſoon as I had found certain faults I wrote to the Council, truſting upon ſuch earneſt adverriſement as I made, they would incontinently have ſent for me, and upon knowledge of ſo evident matter as me thought I had to ſhew, have ſtayed till your Graces return, I ſaw a determination to do all things ſuddenly at one time, whereunto although your Grace agreed, yet of your wiſdom I conjected ye had rather have had it tarry whiles your return, if you had not been preſſed: And that word preſſed I noted in your Graces Letters to me, wherein you wrote you were preſſed on both ſides: me thought if by bringing my ſelf to moſt extream danger in your abſence, I could have ſtayed this matter, beſides my duty to God, and to my Sovereign Lord I had done alſo your Graces pleaſure, of whom I have this firm opinion, that willingly and wittingly your Grace will neither break the Act of Parliament, nor command Books to be bought with authority, that contain ſuch doctrine as theſe Books do: Thus I adventured in your Graces abſence, wherein although I had remembrance of your Grace, yet I made not your Grace my foundation, but God chiefly, as God knoweth with the preſervation of our late Sovereign Lords honour that dead is, and the ſecurity of our late Sovereign Lord that now is.

Let no man be offended with the vehemency of my writing, for I wrote with a whole heart, and if I could have written it with the blood of my heart I would have done it, to have done good, in ſtaying the thing till it had been more maturely digeſted, and till your Graces ſafe return, I touched the Act of Parliament lively, but as truly as ever was any thing ſpoken of. And I never wept more bitterly then I did for a conceit that troubled my head which never paſſed my lipps, nor ſhall never come out of my Pen, I will tell it your Grace, and you require it. Now whether the King may command againſt an Act of Parliament, and what danger they may fall in, that break a Law? with the Kings conſent I dare ſay no man alive at this day hath had more experience, what the Judges and Lawyers have ſaid then I: Firſt I had experience in mine old Maſter the Lord Cardinal, who obtained his Legacy by our late Sovereign Lords requeſt at *Rome*: And in his ſight and knowledge occupied the ſame with his two Croſſes, and Maces born before him many years; yet becauſe it was againſt the laws of the Realm, the Judges concluded the offence of the Premunire: Which concluſion I bear away, and take it for a Law of the Realm, becauſe the Lawyers ſo ſaid, but my reaſon digeſted it not. The Lawyers for confirmation of their doings, brought in a caſe of the Lord *Tiptoft* as I remember, a jolly Civilian, he was Chancellor to the King, who becauſe in execution of the Kings Commiſſion he had offended the Laws of the Realm he ſuffered on *Tower-hill*, they brought in examples of many Judges that had fines ſet on their heads in like caſe for doing againſt the Law of the Realm by the Kings commandment. And then was brought in the Judges Oath, not to ſtay any Proceſs or judgment for any commandment from the Kings Majeſty. And one Article againſt My Lord Cardinal, was that he had granted Injunctions to ſtay the Common Laws, and upon that occaſion, *Magna Charta* was ſpoken of, and it was made a great matter the ſtay of the Common Law, and this I learned in that caſe, ſithence that time being of the Council, when many Proclamations were deviſed againſt the Carriers out of Corn, at ſuch time as the tranſgreſſors ſhould be puniſhed, the Judges would anſwer it might not be by the Laws, whereupon enſued the Act of Proclamations, in the paſſing of which Act many liberal words were ſpoken, and a plain promiſe, that by authority of the Act for Proclamations, nothing ſhould be made contrary to an Act of Parliament, or Common Law, when the Biſhop of *Exeter*, and his Chancellor were by one body brought in a *Præmunire*; which matter my Lord Privy Seal cannot forget, I reaſoned with the Lord *Audly* then Chancellor, ſo far as his bade me hold my peace for fear of entring into a *Præmunire* my ſelf, whereupon I ſtayed, but concluded, it ſeemed to me ſtrange that a man authoriſed by the King (as ſince the Kings Majeſty hath taken upon him the ſupremacy every Biſhop is ſuch a one) could fall in a *Præmunire*: After I had reaſoned the matter once in the Parliament Houſe, where was free ſpeech without danger, and there the Lord *Audly* then Chancellor, to ſatisfie me ſatisfactorily, becauſe I was in ſome ſecret eſtimation as he then knew, thou art a good fellow Biſhop, quoth he, which was the manner of his familiar ſpeech, look the Act of Supremacy, and there the Kings doings be reſtrained to ſpiritual juriſdiction; and ſith another Act it is provided, that no ſpiritual Law ſhall have place contrary to

Winchester ſtirred by a clofter and his never to bed for if all is ready ſpeeding were knocks

And why did you not break your Act of Parliament? of King Edward for the Commutation of Penance, or ſetting up the Maſs till Q. Maries days.

Like Maſter like man.

Winchester never ſlept till he had read the Paraphraſis, either he was a quick reader, or elſe he read rather than he well underſtood.

Winchester excepteth the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

a Common Law or Act of Parliament. And this were not (quoth he) you Bishops would enter in with the King, and by means of his Supremacy order the Laity as ye listed; but we will provide quoth he, that the *Præmunire* shall ever hang over your heads, and so we Lay men shall be sure to enjoy our inheritance by the Common Laws, and Acts of Parliament. It is not yet full two years ago, since in a case of *Jewels* I was fain with the Emperors Embassador, and after in the Emperors Court, to defend and maintain by commandement, That the Kings of this Realm were not above the order of their Laws. And therefore the *Jeweller*, although he had the Kings Bill signed, yet it would not be allowed in the Kings Court, because it was not obtained according to the Laws, in which matter I was very much troubled, even this time twelve month, when I was in Commission with My Lord great Master, and the Earl of *Southampton* for altering the Court of Augmentations. There was My Lord *Montague*, and other of the Kings Learned Council, of whom by occasion of that matter I learned what the King might do contrary to an Act of Parliament, and what danger it was to them that medled against the Act: it is fresh in memory, and they can tell whether I said true or no; and therefore being learned in so notable cases, I wrote in your Graces absence to the Council therein, as I had learned by hearing the Commons speak, whose judgments rule those matters, howsoever my reason can digest them, and so wrote to the Council; which my writings I fashioned so as I counted My Lord would have stayed till your Graces return. And thus I have declared to your Grace the purpose of my writing to the Council so vehement, which nevertheless I continued with all humility to abide the order of authority, and learn all other obedience; for thereunto I have ever had as great regard as any man in this Realm. And as my word is *Vana salus hominis*, so I assure your Grace I practise it throughly in my deeds.

When My Lords sent last for me, I came to them with as much speed as I might, with my sleeves and bosome trust full of Books to furnish my former Allegations; I was heard very well and gently, and me thought I shewed matter that should have moved, for I shewed the two Books to be contrary, as I have written before, wherewith they said they were not moved, adding how their Conscience agreed not with mine, using many good words to bring me to such conformity, as they would have had me at; whereupon knowing that I know, I could not relent, but after I had been a little beside from them, and was returned, they entred a precise order with me, either to receive precisely the Injunctions, or to refuse; in which case they had further to say to me, adding that your Grace was privy to that was done there that day: My answer was, that I would receive the Injunctions as far as Gods Law and the Kings would bind me; and because I saw they grew to such precisenes, and remembring how after a good sort they had caused me to be accompanied before with Master *Wingfield*, making innovations, what would be the end if I would not yield? I would not therefore leave unspoken, that I thought might avoid that followed: I told them there were 3 weeks of delay to the coming of the Visitors to me: In the mean time, I offered to go to *Oxford* to abide the discussion there, which offer was not allowed. I desired them to go to my house at *London*, and to have Learned men speak with me there, which was not accepted. I entred then the allegation of the Gospel of the Servant that said he would not do a thing, and yet did it, and so I said it might be that although I then said nay, as my Conscience served me, yet I might percase change, and was a man that might be tempted, But as my Conscience was then, me thought Gods Law and the Kings letted me, and upon knowledge of their pleasures, that I must to the *Fleet*, I told My Lords I thought it hard, unless there were a greater matter than to send me to Prison for declaring before hand what I minded to do before any thing had been by me actually done to resist the visitation, who had all the mean time to think on the matter, and repent me. Whereunto the answer was such as displeased me not inwardly so much, but I have well digested it, and (so all may be well) care not what becometh of my body; I departed as quietly from them as ever man did, and have endured with as little grudge here, and

{KING Edward}

have learned this lesson in the world, never to look backward, as S. *Paul* saith, nor remember that is past, I will never grudge or complain of nothing for my self.

As for the matter to have such Books recommended to the Realm in the Kings name by your Graces direction, me seemeth very weighty, and your Grace not to have been well handled in it. All the world knoweth the Kings Highness himself knew not these Books, and therefore nothing can be acribed unto him; your Grace hath been to your increase of honour so occupied, as all men know, your Grace had no leisure your self to peruse these Books, and yet be the Books as I have written. I leave the rest to your Grace. If I that tell the Council my mind of them that have done so far amiss, because when I know so much, I will not yet allow them, I shall from henceforth the more regard the lesson of an old Embassador, that bade me, let evil tydings go home to my Master a Foot, and send only good tydings by Post. A shift with the word, which agreeth not with my nature, as Master *Wallop* saith. Upon *Friday* last past, My Lord of *Canterbury* sent for me to the Dean of *Pauls* house, whether I went with some gazing of the World. There I found My Lord of *Canterbury* accompanied with the Bishop of *Rochester*, Master Doctor *Cox*, and Master *Aire*, and I was brought thither by the Bishop of *Lincoln*; what report My Lord of *Canterbury* hath made thereof I cannot tell, my Lord of *Canterbury* was in hand with his Homily of Salvation, but nothing heard, or few I to save my Conscience in agreeing to him, but heard that I should justly confirm me in mine one Conscience; I made offer to yield to them in that Homily, if they could shew me any old Writer that wrote how faith excluded charity in the office of justification, it is against Scriptures plain words, and to swarve from Scripture without any ony Doctor to lean to it, were fore: Where Scriptures and Doctors want, My Lord of *Canterbury* would fall to arguing, and overcome me that am called the Sophister, by sophistry. When I heard My Lords argument I denyed it, and would enter none other declaration, for I keep that answer till some other than were there, be present, my solution whereunto, when I declare it, shall make all the reft of the matter very weak, and My Lord not to like his argument at all. One argument I could not afsoil to come again to the *Fleet*: My Lord of *Canterbury* charged me, that I like nothing unless I do it my self, whereof I am not guilty, I was never Author of any one thing either Spiritual or Temporal, I thank God for it. I am also charged that all the Realm hath received these Homilies without contradiction save I: Whereunto I answer, I think they have not read that I have read in these Books; what hath been done I cannot tell, now I am kept as I cannot know, though I would when I was abroad, I never sought to know more than was brought by common fame; for this shall be found true, I never advised any man to object any thing against these Books, no one man, not my Chaplains: A kinsman of mine beneficed in my Diocese, and not unlearned, came to me, and told me how he heard a lewd Fellow say that I would not receive the Injunctions. And Sir (quoth I) I rebuked him, and reviled him, and said you would as readily receive as any man: I told him that in so saying he did very well; upon my coming up, a Chaplain of mine a Doctor of Divinity told me, he would receive the Injunctions quietly, and say nothing. I told him it should be well done, if I had tarried in my Diocese; if any man had spoken but my self I would have lost my life for it, nor I think there hath not now. This matter was to try a Bishop, whether he careth more for the truth, or his own rest. What examples have I seen in this Realm, how freely men have faid their Conscience against our late Sovereign Lords determination, and against the Act of Parliament? D. *Crow* a mean man preached against our late Sovereign Lords determinations, and how daintily he was handled to relieve his Conscience: if your Grace would have this for a president, that whatsoever the Kings Council for the time of a Princes minority shall send to be preached must needs be received without allegation; of what ftrength is the Act of Parliament against the Bishop of *Rome*? The Kings Majesty, when he cometh to his age will look to be bold to do as much with his Subjects as his Council did in his minority, whereof the Counsellors may be then weary, Presidents be dangerous. For I have seen it almoft for a rule, That whatsoever hath been once done, may then without question be

done

{KING Edward} done again, in our late Sovereign Lords time, I have seen the Council much aftonied, when the King would have done somewhat against an Act of Parliament, it was made then a great matter. The Lord *Cromwel* had once put in the Kings our late Sovereign Lords head to take upon him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a Law, for that he said was to be a very King, and thereupon I was called for at *Hampton* Court. And as the Lord *Cromwell* was very stout, come on my Lord of *Winchester* (quoth he) for that conceit he had whatsoever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latine, and all. Answer the King here (quoth he) but speak plainly and directly, and shrink not man. Is not that (quoth he) that pleaseth the King a Law? Have ye not therein the Civil Laws (quoth he) *quod principi placuit*, and so forth (quoth he) I have somewhat forgotten it now, I stood still and wondered in my mind to what conclusion this should tend: The King saw me muling, and with earnest gentleness said: Answer him whether it be so or no, I would not answer my Lord *Cromwell*, but delivered my speech to the King, and told him: I had read indeed of Kings that had their will always received for a Law, but I told him the form of his Reign, to make the Laws his will was more sure and quiet, and by this form of Government ye be established (quoth I) and it is agreeable with the nature of your people: If ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell, and how this frameth ye can tell, and would never advise your Grace to leave a certain for an uncertain: The King turned his back, and left the matter after till the Lord *Cromwel* turned the Cat in the Pan afore company, when he was angry with me, and charged me as though I had played his part: This tale is true, and not without purpose to be remembred, how I have been tossed to and fro in this kind of matter. Thus I have shewed your Grace the whole matter with many more words than I intended in the entry of my Letter, and make now an end, enforced by weariness of my body, fed with close air, rather then meat, which my stomach defieth not, yet I muft say somewhat in the matter of only Faith, wherein my Lord of *Canterbury*, so much travelleth.

First it is sure, he shall never prove that he would say in that matter, but to make an end of it, either I am a very fool in mine own conceit, which may easily be, or I see an occasion given to your Grace to make such a true determination in it, as may be honourable to your Grace, the contentation of all the world, the preservation of the Kings honour that dead is, without prejudice of the Act of Parliament, without derogation to My Lord of *Canterburies* honour, without diminution of the reputation of the Council, and without any glory to the Bishop of *Winchester*. Which is in some mens conceit the greatest matter of all that be yet rehearsed, and in good faith I would I were not, so all were well. Your Graces doing in *Scotland*, is not to my judgment more to your Graces honour than this would be, which God grant and your Grace much honour and felicity.

At the Fleet *the xiv of* October.

Your Graces humble Beadman, S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my most humble commendations to your good Grace, since the writing of my last long Letters to your good Grace, which as they wearied me in writing, so they have I think wearied your Grace in reading, I have been in great expectation to hear somewhat from your Grace, of whose gentle and favourable mind towards me, I cannot doubt, howsoever the Declaration thereof at this time be hindred by other by-perswations, wherewith although your Grace may be somewhat moved, I marvail not, and therefore whiles all things may be tryed, do well satisfie my self, not minding by any sute, I have or shall make; otherwise to prefs your Grace than may be conveniently obtained of you in the state you now present. And yet sue I muft of congruence, for declaration of my humility, and also importunely sue, left I should be seen to contemn, and to be entered into a melancholly, proudly to disdain the world, which I assure your Grace I do not, nor never had any such fantasie: Whereof they can be witness, that have continually seen my behaviour, since the death of our late Sovereign Lord, and since my coming to this Prison. And yet my L. of *Canterbury*, when he sent for me last out of the *Fleet*, handled me with fair words, declaring me a man meet in his opinion to be called to the Council again, adding how we (he said) did daily chose in, other that were not appointed by our late Sovereign Lord. They were worldly comfortable words, and as far contrarious on the one side, as the *Fleet* is on the other side: But I have not I thank God, that deceit which My Lord of *Canterbury* thought to be in me, or would seem to think so, whereby to enduce others to think the same, as though I were not moved to fay as I do, for any zeal to the truth, but of perverse frowardnes, as one that like not his estate, and therefore cared not what became of him: The truth whereof to be otherwise God knoweth: And I am able to make to the world sufficient proof and Testimony of the contrary if it be required: First, as touching the Book of Paraphrafis, whereof I wrote to your Grace special faults, and other I have to shew as great as they I trust: And doubt not, the matter if self shall sufficiently declare, that I have done well to speake against that Book, assuring your Grace, that since my coming to Prison, many days together when I looked on it, I saw every day, some new thing in such fort of fault, as ought worthily to condemn the work. I have favoured *Erasmus* name as much as any other, but I never studied over this Book till now, and now I agree with them that said, *Erasmus* laid the Eggs, and *Luther* hatched them: reading further, that of all the monstrous opinions that have arisen, evil men had a wonderous occasion misstred to them of that Book; and therefore I trust the matter of that Book will purge the evil opinion as might be gathered of me, wherein I offer to prove that I said with any learned man, pain of shame and rebuke, and to be taken for a Malicolick Beast. As for the Book of *Homilies*, in that point where my Lord of *Canterbury* would have taught how faith excluded charity in the office of justifying, besides that ten Conscience is otherwise perswaded, and truly perswaded, it doth so touch me outwardly in the world, as if I would for any interceffion or requeit upon offer to be a Counsellor, or have as much more Land as all the Bishops may spend. I were worthy for so agreeing for mede on the one side, or dread on the other side; first, to be whipped in every Market Town in the Realm, and then hanged for example, as the veriest Varlet that ever was Bishop in any Realm christned, unless My Lord of *Canterbury* could shew me either Scripture that so said, or some ancient Writer, wherein I desire only to see but one where commonly two be required in every matter: But because it is in the matter of only Faith, I require but one ancient Writer, wherby I cared not for my Conscience as some would have it, perswaded if I might excuse my self at least to the world that I were not worthy to be whipped, and hanged in all good mens judgements, and mine own also. And this matter I write unto your Grace, to declare unto you in what straits I am * tyed inwardly in my Conscience by very truth, so I am tyed outwardly in the world with shame, whereby appeareth that I resist not this matter of a willful purpose, or that I like it not because I was not a Counsellor, which words My Lord of *Canterbury* used to me, for I am even driven to do as I do of necessity on both sides in my Conscience before † God and the world abroad, whereof if I shew not your Grace such a proof as cannot be denyed, let me be out of all credit in every thing, and be accounted a lyer, which I abhore above all faults. Whereupon me seemeth my case is miserable to be so encumbred as I am, and yet to be used as I were without cause obstinate, notwithstanding all such circumstances as I have used to humble my self to learn and abide; I yield my self to be opposed at *Oxford*, that I might say, if I yielded, learning had overcome me: When that was refused, I offered my self to go to School at home, which I offer to yield to the truth. And although I have to maintain me, both the plain Scriptures, the Doctors plain and the plain Act of Parliament: Yet for conformity offered to my Lord of *Canterbury*, to yield if he could shew me one Scripture affirming faith to exclude Charity in justification, or Scripture failing as it doth indeed to shew me but one ancient Writer that writeth so, with offer to yield and give place, which offer excludeth all

* *Erasmus* if he had been alive, he could as well have answered this matter, as he answered to *Athanasius* objecting against him the same.

† Because ye require an ancient authority, what say you to *Chrysostom* in epist. ad Hebr. hom. 9. as ought worthily to condemn the work. I have favoured *Si fides evacuatur, cur aliud infers? quæ fides non excludit fidei fal-sitatem.* The same *Chrysostom* also. † *In Mat. h.* 27. Tom. 3. *ubi non nominem fugere pudet, sed verbis declarare.* *Fides justificans non est ea operibus fides quæ operatur, vis ens justified by Faith without working if he fay it is a proposition exclusive, as he must needs say, then have can be decay here charity to be excluded with all the vvorld out of the Lord in the office of justification, if this vvord excluding did defeate thing, you, then take away in S. *Paul* thefe vvords *Gratis*, and *ex operibus ex fide justificatur Deminus*, &c. That is fides by not of vvorks if fe Gods gifts &c. Works of charity are not excluded from to follow: but not excluded from my fayth of justifyer.

ſtubbornes, and all evil opinion that might be conceived of wilfulneſs in me; it is now twenty days ago ſince I ſpake with my Lord of *Canterbury*, when the ſtrongeſt arguments he made me, were to agree, with hope to be a Counſellor again, or go to the *Fleet* from whence I came, for when I made requeſt to the contrary, he ſaid he had no ſuch Commiſſion from the Council, and ſo here I remain without Bail or Mainprize, without comfort of any of my Friends or Servants, as one divided from the world, no Chaplain to accompany me in prayer, no Barber nor Taylor for bodily neceſſaries, nor liberty to uſe Phyſitian for relief of Diſeaſe, whereof I have need: And your Grace who I think would ſhew me relief: for I will never think want of good will in you, is perſaſe perſwaded, by means that I refuſe the truth wilfully, and that your Grace may not in any wiſe ſhew me the leaſt comfort in the world, for then no man ſhall rule me. And then your Grace that ſhewed ſo much favour to the Earl of *Southampton* late Chancellor, wherein all the world commended your gentleneſs, if your Grace ſhould now any ways comfort me in Priſon with the leaſt token of gentleneſs, ye might be noted ſo favour *Wincheſters* factions, as ſome term it, whereas I take God to record I never joyned my ſelf with any man, nor have ſecretly encouraged any man to be of my opinion. And yet I have none other opinion, but ſuch as the Parliament hath eſtablihed. The Earl of *Southampton* did many things whiles he was Chancellor, touching Religion, which miſliked me not, but did never adviſe him ſo to do: nor made on him the more for it when he had done, he was one of whom by reaſon I might have been bold, but I left him to his Conſcience, therein I never ſaid ſo much ſecretly to any Noble man of the Realm, as I have to your Grace, at which time I adviſed your Grace to be noted neither on the one ſide, nor on the other. And your Grace hath for your ſelf as good a name as can be. And I ſhall ſay this without flattery, that like as chance very notably hath advanced your Eſtate many degrees, ſince the time of my firſt acquaintance with you, ſo have you had occaſion to ſhew your vertue, whereby to be thought worthy your Eſtate, by means whereof you cannot with a more felicity than you have to be the beginning of ſuch an Eſtate as ye ſhall leave by Gods grace to your Poſterity. This is not altogether out of my matter, for whatſoever become of me, I would your Grace did well, men be mortal, and deeds revive, and me think My Lord of *Canterbury* doth well to entangle this your Grace with this matter of Religion, and to borrow of your authority the *Fleet*, the *Marſhalſea*, and the *Kings-Bench*, with priſonment in his houſe, wherewith to cauſe men to agree to that it pleaſeth him to call truth in Religion, leaving that he ſetteth forth not eſtablihed, by any Law in the Realm, but contrary to a Law in the Realm: At the leaſt a Law it is not yet. and before a Law made, I have not ſeen ſuch a kind of impriſonment, as I ſuſtain, humbly offering my ſelf ready to learn: Our late Sovereign Lord, whoſe ſoul God pardon, ſuffered every man to ſay his mind without impriſonment, till the matter were eſtablihed by Law. If My Lord of *Canterbury* hath the ſtrength of Gods ſpirit, with ſuch a learning in his Laws, as be able to overthrow with that breath all untruths, and eſtablih truths. I would not deſire the let of it by your Grace, nor the work of Gods truth any way hindered: In which caſe if all the Realm be perſwaded beſides my ſelf in this matter, it ſhall be eaſie for to reprove me in the face of all the World, and drive me to the ground with the Sword of Gods Scripture, which he ſhould rather deſire to do, than to borrow the Sword your Grace hath the rule of, wherewith to fear men, which is a mean to ſlander all that is done or ſhall be done, if men be priſoned before a Law made. And I cannot believe but there be more than I, or elſe I ſhould not be kept ſo ſecret. For all my folks reſorted to me, and told me there was no reaſon to ſtand alone againſt all men, to undo them and my ſelf alſo in this world. It were a greater temptation than My Lord of *Canterbury* made to put me in hope to be a Counſellor again. Be your Grace aſſured, the foundation of my ground is a zeal to the truth, although I have many worldly conſiderations to alledge for me, which ſerve to purgeme of wilfulneſs, which I aſſure your Grace is not my fault, I will not trouble your Grace with all I could ſay of my knowledge: whatſoever my words be of My Lord of *Canterbury*, which the matter enforceth me to ſpeak, I am in none enmity with his perſon, and that I am able to prove, but My Lord hath in the Homily of ſalvation taken ſuch amatter in hand, and ſo handled it, as if I were his extreame enemy. I would have wiſhed him to have taken that piece in hand, and ſo handled it as he hath done. For that aſſeveration how Faith excluded Charity, can neither be proved by Scripture, nor confirmed by any ancient Writer, or perſwaded by any effectual argument. And one argument My Lord hath deviſed, which he frameth thus: We be juſtified by Faith without all works of the Law: Charity is a work of the Law. *Ergo* we are juſtified without Charity. The anſwering of which argument, which I can do plainly by authority, ſhall declare that either My Lord is deceived himſelf if he take it for a ſtrong argument, when the opinion of his learning ſhall be hindered, or if he uſe it willingly knowing the fault in it, the lack is greater another way. But the anſwer to that argument diſſolveth all the matter, whereunto I have an anſwer made 1200 years by-paſt, which I will of my peril ſhew, if My Lord will avow it for his argument. And if my Lord will ſend me the argument of his hand, I will ſend him the anſwer of my hand, whereby ſhall ſhortly appear, whether I triſle or no. In the later end of my Letter to your Grace I ſpake of a determination, whereof I wiſhed your Grace were Author. For wearineſs of writing I did not open what I meant in ſpeciality, intending now to begin in the middle of this ſorrow, with a merry tale: But a very true tale, and not unmeet to be rehearſed: Thus it happned, certain Doctors of Divinity at *Paris*, minding with utterance of ſome learning, whereof they had ſtore to requite a Gentleman that had bidden them to Dinner, uſing a Preface, that as he had fed them with bodily meat, they would feed him with ſpiritual food, propouned this queſtion to be diſputed amongſt them: Whether the Aſs that carried our Lady and Chriſt, when *Joſeph* fled with them into *Egypt*, when it carried our Lady only with Chriſt, in her lap, carried then as perfect a burthen, as when it carried our Lady with Chriſt on her lap, and a Flea ſitting on her head? Herein the Doctors were in great earneſt, and many hot arguments were between them in the matter, with much ſpence of language. Whether our Lady alone, with Chriſt in her lap, were as perfect a burthen, as our Lady and Chriſt with a Flea upon our Ladies head? The audience which was learned, was well cheared with laughing, but other edification the matter had not. And it may be laughed at, whenſoever it is told to ſee in what triſles many men ſpend their time: And now I ſhall ſay that which is ſtrange at the firſt reading, but it is true.

{KING Edw. 6}

The matter of Juſtification with only Faith juſtifieth, and whether Faith excludeth Charity in juſtification, pertaineth no more to the uſe and practiſe of our Church of *England*, although in knowledge it be a grave matter, than the trifling queſtion I rehearſed pertained to the hearers edification in good living: I beſeech your Graece to know how I put a difference between uſe and knowledge. The knowledge of Juſtification as I have ſaid is in learning of more weight: and ſuch as for the entreating of it, many have wept even here at home, beſides thoſe that have wept in *Germany*, but the uſe and practice of it is no more neceſſary in the ſtate of the Church of *England*, than is the handling of the other queſtion, and for any uſe in the Church, the one may be forborn as well as the other, conſidering the Baptiſm of Infants, is ſo duly obſerved. In which Sacrament of Baptiſm all we be juſtified before we can talk of the Juſtification we ſtrive for. And unleſs the Church leave the uſe to Chriſtian Infants, which ſhall not be, there cannot be a time, in which the knowledge of the Juſtification we ſtrive for, can be practiſed: But all men ſhall as we already have, receive their Juſtification in Baptiſm in their Infancy. So as the Doctrine of only Faith juſtifieth, if it were true as the Homily declareth, it is no more neceſſary for the preſent ſtate of the Church, than to know whether the burthen of our Lady and Chriſt only were as perfect as the burthen of our Lady and Chriſt with a Flea ſitting upon our Ladies head, which the ſolemn Doctors of *Paris* ſo earneſtly entreated.

Some

{KING Edw. 6} Some will ſay I am waxed mad in Priſon to compare theſe two together: But as I compare them for uſe and practiſe, the one is as neceſſary as the other. And as I was bold to uſe the merry example to imprint the matter the better in your Graces memory. For it is as I ſay, when we have all talked, for we all are juſtified in Baptiſm, younglings and falling after Baptiſm, we muſt ariſe by the Sacrament of Penance, which muſt be confeſſed of all Men, unleſs they be ſuch as deny all Sacraments as ſome have done indeed, wading ſo far in the ſifting of only Faith, that they have left nothing but Faith alone, and yet ſpent a great deal of their Faith in the handling of it, or rather all. And that is a general fault I find, that ſuch as write in that matter do not handle it Faithfully in alledging the Doctors and Scriptures right as they be. Now if this be true that I have written, which is true indeed, were it not an horrible part of you to ſay, Why trouble ye the World for a thing not neceſſary, and ſo put it from the Country, and make it as it were a Checker Chamber-caſe, and ſo to be ſent to the Univerſities, for whom it is meet ſoberly to talk, and not for Homilies, wherein the People ſhall hear that they ſhall never practiſe, becauſe they learn it too late, being juſtified before in their infancy in Baptiſm. My Lord of *Canterbury* told me his intent, is only to ſet out the freedom of Gods mercy, which may be done much more plainly, with putting the People in remembrance of the conſtant received Faith of the Church in the Baptiſm of Infants, whereby ſuch as be juſtified and ſaved in the vertue of Chriſts Paſſion, as after Baptiſm by malice fall not to ſin, and thoſe muſt return to Chriſt by Penance; but ſuch as die (before that actual ſin, hath defiled their Soul again) if they die in the innocency received in Baptiſm, be ſaved.

And yet thoſe Children, when they were Chriſtened did nothing but cry for cold, or when they were over-hard griped for fear of falling. And when this is believed, is not Gods mercy believed to be miniſtred after a moſt free liberal ſort? If my Lord of *Canterbury* mind only that the matter ſhall appear without Argument, as we practiſe Juſtification in receiving the Sacrament of Baptiſm. And as for Juſtification by only Faith, is all out of uſe, howſoever we expound it, as the ſtate of the Church is now.

And it is a terrible matter to think on, to ſee ſuch a contention to riſe upon a matter not neceſſary to be ſpoken of, wherein if my Lord of *Canterbury* will needs travel, my judgment is, That he ſhall never perſwade that Faith excludeth Charity in Juſtification, unleſs he borrow of your Graces Authority Priſons, and then he ſhall perceaſe have ſome agree unto it, as poor Men kneel at *Rome*, when the Biſhop there goeth by; that is to ſay, knocketh on the head with a Halberd, if he kneel not, for that is one piece of the office of the Biſhop of *Romes* Guard. Finally there hath been nothing done, but your Grace may uſe it to the augmentation of your honour. I have things more to ſay, but this matter is over-long already, and me thinks I have been over-long here, and ſhewing my ſelf ſo humble a Scholar, as I have done, it is much to be beaten, becauſe I do not learn where no Man teacheth me, and ſo willing to learn as I ask but one Scripture, or Scripture failing, as it doth for my Lord of *Canterburies* purpoſe, I ask but one ancient Doctor: This is my caſe, for as touching any act of diſobedience, my Lords of the Council did forefee, that I ſhould not fall in that danger, and therefore would not truſt my frailty to be in the Country, when the Viſitors ſhould be there: But made me ſure here, leſt I might have offended, if I had been there, though I had but a few words to ſpeak; that is to ſay, ſaving Gods Laws and the Kings, yet they might have been miſreported, and ſo engendred me more trouble; and this good I have of my being here, which I ſuffer patiently, and make it to ſerve for my purpoſe in my conceit, as I think God I have no diſpleaſure of mind, and only feel ſuch as the Body engendereth for want of ſome neceſſaries, whereof if I may have relief at your Graces hand, I will accept it as thankfully, as any Man hath any benefit at your hand, and as inſtantly require it of you. And yet if I have no other comfort from your Grace than I have hitherto had, I will think nevertheleſs as well of your Grace as ever I did, and be only ſorry, that in the ſtate you be in the liberty of doing that your heart would perſwade you, ſhould be ſtraitly enclofed with reſpects, as my Body is with wakes. Thus deſiring your Grace to take in good part my bold writing to you, I ſhall make and pray Almighty God for the preſervation of your Perſon. With encreaſe of honour and felicity. At the *Fleet*, or rather in the *Fleet*.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

AFter my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, upon truſt that your Grace would take my Letters in good part, and not otherwiſe than I wrote them. I wrote to your Grace out of this Priſon, as I was wont to write to our late Sovereign Lord, whoſe Soul God pardon; when I was Ambaſſador, refreſhing my ſelf ſomtime with a merry tale in a fad matter, which his Highneſs ever paſſed over without diſpleaſure, as I truſt your Grace will do the ſemblable. For though ſome account me a Papiſt, yet I cannot play the Pope holy, as the old term was, I dare not uſe that ſeverity in writing, which my cauſe requireth to ſpeak of God, and his Truth in every ſecond ſentence, and become ſuddainly a Prophet to your Grace, with a new Phraſe of ſpeech, with whom I have been heretofore ſo familiarly converſant, as I think honour hath not altered your Graces nature, even ſo adverſity hath not changed mine. Of your high Place in the Common-wealth, no Man is more glad than I, nor no Man ſhall do his duty further than I, to acknowledge you as your Grace is now, Protector and Governor of the Realm. But I have been ſo traded to ſpeak boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when perceaſe it doth me no good. And although there be as *Italian* in Priſon with me, in whom I ſee a like folly, who living with a little miſerably, will not for his honour take Alms, ſatisfying to be ſtill in the ſtate he was ſometime, which manner I condemn in him, yet I follow him thus far, rather to write after my old manner, which cometh plainly to mind, than to take Alms and aid of Eloquence, whereof I have this ſtate need. For your Graces Letters return every word of my Letters in my Neck, and take my Fly as it were a Bee, which I thought ſhould have ſtung no Man, which matter in mirth, declareth the neceſſity of the other matter, as aptly as may be, neither to be neceſſary. And when I wrote I forgat as my fellow Priſoner, the *Italian* doth the ſtate I am in now. And wrote as I had written from *Antwerp* in the ſtate of Ambaſſador. The *Italian* my companion hath his folly of nature, I have it of cuſtom in bringing up, which hath the effect of nature: And is called of learned Men, Another nature. And then the Proverb of gentleneſs hath place, when Men ſay to him that is offended, You muſt bear with the Mans nature, and ſo I truſt you will do with me. Two things there be in your Graces Letter, which I truſt I may touch without contention. One is, That if your Grace will in a plain ſimilitude ſee the iſſue of Faith only, and whether Faith may exclude Charity in the office of Juſtifying, or not, it may be well reſembled in the making of Laws in this Parliament, where the Acts be paſſed by three Eſtates, which be all three preſent, and do ſomewhat together, and concur to the perfecting of the Law, whereas in we may not ſay, That any one Eſtate can by made the Law, or that any one Eſtate excludeth the other in the office of making the Law. This may be ſaid, That theſe three Eſtates only in reſpect of the reſt of the Realm, make the Law, and there need no more of the Realm be preſent but they. But if we ſpeak of theſe three Eſtates within themſelves, there is none Eſtate only, that maketh the Law.

But where the Law hath as it were a Body and a Soul. The high Houſe and the low Houſe of the Parliament make as it were the Body of the Law, which Body as it were a dead matter, ſuch as is not apt to take life till the Kings Majeſty hath by the breath of his mouth, ſaying, *le Roy le veult*, breathed a full life into it; in the concluſion beſides

Hereby it is evident that this unſenſible Aſs had no feeling of Gods ſpirit in the matter of Juſtification.

beſides the life the Aſſembly of the other Eſtates had by his Authority to Aſſemble, which had elſe been a dead Aſſembly, even as Faith and Hope be dead without Charity: And as the Kings Majeſty in this ſimilitude of making Laws excludeth not in office of the whole the other two Eſtates, no more do the Eſtates, becauſe they deviſe and frame Laws, exclude the Kings Majeſty in the Office of making Laws, for without his Authority they be nothing, as Faith and Hope be without Charity not effectual. And look what abſurdity and untruth this ſaying hath in this Realm to ſay, The higher Houſe, and the lower Houſe, exclude the King in the Office of making of Laws, the ſame abſurdity is yet in Religion to ſay, That Faith excludeth Charity in the Office of Juſtification. And therefore it was never written of ancient writers. And therefore I deſired my Lord of *Canterbury* to ſhew me but one, and yet cannot. In our time this Dream hath been dreamed without Scripture, without Authority, againſt Scripture, and againſt Authority, as I can ſhew. And further can ſhew how this imagination extendeth ſo far by them, that open their mind in it throughly, as your Grace would not at the firſt believe if I did expreſs it. But I can ſhew that I ſain not evidently as clearly for my diſcharge as I could wiſh. An other matter of your Graces Letter is, Where your Grace reaſoneth with me that I am over preciſe in finding of faults in the Paraphraſis, ſeeing every Book hath ſome faults. And then your Grace teeketh not *Eraſmus* for a Goſpel, but as one in whom ſome-what may be reprehended or amended. [illegible] which manner of ſort, if your Grace take the Homilies [illegible] for like reaſon in my judgment they muſt, for they be Mens compoſitions, as the Paraphraſis is, and not the very Goſpel it ſelf, why ſhould I be kept in Priſon, who offered to receive the Homilies and *Eraſmus* both, ſo far as they were not without fault, either of Gods Law or of the Kings? Becauſe I ſaw the Errors before, and ſpake of them, I have made more ſpeed to Priſon than other have done, who percaſe for troubling of their Conſcience have received the Books cloſe with ſuch reverence as becometh Men to receive that is ſent from their Prince, wherein I would have done as they did, if I had not ſeen the Books before. But I did as I have ſeen divers Noble Men do. And among them as I remember your Grace, when they have being ſent in ſervice to have uſed ſuch diligence, as to ſee their Commiſſion and Inſtructions made, or they went and finding ſomething doubtful or amiſs, after the Commiſſion was Sealed, and Injunctions Signed worthy to be mended, have upon declaration of their mind therein obtained amendment with commendation. Now I have a charge in the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* to ſee the People fed with wholſome Doctrine, wherein if I be ſo diligent as to look upon the Commiſſion, and conſidering what I ſhall be charged with to do, take this or that for a fault in my judgment, and labour to have it amended, wherein differ I from other Mens diligence? And how can it be taken for a fault to ſay reverently to the Council? My Lords, me ſeemeth, this and this cannot ſtand together, either inſtruct me in them, or amend them; In what nature of crime ſhould this Humility be? Am I worthy for ſo ſaying to be condemned to a perpetual Priſon? And to be a cloſe Priſoner, to ſpeak with no Man, to hear from no Man, to talk with no Man, for my Houſhold which is a great number, wandering and lamenting for me? My Caſe ſhould be in the nature of praiſe, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thanks, if none other have ſaid that I can ſay: if one only Man in a Realm ſaith, He knoweth Treaſon to ſubvert the whole Realm, and can ſhew evident proof of his ſo ſaying, ſhall he be Priſoned becauſe of good will he offereth to ſay and prove that no Man elſe uttereth but he? And therewith offereth to prove that he ſaith no true: it is incredible, that a King ſhould ſet forth a Book tending to the ſubverſion of his own Eſtate, and therefore that I ſhall ſay cannot touch his Majeſty, who knoweth not what is done, as reaſon judgeth in his tender age: it is alſo incredible, That your Grace being Uncle to him, ſhould be content, that any Book ſhould be ſet forth that might tend to the ſubverſion of his Eſtate. And I dare ſay for your Grace, you would not if the Book be like the Horſe that the *Troyans* received into their City, wherein the *Trojans* knew not what was in it, let me be heard that know what is in it, and ſo know it, as I can ſhew it as evidently, as I can the Sun and the Moon in bright Days, and bright Nights, when both ſhine: I do not trifle with my wit to undo my ſelf, but travel with my honeſty to preſerve my Country, to preſerve my Prince, to preſerve Religion: And this your Grace ſhall find to be true, which knowing my Letters to be conſtrued to the extremity, I would not write unleſs I were furniſhed with matter to diſcharge my writing. Your Grace I doubt not remembreth *Singleton*'s Conſpiracy. And *Eraſmus* hath framed his Doctrine, as though *Singleton* had required him thereunto. I have ſuch matter to ſhew, as though I had my ſelf deviſed it for my juſtification. And yet I am reaſoned with, as though one given to let good Doctrine, to find a knot in a Ruſh, to trouble good enterpriſes; after which ſort your Grace is moved to write unto me, and thereupon I remain here ſtill without hearing, having ſuch matter to utter as ſhall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not aſſured: For it were a ſmall pleaſure to me writing thus extreamly, to be confounded when I had been heard, and then worthily ſent hither again for lying ſo manifeſtly, which I would think a worthy puniſhment, as this is unworthy to be handled as I am for vertue, that I dare ſay the truth, can declare the abomination of this Paraphraſis, and of the Homilie alſo, in both which matters I have ſhewed all I can ſhew, I ſhall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I have remained theſe ſeven weeks, without ſpeaking with any Man ſaving my Phyſician, who I thank your Grace hath done me good: And yet when Men ſee I am thus baniſhed from the World, ſo as no Man may ſpeak with me, it is not pleaſant for any Man to reſort unto me, and that I perceive if my Lord of *Canterbury* think I will wax good Read and he is deceived, for I wax every day better learned than other, and find every day ſomewhat to impugne the Paraphraſis and Homilies, not by wit or deviſe, or other ſubtility, but plain ſenſible matter if I may be heard: And if I be not heard my Conſcience telleth me I have done my duty, and therewith from travel ſhall apply my ſelf to prayer, wherein I ſhall remember the proſperous eſtate of your Grace whom God preſerve.

In the Fleet. *S. W.*

{KING Edw. 6}

Concerning his abominable railing againſt the Paraphraſis and Homilies, defer the judgment, good Reader, till we come to his objections and our Anſwers to the ſame.

Wincheſter reſembleth the Homilies to the Horſe of Troy.

To the Lord Protector.

After my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, whatſoever your Graces conſiderations be not to hear me yet, nor anſwer me, and howſoever I determine and do bear patiently the ſtate I am now in, Reaſon neverthelеſs bindeth me to continue my ſute, That if your Grace ſeeth at any time occaſion to change your determination, there ſhall nothing want on my behalf to provoke your Grace ſo to do: He that is refuſed at one time may be heard at another, and importunity ſpeedeth when none other mean can prevail. Being alſo a fault in the Inferior to deſpair of the Superior in ſo reaſonable a requeſt as mine is; which I cannot do of your Grace for other reſpects: I have remained here long, unheard of your Grace, incloſed up more cloſely, now cloſe Religions be begun, than ever were any whilſt they were here, no ſtranger may ſpeak with me, I cannot have the company of my Chaplain, which is neceſſary for me after ſo long time. And if your Grace hath no leaſure to hear me ſhortly, I muſt you will without delay ſuffer my Chaplain to reſort unto me, as well as of your gentleneſs ye have ſuffered the Phyſician for my Body to come to me, for the which I muſt humbly thank your Grace; herein I deſire your Grace to anſwer me by this bearer, that I may have ſome comfort from you, for whoſe preſervation I ſhall pray to Almighty God.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To

{KING Edw. 6}

S. W. *To the Lord Protector.*

After my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, I am very loath, knowing your Graces buſineſs to trouble you with many Letters, and yet not hearing from your Grace any thing for anſwer to mine own Letters before written, I am ſo bold to write theſe, wherewith to put your Grace in remembrance of mine eſtate in Priſon, as one diſſevered from the uſe of his Servants and Friends, and as it were buried quick without knowledge of any juſt cauſe wherefore, and with knowledge, by courſe of time that now the Parliament is begun, whereof I am a member, unleſs my fault had cut me off, and whereunto I was called by Writ, which I received before my coming hither, where I would alſo gladly do my duty, as I am bounden if I were not detained and bounden in Priſon from my liberty, that I might ſo do, which allegation I make the rather to your Grace, to the intent with the opening of a neceſſary ſute worthy to be regarded, I might miniſter occaſion to your Grace, whereupon to ſhew ſuch gentleneſs to me, as of your own gentle heart, I am perſwaded your Grace gladly would, for whoſe preſervation with increaſe of honour I ſhall pray to Almighty God, who have your Grace in his tuition.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace, I cannot diſcuſs by conjecture, why evidence is thus put off in my caſe, that hath been wont commonly to be granted to all Men: if it ſhould be of any Man through policy, to keep me from the Parliament, it were good to be remembred, whether mine abſence from the upper Houſe, with the abſence of thoſe I have uſed to name in the nether Houſe, will not engender more cauſe of objection, if opportunity ſerve hereafter, then any preſence with ſuch as I ſhould appoint were theſe, the ſignification whereof is the chief cauſe of theſe Letters, for as I am now encumbred with being here, ſo might ſome be encumbred therewith hereafter, which ſhould do me pleaſure: My matter that I have to ſay toucheth the higheſt, and is worthy to be heard, whereunto my Lord of *Canterbury* can only anſwer that he would never have thought it, or that he hath been otherwiſe enformed of them he put in truſt, for it would touch him over-much to grant he had ſo much knowledge in the Paraphraſis, as I now have, and knowing the ſame to have adviſed your Grace to ſet it forth to the People, I can ſay much, which is expedient for your Grace to hear and conſider, deſiring only this credit of your Grace to think me worthy to be heard, and thereupon give me audience, I cannot enchant Men, ne look not to be believed in the matter, unleſs it be ſo plain, as no Man can gain-ſay it, and therein the Book to be Judge. The nature of my cauſe ſhould move your Grace, the preſent Aſſembly of learned Men ſhould move your Grace to celebrate mine audience: And if your Grace knew what I could ſay of the Long Letters your Grace ſent, good faith, your Grace would make ſo much the more ſpeed. For whereas the purpoſe of your Grace in theſe Letters is, to alter my Judgment, the handling of the matters is ſuch, as I am able to ſhew good cauſe why they ſhould as they do, work a contrary effect, as I am able to declare, if ever I come to your preſence. My Lord of *Canterbury* will needs maintain that our late Soveraign Lord was ſeduced, and then it is poſſible that your Grace may be ſeduced alſo, and therefore it is good for your Grace to hear and to hear in time; whatſoever I have written to your Grace is true, and I have not written all the ſpecialties I know in the greateſt matters, which your Grace ſhall perceive to be true, I ſee evidently, that unleſs my matter be very notable, and alſo plain, it ſhall not boot me to alledge it thus much, I am learned by your Graces Letters, and therefore if I had any cauſe to miſtruſt it, I would uſe another mean whereof in your Graces Letters I ſee ſome comfort, but my matter is ſo plain and ſo expedient to be underſtood, that I muſt needs deſire your Grace to be heard in it, wherein it may like you to ſend me knowledge of your pleaſure, and that my ſute to your Grace may ſtand in ſome ſtead, for whoſe preſervation in honour I ſhall daily pray to Almighty God, who preſerve your Grace.

In the Fleet.

Your Graces humble Bead-man,

S. W.

To the Lord Protector.

After my moſt humble commendations to your good Grace: In my third Letters I ſignified unto your Grace my need of the counſel of Phyſician, as the ſtate of my Body then required: whereunto becauſe I had no anſwer, I have uſed all other means of relief, that I could to avoid that need, as one loth to trouble your Grace with requeſts not neceſſary. Maſter Warden of the *Fleet*, and my ſervants know that I ſain not, and I have cauſe to fear, the effect will ſhew I ſain not indeed. In this caſe I may not deſperately forbear to write to your Grace, and think that becauſe I have had no anſwer to all mine other Letters, among which I made mention of this neceſſity, that I ſhould likewiſe have none anſwer to this. As I have determined my ſelf to a truth in the chief matters, ſo I eſchew to uſe ſimulation in by-matters: My mind I thank God was never ſo quiet, as hath been ſince my coming hither, which hath relieved my Body much, but the Body hath need of other relief, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandment. Theſe ſeven weeks ſaving one day I have been here under ſuch ſtrait keeping, as I have ſpoken with no Man. And thus me ſeemeth I ſee my matter perplexed, your Grace will meddle with no-thing done before your come home. And thoſe of the Council that ſent me hither, can by themſelves do nothing, now your Grace is coming home: upon which conſideration I ſue to none of them, and perceive that your Grace to whom I ſue, for ſome reſpect forbeareth to make me anſwer, for ſuch a Paraphraſis I make of your Graces ſilence, wherein I go near as think the truth, then *Eraſmus* in his Paraphraſis ſome time, wherein he taketh upon him to geſs the cauſes of Chriſts doings. I thank God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement ſoever theſe temptations be. But when a certain Sect of Philoſophers called Stoicks, contemned in their learning ſtoutly the grief and diſeaſe of the Body, they were fain a little to ſhrink, when the Gout or any Diſeaſe nipped them, and now my ſtomach nippeth me, which I have favoured as much as any Man in *England*, and have laden it as light either with Meat or Drink of many years, and ſpecially ſince my coming as any other. And after I ſaw I could get no anſwer from your Grace for a Phyſician, I have left off ſuch ſtudy as I uſed, and given my ſelf to continual walking for exerciſe, and with hope of relief, have delaied any further ſute in that matter till now. And now I ſue enforced, which I do moſt humbly with requeſt, that Impriſonment, being to me, that was never in Priſon before, of it ſelf tedious, be not with ſpecial commandment made more grievous, unleſs I were charged with other offence than I am yet charged with, or in my Conſcience can be. For me ſeemeth I have deſerved thanks of your Grace, and the Realm, for the diſcloſing of the faults of the Paraphraſis, wherein I have written ſome ſpecialties, but not all; and have ſuch to ſhew as I may term that Book at one word, Abomination, both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of *Eraſmus* Pen, and alſo the arrogant ignorance of the Tranſlator into *Engliſh*, conſidering the Book ſhould be Authoriſed by a King, and by the Injunctions charge the Realm for buying rather above twenty Thouſand pound than under, whereof I have made account by eſtimate of the number of Buyers, and the Price of the whole Books: The Tranſlator ſheweth himſelf ignorant,

Your ſtrait keeping is to be doubted, conſidering the Warden of the *Fleet* was your ſpecial friend.

norant, both in *Latin* and *English*, a Man far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part, whereby your Grace may take an Argument, what moved them that counselled your Grace to Authorise such a Book in the Realm. As for my Lord of *Canterburies* Homily of Salvation, hath as many faults, as I have been weeks in Prison, which be seven, besides the general that the matter maketh a trouble without necessity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the Parliament.

Finally, In the two Books the matter I have to shew is some part so dangerous, as after I knew it as I know it, the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterprise to utter it, I know not how to have fashioned it better, than to write to the Council in your absence, and on my Knees to declare some part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of Imprisonment, I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they shewed no fashion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the Civil Law that the deed of a number, is no one Mans act, with this also, the Authority is to be honoured; which rule I observe in thought, Word, and Deed. After which sort I remain with such fates as I have made to your Grace hitherto, and with this also that I add, enforced for the relief of my Body, how little soever I do, and have cause so for by it, which I most humbly desire your Grace to consider, and to send me some answer by this bearer: And I shall pray Almighty God for the preservation of your Graces felicity.

Your Graces humble Bead-man.

Certain additions after these Letters above-specified, with Notes and Solutions answering to the same.

THUS have we set out to thee (gentle and studious Reader) an extract of certain Letters of Bishop *Gardiner*; not of all that he wrote, but of such as could come to our hands. Neither of these also that we have, for any good stuff, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did clear him or his cause any thing, for the which he was most worthily condemned. For if there did or might appear any such thing in all his writings, that might clear the ill-favoured doings of that Man, be thou sure such as were then secret about him, and yet his well-wi lers (their names I leave untouched) having his writings, and being able to shew them, as I am privy they are, would not so conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occasioned by us, if they had seen any thing in them meet to relieve the person, or to remedy this matter. Wherefore think not for any such effect these his vain-glorious Letters to be brought in here of us; but only that thou might hereby collect and understand by those his forefaid Epistles, and Articles following, not only the whole course and story almost of all his proceedings from time to time, but also might see the nature and inward condition of the Man, how vain-glorious, full stuft and puft up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit he was, much like to the person, or rather he himself, described in the *Latin* Comedy, *Miles Thraso gloriosus*, having nothing in his mouth, but Emperors, Kings, Counsellors, Protectors, Advisements, Direction; as though all direction of Realms and Princes did flow out of his Brain, like as it is in the Poets Fables, that *Minerva* did spring out of the head of *Jupiter*. And yet if this vain-glorious conceit had been alone in him, less matter had been against him. Now his subtil practises, and pretended purposes, and diffimuling conveyance did not only augment, but also exceed all his other evils; as in the Letters above-specified is notorious and evident to be seen; wherein though he durst not apertly gainsay that which he inwardly misliked, yet how covertly doth he insinuate himself to the Lord Protector, under pretense of giving counsel, to bring that to pass which was for his purpose; that is, That no innovation or alteration might be made of Religion, during all the Kings minority, but that all things might stand as King *Henry* left them, and that is the chiefest butt in all Letters, whereto he driveth; uting commonly this argument, which as it is easie to recite, so neither is it hard to answer to; although in the Notes before we have answered already sufficiently.

{KING. *Edw.6.*}

The sum and conclusion of all Winchester's *drift in his Epistles before.*

THat is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the Lord Protector, and now specially in the Kings minority, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the Realm. Argument.

Innovation of Religion from that state, in which King *Henry* left it, may be and is like to be dangerous to himself, and cause trouble to the Realm.

Ergo, Innovation of Religion, from the state that the King left it in, is in no wise to be attempted.

The Answer.

TO answer first to the vocable Innovation, which he stumbleth so greatly upon, this I say, that Innovation is properly used, where a thing is brought in anew which was not before. Forsomuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new Religion brought in, but only the old Religion of the Primitive Church revived; therefore here is to be thought not so much an Innovation, as a Renovation or Reformation rather of Religion, which Reformation is oft times so necessary in Common-weals, that without the same all runneth to confusion. Answer.

Secondly, I answer to the argument, which I do deny as a *Fallax*, for there is *Fallacia accidentis*. Where it is said, That Reformation of Religion gendreth danger to the Protector, and trouble to the Realm; first, what will come that is uncertain: and God be hallowed, yet no danger hath come to *England* for the reformation of Religion. And though there did, yet the cause thereof is not to be imputed to Religion Reformed: For sincere and true Doctrine of his own nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillity, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other causes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adversaries, not by reason of the Doctrine of True Religion. So, after the preaching of Christ and his Apostles, dissension followed in Common-weals betwixt Father and Son, Brother and Brother, *&c.* but that is not to be ascribed to them, but to other.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphrase of *Erasmus*, this I answer and say, That this Bishop belike had over-watched himself in this matter. For if it be true which he himself affirmeth, That he never read that Book before, and now he never slept till he himself read it; it happened peradventure, that in the overmuch watching of himself, and swift reading of the Book, his Judgment was asleep, whilst his Eyes were open in reading the same. The Paraphrase of *Erasmus*.

Likewise touching the Book of Homilies, especially the Homilie of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himself so much grieved with the Archbishop, seeing he bringeth forth no proofs, I have nothing to answer. In the mean season, this I have to think, That if he had been so cunning in the knowledge of his own Salvation, as he was in the destruction and vexation of Christs members, he would never so rage against that Homily. The Book of Homilies.

Touching the examination of *Ann Askew*, if it be misreported by Mr. *Bale*, why doth not he note the places which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able so to do; yet seeing the examination was of her own Penning, which Mr. *Bale* did follow, let every Christian Reader judge, whether is more to be credited of these two, she that was persecuted, or he that was the persecuter. The examination of *Ann Askew* set forth by Mr. *Bale*.

And where he speaketh so much of quiet and tranquillity; this I answer, That quiet and tranquillity in Weals publick, so long as they are joyned with right reformed Religion, be much to be imbraced. But when it is otherwise; that is, where True Religion lacketh his right, there let the second Table give place to the first. Quiet and tranquillity of Realms ought not to stop Reformation of Religion

He

{KING. *Edw.6.* Preachers, Printers, Players.}

He thwarteth also and wrangleth much against Players, Printers, Preachers. And no marvel why. For he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple Bulwark against the triple Crown of the Pope, to bring him down, as God be praised they have done meetly well already.

The Article of Justification. As touching the Article of free Justification by Faith, which he cannot abide, forasmuch as we have sufficiently declared it in the Notes before, we shall refer the Reader now also unto the same.

And moreover, because in one of his Letters mention is made of a certain Letter sent unto Master *Ridley*, because we will defraud thee (gentle Reader) of nothing that cometh to our hands, here hast thou the Copy thereof, in effect as followeth:

Here followeth the Copy of the Letter of *Stephen Gardiner* sent to Mr. *Ridley*, in the Letters above-mentioned, containing matter and objections against a certain Sermon of the said Mr. *Ridley*, made at the Court.

The Letter of Winch. first to Mr. Ridley.

MAster *Ridley*, after right hearty commendations, it chanced me upon *Wednesday* last past to be present at your Sermon in the Court, wherein I heard you confirm the Doctrine in Religion, set forth by our late Sovereign Lord and Master, whose Soul God pardon, admonishing your audience that ye would specially travel in the confutation of the Bishop of *Romes* pretended Authority in Government and usurped Power, and in Pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in Heaven and Earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controverse. In the other two ye spake of, touching Images and Ceremonies, and as ye touched it, specially for Holy Water to drive away Devils, for that you declared your self always desirous to set forth the meer truth, with great desire of unity as ye professed, not extending any your affeveration, beyond your knowledge, but always adding such like words (as far as ye had read) and if any Man could shew you further, ye would hear him (where in you were much to be commended.) Upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought my self bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of Images and Holy Water, to the intent you may by your self consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm fully that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained, wherein I have seen other forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith (which I am sure ye have read) That (*a*) *Eusebius* writeth of Images, whereby appeareth that Images have been of (*b*) great Antiquity in Christs Church: and to say we may have Images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his Saints, be over gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle. For you know the Text of the Old Law, (*c*) *Non facies tibi sculptile*, forbiddeth no more Images now, than another Text forbiddeth to us Puddings. And if *omnia be munda mundis* to the Belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves *impura* to the Eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then when we have Images, to call them Idols, is a like fault in fond folly, as if a Man would call (*Regem*) a Tyrant, and then bring in old Writers to prove that *Tyrannus* signified once a King, like as (*Idolum*) signified that those once an Image: but like as *Tyrannus* was by consent of Men appropriate to signifie an Usurper of that dignity, and an untrue King; so hath *Idolum* been likewise appropriate to signifie a false representation, and a false Image; insomuch as there was a solemn Anathematization of all those that would call an Image an Idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the King our Master (God save him) our true just King, a Tyrant; and yet in talk he might shew, that a Tyrant signified sometimes a King; but speech is regarded in his prefent signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

If this Doctrine were plain in K. *Edwards* time, how chanced it was not so plain with you in Q. *Maries* time?

(*a*) *Euseb. Cæsar.* faith, That he saw the Pictures of Paul and Peter kept with a certain Christian-man, but yet he saith not that those once an Image: but like as *Tyrannus* was by consent of Pictures were set up in any Church.

(*b*) What antiquity Images had in the Church, is declared by the doing and writing of *Epiphanius*, in his Epistle *ad Epist. Hierosol.* translated by *Hieron.* Item, In the Council, called *Ilibertinum*, *Artic.* 36. it is to be seen how Pictures were forbid in Church-walls. *Item, in concilio Constantino. sub Leone Imp.* Images were condemned. *Item, Carol. Magnus*, with the whole Council of *Frankfort* decreed against Images, abrogating the vain and frivolous acts of *Irene* in his Council a little before. Briefly, concerning the antiquity of Images, when Bishops began to cease from preaching in Churches, then Images began to be set up. (*c*) It is not like, for *Non facies sculptile*, that is, Moral; *De immobilis*, is but Ceremonial.

The Letter of Winch. to Mr. Ridley.

I verily think, that for the having of Images ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not delpise them in speech, to call them (*d*) Idols, nedespise them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them, but at the least suffer them to stand (*e*) as Images (that pulled away all other regard to them) strove stoutly and obtained (as I have seen in divers of the Churches in *Germany* of his reformation) that they should (as they do) stand still. (*d*) Betwixt Images and Idols there is but little difference, but between Images set up in Churches and Idols, there is none at all. *Cic. lib. 2. de finib. Imagines quæ dicta vanitatis.*

All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the Church of *Rome* hath been very precise; and specially *Gregory*, writing *Episcopo Mosilliens.* Which is contained, *De consecratio. Distinct.* 3. as followeth:

Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo successus sanctorum imagines, sub hac quasi excusatione ne adorari debuissent, confregeris; & quidem eas adorare vetuisse omnino laudamus, fregisse vero reprehendimus. Die frater, a quo factum esse accordate aliquando audituus es, quod feceris? Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc & idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui literas nesciunt, unde & Gentilibus pro lectione pictura est.

Duo hic videnda sunt, primum, tempore Gregorii imagines nundum coloratæ, at hodie apud nos, sed tantum ad historiam adhibentur. Cujusmodi videtur picturæ illa Christi & militeris simbiam exegetis, ejus meminit Eusebius in hist. Verum si vivaret beatis Gregorius, videret tenuam & flatuis prophanationem, quid tam stolidum esse illa haud obscurum est. Perverse excusatio illa & disuasa picturarum quam affert, præterea quod justa ratione carent, pugnat etiam manifestis cum Synodo E. 4th. Artic. 36. ubi prohibentur in templis picturæ, ne in cultu fit error. Pugnat etiam cum exemplo Epiphan. & Epseb. &c.

Herein is forbidden adoration, and then in *Sexta Synodo* was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden, that is to say, godly adoration to it be meant, as is contained in the Chapter *Venerabiles imagines*, in the same distinction, in this wise. Idolatry is not excluded, so long as any vertue is sought at their hands. Vertue is and hath been sought at their hands. *Ergo*, Idolatry is not excluded as he saith.

Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neq; serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum judicium, sed ad memoriam & recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas & adorant, sed non servunt eis cultu divino, nec alicui creaturæ.

By which Doctrine all Idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words. So as we cannot say that the worshipping of Images had his beginning by Popery; for *Gregory* forbad it, unless we shall call that Synod Popery, because there were so many Bishops. And yet there is forbidden *cultus Divinus*, and agreeth with our aforesaid Doctrine, by which we may creep before the Cross on *Good Friday*, wherein we have the Image of the Crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it is figurineth, as we kneel (*e*) and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which Cross nevertheless the Sexton when he goeth for a Cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his Gown whilst he drinketh a Pot of Ale, a point of homelines that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no Divinity in the Image. But ever since I was born, a poor Parishioner, a Lay-man, durst be so bold, at a shift (if he were also Church-warden) to fel to the use of the Church at length, and his own in the mean time, the Silver-Cross on *Easter-Munday*, (*e*) What work *winchester* maketh to creep to dead Crosses, and to worship blockish Images. But the lively Images of Christ, them nour, and use it in a worshipful place, and burned cruelly. Therefore it is worthily said of *clement th. c. Quia ille pro honor Dei, per lapidem & lignum formas diswerre, atque examines si quas venerari, & homines in qua vera Dei image ibi perire?*

But *Winchester* was so bleffed in his Lay mens stocks that he had no leisure to understand learned Books.

(a) If things having the office to signifie and work in us the understanding of Christ and Holy things, are therefore to be worshipped, confest, and creept unto, why then do ye not worship the Preacher, the Bible-Book, the Epistler and Gospeller, which give a much more lively understanding to our minds, of Holy and Heavenly things, than Images do?

(b) The Argument of *Winchester* reverted against himself: for if Gods Word and such other founds giving a lively understanding to us, yet be not had in such a worthipful regard, that any cloth cense them, or creep and offer to them: *Ergo*, much less should you do the same to these your dead and insensible Images.

(c) One Idol well compared with another.

(d) Because you say that Godly honour, or *cultus divinus*, is taken away by you from Images. I pray you what could ye do to God, if he were here materially him *self*, more than ye do to them? to cense them, to candle them, to tabernacle them, to set them up in Churches, to adore and invocate them, to kneel and knock to them, to creep and offer to them, to seek vertue, and to require health at them, to make them your Patrons, and to make your Vows unto them, *&c.* If this be not *Divinus cultus*, tell me what give you to God more than this?

(e) All Papists perchance.

(f) Yea, but what Knight of that order kneeleth or prayeth to that *George* that hangeth about his Neck?

(g) A worthipful service, to worship God, and worship creatures.

You told before they were Lay-mens Book, now ye make them learned Mens Books also, wherein you read (ye say) many things at one or opening. And what read you or see you in those Books, I pray you? *nimirum id quod pueri discere in subitum.* And whereas be you bid to look upon thefe fanatical Books? *Scrutamini Scripturas*, saith the Lord: *contemplamini picturas*, witereth *winchester*. But rather *winchester* should have read the book of *Epiphanius*, *contra Enerattas*, where thefe words be opened to him, *Non decet christianum per oculos fuspectum trahi, sed per occupatorem mentis, &c.*

(h) If ye did fee any Painter yet to do worship to his Graven Leavers, then might ye well feek thus as ye do, a knot in a Rush.

Monday, that was creeped unto on *Good-Friday*. In fpecialties there have been fpecial abufes; but generally, Images have been taken for Images, with whom Chriſt, which is ſignified by an Image, and repreſenting to the underſtanding, by the ſenſe of hearing, godly matter, doth ſtir up the mind, and therewith the body, to conſent in outward geſture of worthipful regard to that ſame: (*b*) ſo doth the object of the Image, by the Sight work like effect in Man, within and without, wherein is verily worthipped that we underſtand, and yet reverence and worſhip alſo ſhewed to that whereby we attain that underſtanding, and is to us in the place of an Inſtrument: ſo as it hath no worſhip of it ſelf, but remaineth in his nature of Stone or Timber, Silver, Copper, or Gold. But when it is in office and worketh a godly remembrance in us, by repreſentation of the thing ſignified unto us, then we uſe it worſhipfully, and honourably, as many do the (*c*) Priеſt at Maſs, whom they little regard all the day after. And me thinketh even, that like as it is an over-groſs error to take an Image for God, or to worſhip it with godly (*d*) honour; ſo to grant that we may not have Images of Chriſt, and that we may do no worſhip before them, or not uſe them worſhipfully, it is inexpliable. For it is one kind of worſhip to place them worſhipfully. So as if a Man place an Image in the Church, or hang it about his Neck, as (*e*) all uſe to do the Image of the Croſs, and the Knights of the Order of (*f*) St. *George*, this is ſome piece of worſhip. And if we may not contemn the Images of Chriſt and his Saints, when we have them (for that were villany) nor neglect them (for that were to have them without uſe) which were inconvenient (*quia nec natura nec arte quicquam ſit fruſtra*) we muſt have them in eſtimation and reputation, which is not without ſome honour and worſhip, and at the leaſt in the place where we conveniently uſe them, as in the Church, as where they ſerve us, rather than we them; and becauſe their ſervice is worſhipful, they be ſo regarded accordingly for that time of ſervice, and therefore they be called *Venerabiles Imagines*, and be worſhipfully ordered, before whom we kneel, and bow, and cenſe, not at that the Images be, but at that the Images ſignifie, which in our kneeling, bowing, and cenſing we knowledge to underſtand and read in that faſhion of contract-writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of ſentences, ſuddainly opened with one ſudden ſight, to him that hath been exerciſed in reading of them. And me ſeemeth, after the Faith of Chriſt received and known, and throughly purged from Hereſies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retain Painting and Graving and forbear Writing, or chuſing Writing to forbear both the other Gifts; it would be a Problem, ſeeing if Graving were taken away we could have no Printing. And therefore they that preſs ſo much the words of *Non facies tibi ſculptile*, ever me thinketh they condemn Printed Books, the Original whereof is of Graving to make (*b*) *matrices literarum. Sed hoc eſt furioſum, & ſunt tamen qui putant palmarium.* And therefore now it is *Engliſhed*, Thou ſhalt make no Graven Images, leſt thou worſhip them. Which (I hear) is newly written in the new Church, I know not the name, but not far from the *Old Jury*. But to the matter of Images, wherein I have diſcourſed at large, I think, if ye conſider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the Doctrine ſet forth by our late Sovereign Lord, ye ſhall in the matter ſee the truth ſet forth by ſuch as had that commixted unto them under his Highneſs, amongſt whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it till it was done. And yet the Clauſe in the Book, for diſcuſſion of (the Lord) and (our Lord) hath made many think otherwiſe. But I take our Lord to witneſs, I was not; and that declaration of (our Lord) was his Highneſs own device, *ex ſe*. For he ſaw the fond *Engliſhing* of (the Lord) diſſervered in ſpeech, whom our Lord had congregate. And this I add, leſt giving authority to that Book, I ſhould ſeem to vaunt my ſelf.

Now will I ſpeak ſomewhat of Holy Water, wherein I ſend unto you the four and thirtieth Chapter in the Ninth Book of the Hiſtory *Tripartite*, where *Marcellus* the Biſhop bade *Equitius* his Deacon to caſt abroad Water by him firſt hallowed wherewith to drive away the Devil. And it is noted how the Devil could not abide the vertue of the Water, but vaniſhed away. And for my part, it ſeemeth the Hiſtory may be true; for we be aſſured by Scripture, that in the Name of God the Church is able and ſtrong to caſt out Devils, according to the Goſpel, *In nomine meo Dæmonia ejicient*, *&c.* So as if the Water were away, by only calling on the Name of God that maſtery may be wrought. And the vertue of the effect being only attributed to the Name of God, the queſtion ſhould be only, whether the creature of Water may have the office to convey the effect of the Holineſs of the Invocation of Gods Name. And firſt in Chriſt, the ſkirt of his Garment had ſuch an Office to Miniſter health to the Woman, and Spittle and Clay to the Blind, and St. *Peter's* Shadow, and St. *Paul's* Handkerchers. And leaving old Stories, here at home the ſpecial Gift of Curation, Miniſtred by the Kings of this Realm, not of their own ſtrength but by Invocation of the Name of God, hath been uſed to be diſtributed in Rings of Gold and Silver. And I think effectually therein the Metal hath only an Office, and the ſtrength is in the Name of God wherein all is wrought. And *Eliſeus* put his Staff in like office. And why the whole Church might not put Water in like office, to convey abroad the Invocation of Gods Name, there is no Scripture to the contrary, but there is Scripture how other Inferior Creatures have been promoted to like Dignity, and much Scripture, how Water hath been uſed in like and greater ſervice. And the Story I ſend unto you ſheweth how Water hath been uſed in the ſame ſervice to drive away Devils. In which matter if any ſhall ſay, he believeth not the Story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no Scripture; that Man is not to be reaſoned with, for the effect of the Kings Cramp Rings. And yet for ſuch effect as they have wrought, when I was in *France*, I have been my ſelf much honoured; and of all ſorts intreated to have them, with offer of as much for them, as they were of double worth. Some will ſay, What are Rings to Holy Water? Marry thus I ſay, (*a*) If the Metal of Gold and Silver may do ſervice to carry abroad the Invocation of the Name of God effectually for one purpoſe, Water may alſo ſerve to carry abroad the Invocation of the Name of God, wherewith to drive away Devils. Here to will be ſaid, *Non valet argumentum a poſſe ad eſſe*. But the Story ſaith, The Water did that ſervice; and other ſtrangers ſay and affirm by experience, The Kings Miracles Rings have done the ſervice. And our late Maſter continued all his life the exerciſe of that Gift of God, and uſed Silver and Gold to do that ſervice to carry abroad the ſtrength of the Invocation of the Name of God by him, and he uſed it amongſt us that ſerved him in it, when he had throughly heard and ſeen what might be ſaid in the matter, and yet he had no Scripture eſpecially for it, that ſpake of Rings of Silver or Gold, no more than is for the Aſhes Miniſtred a little before ye laſt preached.

And

(a) The Kings Ring with his Coronation, ergo, Holy Water may have alſo his effect. *Reſp.* Non valet conſequentia, for the mixtoding of corporal things with ſpiritual operation.

(b) The King would not wear S. *George* upon his breſt if Images were forbidden. The King weareth S. *George* upon his breſt, *ergo* Images are not forbidden. *Reſp.* This Argument, beſides that it ſtandeth *ex pluribus particularibus*, whereby it may be denyed; in the *Major* alſo there is a double underſtanding in this word Images, whether it be taken indefinitely, or particularly. If the later part of the *Major* be taken indifferently for all Images both in Churches and in private houſes, uſed or worn in Garments, then the firſt part is falſe. If particularly for ſuch only as be ſet up in Churches, there is no Concluſion, whether it be univerſal, maketh a falſe Argument, *ex a terminis*: Or if it be particular, it may be granted, and hurteth nothing our Doctrine, for we ſpeak only againſt the Images ſet up in Churches, not againſt the uſe.

(c) S. *George* Feaſt is kept, *Ergo*, Saints are to be worſhipped. *Reſp.* A like Argument: *Lammas Fair* is kept, *Ergo*, Lambs are to be worſhipped.

(d) The Water of Baptiſm hath an expreſs ordinance, where Holy water hath none.

(e) Chriſt uſeth not now in his Church dumb Creatures of Gold and Silver, *&c.* but Miniſters by the lively miniſtring of his Word to carry abroad his Grace.

(f) Cramp-rings and Holy-water, both together in like caſe of abuſe and ſuperſtition.

KING Ed. 6. And as our young Soveraign Lord hath received them reverently, ſo I truſt he ſhall be advertiſed, *ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum*, but follow his Father therein; alſo not doubting but God will hear him as he hath heard his Father, and other his Progenitors Kings of this Realm, to whoſe Dignity God addeth this Prerogative, as he doth alſo to inferior Miniſters of his Church, in the effect of their Prayer, when it pleaſeth him. A man might find ſome youngling perceaſe that would ſay, How would ly, witty Biſhops, ba. inveigled ſimple Kings heretofore, and, to confirm their Bleſſings, have alſo deviſed how Kings ſhould Bleſs alſo, and ſo Authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I uſed to prove one piece of mine Argument ever by a King, as when I reaſoned thus: If ye allow nothing but Scripture, What ſay you to the Kings Rings? but they be allowed, *Ergo*, ſomewhat is to be allowed beſides Scripture. And another, if Images be forbidden, (*b*) Why doth the King wear S. *George* on his breſt? but he weareth S. *George* on his breſt: *Ergo*, Images be not forbidden. If Saints be not to be worſhipped; why keep (*c*) we Saint *Georges* Feaſt? But we keep St. *Georges* Feaſt, *Ergo*, *&c.* And in this matter of Holy Water, if the ſtrength of the Invocation of the name of God, to drive away the Devils, cannot be diſtributed by Water; why can it be diſtributed in Silver to drive away Diſeaſes, and the dangerous Diſeaſe of the Falling Evil? But the Rings hallowed by the Holy Church may do ſo. *Ergo*, the Water hallowed by the Church may do like ſervice. Theſe were fore Arguments in his time, and I truſt be alſo yet, and may be conveniently uſed, to ſuch as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull ſight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye ſpake effectually, when ye ſaid, Men muſt receive the determination of the particular Church, and obey where God's Word is not pugneth not expreſly. And in this effect to drive away Devils, that Prayer and Invocation of the Church may do it, Scripture maintaineth evidently, and the ſame Scripture doth authoriſe us ſo to pray, and incouragath us to it. So as if, in diſcuſſion of Holy Water, we attribute all the effect of the Holineſs which proceedeth from God by Invocation of the Church, and take Water only for a Servant to carry abroad Holineſs; there can be no Superſtition, where men regard only Prayer, which Scripture authoriſeth: and if we ſhall ſay that the Water cannot do ſuch ſervice, we ſhall be convinced, in that it doth a greater ſervice in our Baptiſm by Gods ſpecial (*d*) Ordinance. So as we cannot ſay, that Water cannot, or is not apt to do this Service; only the ſtay is, to have a precife place in the New Teſtament, to ſay, Uſe Water thus in this ſervice, as we do in Holy water, which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well uſed by us: and when the whole Church agreed upon ſuch an uſe, or any particular Church, or the common Miniſter of it, and by the Exorciſm ordered for it, the thing to be uſed, purged, there can be but ſlender matter to improve that cuſtom, wherein God is only honored, and the power of his Name fet forth, whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation ſet apart and ſecluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do ſervice, becauſe Scripture appointeth it not, that (becauſe) driveth away much of the reſt which the Church uſeth, and eſpecially our Cramp-rings. For if water may not ſerve to carry (*e*) abroad the effects of Gods Grace, obtained by Invocation from God, by the Common Prayer of the Church: How can the metal of Silver or Gold carry abroad the effect of the Kings Invocation in the Cramp-rings? which manner of reaſoning (*ad hominem*) Chriſt uſed with the Jews, when he ſaid, *Si ego in Belzebub ejicio Dæmonia, filii veſtri, in quo ejicitis?* And by our own Principles we ſhould be enforced to ſay, that our (*f*) Cramp-rings be ſuperſtition (where Truth inforceth us not ſo to do) it were a marvellous puniſhment. *Si cæci eſſemus* (as Chriſt ſaith) *peccatum non haberemus, ſed videmus*, and this Realm hath Learning in it, and you a good portion thereof, according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, *non ad populorum trutinam, ſed artificis ſtateram*. I mean, that Artificer which teacheth the Church our Mother (as ye fully declared it) and ordered our Mother to give nourithment unto us. In which point ſpeaking of the Church, although ye touched an unknown Church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that Church in the permixt Church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again, wherein the abſurdity is taken away of them that would have no Church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himſelf, whereupon followeth the old Proverb, *Sol ubi mutus docetur, ibi ſtulti ſunt medici*. Which is far from the unity ye ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, whereof (as me thought) ye faid Pride is the let, as it is undoubtedly, which fault God amend, and give you Grace ſo to faſhion your words, as ye may agree with them in ſpeech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion. For that is the way to relieve the World. And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but contrariwiſe a little diſagreement (which I did not hide from you) yet conſidering the fervent zeal ye profeſſed to teach (*g*) *Peters* true Doctrine, that is to ſay, Chriſts true Doctrine, whereunto ye thought the Doctrine of Images and Holy-water, to put away Devils, agreed not, I have willingly ſpent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) (*h*) plainly as it is, whereupon ye may have occaſion the more ſubſtantially, fully and plainly to open thefe matters for the relief of ſuch as be ſtark from the Truth, and confirmation of thoſe that receive and follow it, wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have ſuch regard to Hiſtories of credit, and the continual uſe of the Church (*i*) rather to ſtew how a thing continued from the beginning, as Holy-water and Images have done, may be well uſed, than to follow the light raſh Eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that is eſtabliſhed. And yet again, I come to *Marcellus* that made a Croſs in the water, and bad his Deacon caſt it abroad (*k*) *cum fide & zelo*; after which fort if our Holy-water were uſed, I doubt not but there be many *Marcellies*, and many *Eliseus*, and many at whoſe prayer God forgiveth ſin, if ſuch as will enjoy that Prayer have Faith and Zeal, as *Equitius*, and were as deſirous to drive the Devil out of the Temple of their Body and Soul, as *Equitius* out of the Temple of *Jupiter*. So as if holy uſe were coupled with holy water, there ſhould be more plenty of Holineſs than there is; but as men be prophane in their living, ſo they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not ſo much as Bread and Water, fearing leſt they ſhould take away ſin from us, which we love ſo dearly well. *Solus Chriſtus peccata diluit*, who ſprinkleth his Blood by his Miniſters, as he hath taught his Spouſe the Church, in which thoſe Miniſters be ordered, whereby in many ways maketh not many Saviours, as Ignorants do jeſt, whereof I need not ſpeak further unto you, no more I needed not in the reſt in reſpect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all Men in your Sermon to ſay what they thought to you, *Id quod hanc mihi expreſſit epiſtolam, quam boni conſules, Et vale.*

(g) Affect *Peters* Doctrine, the blood of Chriſt only purgeth us from all ſin. *Ergo*, what ſhould Holy-water do?

(h) Plainly as it is, his Pen will not let him lie.

(i) The being planting of Holy-Water came firſt from the Gentiles, who uſed to ſprinkle *&* waſh their houſes with water, as ſtanding for a wrong faith joyned to dumb Creatures, and do with like reaſon call up Devils, as Holy-Water may drive them away.

Your loving Friend,

Stephen Winchester.

AS I have ſet forth here (gentle Reader) the cavilling Letter of *Winchester* againſt M. *Ridleys* Sermon; ſo am I right ſorry, that I have not likewiſe the Anſwer of the ſaid *Ridley* again to joyn withal. For I underſtand, that not only Maſter *Ridley*, but alſo Maſter *Barlow*, Biſhop of Saint *Davids* (for *Winchester* wrote againſt them both) had written and ſent immediately their Anſwers to the ſame, refuting the frivolous and unſavory Reaſons of this Popiſh Prelate, as may well appear by a parcel

ed additional of a Letter sent by the Lord Protector to the said Bishop in these words:

And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain Letter or Book which you wrote unto us against the Bishop of Saint David's *Sermon, and Doctor* Ridley's, *to the which answer being immediately made, It was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent. Now we Lith send you that, and also the Answer which the Bishop of Saint* David's *wrote to the same Book of yours.*

Articles and Positions ministred and objected each of them joyntly and severally to the Bishop of *Winchester*; as followeth.

The 1. Article.

Articles laid against Winchester.

IN primis, *That the Kings Majesty justly and rightfully is, and by the Laws of God ought to be Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of* England, *and also of* Ireland, *and so is by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and by Act of Parliament justly, and according to the Laws of God recognised.*

Winchester.

Winchester granteth to the King Supremacy.

This first Article the Bishop granteth.

The 2. Article.

Item, *That his Majesty, as Supreme Head of the said Churches, hath full Power and Authority to make and set forth Laws, Injunctions, and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and orders of the said Churches, for the increase of Virtue, and repressing of all Errors, Heresies, and other enormities and abuses.*

Winchester.

Winchester granteth to the full authority of the King in setting forth his Laws.

To this second Article he answereth affirmatively.

The 3. Article.

Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects are bound by the Law of God to obey all his Majesties said Laws, Injunctions and Proceedings concerning Religion, and orders in the said Church.*

Winchester.

To the third Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 4. Article.

Item, *That you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester *have sworn obedience unto his Majesty as Supreme Head of this Church of* England, *and also of* Ireland.

Winchester.

Winchester hath sworn obedience to the Kings Supremacy.

To the fourth Article, the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The 5. Article.

Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects, that disobey any his Majesties said Laws, Injunctions, Ordinances and Proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his Ecclesiastical Law used within this his Realm.*

Winchester.

To this fifth Article the said Bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

{KING Ed. 6.}

The 6. Article.

Item, *That you the said Bishop, as well in the Kings Majesties late Visitation within your Diocess, as at sundry times have been complained upon, and sundry Informations made against you for your doings, sayings and preachings against sundry Injunctions, Orders, and other Proceedings of his Majesty set forth for reformation of Errors, Superstitions, and other abuses of Religion.*

Winchester complained of.

Winchester.

This Article toucheth other mens Acts, who or how they have complained and informed, I cannot throughly tell. For at the time of the Kings Majesties Visitation I was in the *Fleet*, and the morrow after *Twelfth day* I was delivered at *Hampton Court*, my Lord of *Somerset*, and my Lord of *Canterbury* then being in Council, with many other Councellors, and was delivered by these words: *The Kings Majesty hath granted a General Pardon*, and by the benefit thereof I was discharged: whereunto I answered, That I was learned never to refuse the Kings Majesties Pardon, and in strength as that was: And I would and did humbly thank his Majesty therefore, and then they began with me in an Article of Learning, touching Justification, whereunto they willed me to say my mind; adding therewith, that because other Learned had agreed to a Form delivered unto me, I should not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repair to my Lord of *Somersets* House at *Sheene*, with my mind written; which I did, and at that day seven night following, appearing before him and other of the Council, was committed to my House for Prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the form of Words and Sentences that other had agreed unto, as they said. In which time of Imprisonment in my House, the Bishop of *Rochester* then being sent to me, and after Mr. *Smith*, and then Mr. *Cecil*; to which Mr. *Cecil*, when I had by Learning resolved my mind in the matter, I delivered it; and he delivering it to my Lords Grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it; and then it was within the time of *Lent*, ere I was discharged of that trouble, and so went to *Winchester*, as a man clearly out of all travel of business.

Winchester releaseth our of the Fleet by the Kings general Pardon.

The Article of Justification put to Winchester.

Winchester Prisoner in his own House.

Winchester desireth to subscribe to the Articles of Justification.

Mr. Cecil sent to Winchester.

Winchester again let free.

And within fourteen days after that, or thereabouts, began other travel with me, upon a request made by my Lord of *Sommerset* to furrender a College in *Cambridge*, and divers Letters were written between his Grace and me in it. Wherein I might perceive the Secretary with his Pen took occation to prick me more, than I trusted my Lords Grace himself would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then shortly after I received Letters to come to the Council, and by reason I alledged my disease, I was respited by other Letters, and three days before Whitsontide received yet other Letters to come, by which it might seem unto me, that it was not of all believed that I was diseased. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in an Horse-litter, and according to my duty presented myself to my Lords of the Council, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the same place with them that I was in our late Sovereign Lords days. Afterwards my Lord of *Somerset*'s Grace charged me with these Matters following, and in this form, having the Articles written in a Paper.

Winchester sent for to the Council. Winchester sick.

Winchester cometh at last in a Horselitter.

First, with disobedience, that I came not at his sending for. Whereunto I answered, That I had his Letters of License to stay till I might come conveniently. And upon these last Letters I came incontinently in a Horse-litter.

Winchester charged with disobedience.

Then it was objected, That I bare Palms, and crept to the Cross. Whereto I answered, That they were misinformed, and I trusted they would not think I durst deny it, if I had done it, because Ceremonies had such circumstances, as I might easily be reproved if it were otherwise.

Then it was objected, That at *Easter* I had a solemn Sepulchre in the Church, and such other Ceremonies. I answered, That I had even as many as the Kings Majesties

{KING Edw. 6.}

Winchester charged to deface certain of the Kings Chaplains.

jesties Proclamations commanded me: declaring plainly, That I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the Kings Majesties Proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

It was then objected unto me, That I went about to deface two of the Kings Majesties Chaplains, sent down to be Canons of the Church of *Winchester*. Whereunto I answered, declaring the Fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to justifie. After this matter thus oft objected and answered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my Lord of *Somersets* Grace looking upon a Bill of Articles, said, I had preached how the Apostles went from the presence of the Council, of the Council, of the Council; which matter I denied, adding, That it was not my fashion of Preaching, so to play in iteration of words.

Real Presence.

After that, it was objected unto me for Preaching of the Sacrament, to say, The Body of Christ was really present, being a fault to use the word Really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, That I did not use the word Really, which needeth not. For as I once heard my Lord of *Canterbury* reason against one *Lambert*, in the presence of the Kings Majesty that dead is the words of the Scripture, *This is my Body that shall be betrayed for you*, do plainly and lively express the very Presence, and so did I set it forth to the People in my Diocess.

And this is the effect of all that was said against me at my being at the Council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I esteemed obedience, and told them, I had taught in my Diocess how the whole life of a Christian man consisteth in suffering properly; and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we must either suffer the Rulers will, or their powers, their will to order us, and their power to punish us. After declaration whereof, my Lord of *Somerset* said, Ye must tarry in the Town. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleasure to tarry; but seeing I was no Offender, I desired them I might not tarry as an Offender: and for declaration thereof, that I might have some House in the Country about *London*, to remove unto for a shift. In declaring whereof, I thick much to borrow *Affhar*. My Lord of *Somerset* said, if he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end, my Lord of *Somerset* desired me to write what my mind was in Ceremonies, and to send it unto him, and with that departed.

Winchester commanded to tarry at London.

Winchester commanded to write his mind of Ceremonies.

Thus I have truly opened after what fort I have been complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge: Truth it is, that one *Philpot* in *Westminster*, whom I accounted altered in his wits (as I have heard) devised tales of me, the Specialties whereof I never was called to answer unto. Players and Minstrels also railed on me, and other Ballads and Rhymes of me, but never Man heard cause to complain of any my sayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwise than afore. And if any man shall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my absence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant so. But well assured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life by any man of any degree. Once the Lord *Cromwel*, God pardon his Soul and forgive him, caused one day and a half to be spent in a matter between Sir *Francis Brian* and me, which was ended, and I declared an honest man, which the Kings Majesty that is dead, God pardon his Soul, set forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, saving the sending to the Fleet, being occasioned by my own Letter to the Council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not. And finally, this sending of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the Council, to hear what I could say. I am loth to be forsworn, and therefore I account all the complaints in my whole life made against me whereunto I have been made privy.

Mr. Philpot complained upon of Winchester.

Winchester when and how often he hath been called to answer.

The seventh Article.

Item, *That after and upon occasion of those and many other Complaints and Informations, you have been sundry times admonished, commanded and enjoyned to conform your self, as to your duty appertained.*

Winchester admonished to conform himself.

Winchester.

To this seventh Article I answer, I was never called afore the Council by way of outward Complaint and Information, but only once in all my whole life, which was at my laft coming to *London*. Whereunto I answered as afore, and have told the form and process of Speech to serve for furniture of answer to this and that Article: for other than I have before written, I remember not to have done or suffered by the higher Powers in all my whole life, till my coming into the Tower, without that I have had any by Admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not, for the observation of any thing already made or fet forth by the Kings Majesty that now is, but have kept, and caused to be kept to my power, the Kings Majesties Acts, Statutes, Injunctions and Proclamations inviolably, having for that purpose such a Chancellor, as in Orders and Ordinances hath been always himself diligent and precise, for that time I might have knowledge of his doings.

The eighth Article.

Item, *That after the premises, and for that those former Admonitions and Commandments notwithstanding, you did yet still shew your self not conformable, and for that also others by your example were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietness ministred among the people, you were called before the Kings Majesties Council in the month of* June, *in the second year of his Majesties Reign, and by them on his Majesties behalf commanded to Preach a Sermon before his Majesty, and therein to declare the justness and godliness of his Majesties Father, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you.*

Winchester enjoyned by the Kings Councell to Preach the second year of the Kings Reign.

The effect whereof, was, touching the usurped Power and Authority of the Bishop of Rome, *that the same was justly and godly taken away in this Realm, and other the Kings Majesties Dominions, touching the just suppressing and taking away of Monasteries and Religious Houses, of Pilgrimages, Relicks, Shrines, Images.*

Certain points enjoyned to Winchester to Preach upon.

The Superstitious going about of Saint Nicholas *Bishop, Saint* Edmund, *Saint* Katharine, *Saint* Clement, *and such like; and just taking away of Chauntries, Abbies and Colledges, hallowing of Candles, Water, Ashes, Palms, Holy Bread, Beads, creeping to the Cross, and such like.*

Also touching the sitting forth of the Kings Majesties Authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highness were of many more years.

That Auricular Confession is indifferent, and of no necessity by the Law of God; and touching the Procession and Common Prayer in English.

Winchester.

This Article being of so many parts as it is, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by division of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwise, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is captious; so as, according to my Oath, I may open directly and plainly the truth, with sincerity of Conscience. The motion of Preaching was made unto me in mine own house by Mr. *Cecil*, upon the Duke of *Somerset* behalf, after I had been before the Council, as I have before said; from which Council I departed (as before is rehearsed) as no offendor; and therefore when Mr. *Cecil* spake to me of Preaching before the Kings Majesty, with request to write my Sermon before, I denyed that manner of Preaching, because I said it was to Preach like an Offender, and I was none, but departed from the Council otherwise, as I have before shewed. And the said Mr. *Cecil* did not say to me that I was moved to Preach,

Mr. Cecil.

because I was not Conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the Council, but was in all Conformity with them, for any thing that I know, as I will answer afore God.

As for evil Example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended Law, Statute, or Proclamation in this Realm. nor did ever any act to the empairing of due obedience to the Kings Majesty in all my whole life; but by observation of them, and letting Innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintain obedience.

Winchester perfidi-ously to preach by other mens Papers and Prescripti-on, and yet the plain word would not precisely o-bey upon the Papers when they should preach. Presently, a-gainst all conscience audiously.

After Matter *Cecil* had spoken to me of Preaching, and delivered two Papers containing the Matters whereupon I should entreat, because I refused to give my Sermon in Writing (which was to me like an Offender) or to read those Papers of another mans device, as the conception and discreet manner of uttering of mine own Conscience (which me thought then and since, and yet, a marvellous unreasonable matter) touching both my conscience and honesty. I was then fet to the Duke of *Somerset* Graces chamber, and came in at a back door to himself alone, saving he took to him as Witness he said, the Lord now of *Wiltshire*, then great Master; and after many Words, he shewed me certain Articles subscribed by Lawyers, what a Bishop might command, and what the King might command, and what pain to the Disobeyer.

Winchester answer to the Duke of *Somerset.*

To whom I said plainly and truly, how those Lawyers subscription could not serve in this case to command me to utter to the People, for mine own device in words, that which is not indeed so; and if I might speak with these Lawyers (I said his Grace should soon perceive them to agree with me. My Lord said, I should speak with no man, and I should do as I was bidden, or do worse. and bad me advise me till Dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the Lord great Master to his Chamber, and there left alone to Dine, as was indeed honorably prepared. But I took my self to be in the nature of a Prisoner, and a restrained man.

Sir Thomas Smith Secretary.

And about two of the Clock at Afternoon, came unto me Master *Thomas Smith*, then Secretary, unto whom I complained of the unreasonableness of the matter, and shewed him certain particularities; who said it was not meant so precisely, but to speak of the matters. To whom I said. I was content to speak of the matters, and then it I speak not according to the truth of them, there should be enough to bear witness to my condemnation; and if I speak the truth, then they had their desire. And I said further, I thought I might with my conscience say so as men ought and should be content and satisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of those matters, I should offend the Council, I had rather deny to speak of the thing, and begin the contention secretly with them, than to begin with Pulpit, and so bring my self in further trouble than needed; and therefore if they would have me Preach, I would Preach as of my self, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content.

Whereupon I was brought up to my Lord of *Somersets* Chamber, and there the matter ended thus, That my Lord of *Somerset* said, he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of the matters in the Papers delivered me by Master *Cecil*. I told him I would speak of them, saving for Childrens toys, of going about of Saint *Nicolas*, and Saint *Clement*. If that be now gon (quoth I) and forgotten, if I be too busie in rehearsal of them, they will say I cumber their heads with Ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When Ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothing but preach on them, and now they be gon, I babble of them still. That I would teach the chief Points, adding, that I would speak of other matters also, and with that, being put to my liberty to choose the day, departed; and otherwise I was not spoken with concerning Preaching, saving after Mr. *Cecil* came unto me, whereof I shall speak anon.

Winchester walketh here about.

And concerning the matters to be spoken of, all such things as be here rehearsed, be named in the Papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this form; saving the setting forth of the Kings Majesties Authority in his Minority, whereof there is no word in those Papers, nor was there ever any promise made of me to speak of it. Truth it is, that after I had signified the day when I would Preach, Master *Cecil* came unto me, making the chief Message to know the day when I would Preach: to whom I had sent word before, that it should be Saint *Peters* day, because me thought the Gospel served well for that purpose, and in process of Communication he told me, That he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another Communication, How a King was as much a King at one year of age, as at an hundred years of age, and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him again, every man knew that, and then opened of my self the Matter further. And at his next repair unto me, which was the Monday before I Preached, the said Master *Cecil* brought me Papers of the Kings Majesties hand, shewing me how the Kings Highness used to note every notable Sentence, and specially if it touched a King; and therefore (quoth he) if ye speak of a King, ye must joyn Counsel with al. Whereunto I made no Answer, but shifted to other matters, without making him any promise or denyal, because I would neither bind my self, nor trouble my self to discuss that matter. For albeit it is godly and wisely done of every Prince to use Counsel; yet speaking of a Kings Power by Scripture, I cannot by express Scripture limit the Kings Power by Counsel. And hearing blindly by report some secret matter, that I will not speak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the Pulpit; and yet to the effect to have our Sovereign Lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our Sovereign Lord there in presence, and said, He was only to be obeyed, and I would have but one King, and other words to that purpose. But for any promise to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cause why I spake not otherwise of it. There was also in the Papers delivered unto me, occasion given me to speak of the Mass, because of Masses satisfactory, as some understand them. And also there was occasion to speak of the Sacrament of the Altar, because of the Proclamation passed of the same, which to be true, I shall justifie by the said Papers.

{KING Edw. 6.}

Winchester maketh dangerous speaking of the King, to joyn counsel with al.

The ninth Article.

Item, *That you receiving the same, and promising to declare the same in a Sermon by you made before His Majesty for that purpose, on the Feast of S. Peter, in the said second Year of his Reign, did then and there contemptuously and dishobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters; and of divers other of the said Articles you spake and uttered your mind in such doubtful sort, as the Justruft and Godlinesse of His Majesties Fathers, and his Proceedings, was not set forth according to the Commandment given unto you, and your own promise, to the great offence of the Hearers, and manifest contempt of his Majesty, and dangerous example of others.*

Winchester.

Answer to the nine Article. Omission by contempt.

Touching that Promise, I answer as afore; and as touching omission of that I should have spoken of, by contempt or disobedience. I answer by mine Oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or disobedience; for I ever minded to satisfie the promise, to speak of all matters in those Papers according to my former Declaration. And if I did perceive omit any thing (whereof I can make now no assurance, it being two years and a half past since I preached) but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travel in the matter, would not marvel, being troubled with a Letter sent from the Duke of *Somerset*, whereof I shall speak after. So as from four of the clock on Thursday, till I had done my Sermon on the Friday. I did neither drink, eat, ne sleep, so careful was I to pass over the travel of Preaching without all slander of the Truth, and with satisfaction of my Promise, and discharge of my Duty to God and the Kings most excellent Majesty. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have answered more precisely than I can now, if according to my most instant fute, and the fure of my Servants, the matter had been heard while it was in fresh memory. But because omission may

{KING Edw. 6.}

be by infirmity of Nature, in which oblivion is a pain of our Original Sin, in which case it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true Testimony of mine own conscience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and disobedience, having for my Declaration a general Sentence spoken in my Sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their Laws, Orders and Commandments, or such like words, and found fault only in the lower part. By which Sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was past hitherto, and only dissented from the doings of them that attempt Innovations of their own presumption. And furthermore I say, That that Saying (*Omission*) here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two ways, one way by infirmity of Nature, another way of purpose. Charity of a Christian man permitteth not to determine the worst of that which is doubtful and ambiguous to both Parties: as touching doubtfulnesse Objected, I take God to record, I minded to speak simply, and to be on the Kings Majesties side only, and not to go invisible in the World with ambiguities, esteeming him, &c. The worst man of all, is he that will make himself a lock of words and speech, which is known not to be my fashion, nor do I think this Life worth that dissimulation; and how can that be a doubtful Speech in him, that professeth to agree with the Kings Laws, Injunctions and Statutes, which I did expresly? There be that call in doubt whatsoever serveth not their appetite. It is not in the speaker to satisfie the hearer, that will doubt where doubt is not. The sum of my Teaching was, that all visible Things be ordered to serve us, which we may in convenient service use. And when we serve them, that is an abuse, and may then, at the Rulers pleasure, unless Scripture appointeth a special use of them, be corrected in that use, or taken away for Reformation. And this is a plain Teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both sides, without a mean to make a Doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will resolve him the Doubt as I can. And if I promised to speak plainly, or am commanded to speak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to Promise only in the nature of Folly and Ignorance, whereunto I refort not for a shift, whereof indeed I profess the knowledge, but to shew how sometime to my hindrance I am noted Learned, that can speak plainly, and yet speak doubtfully; otherwhiles am rejected as one that understandeth not the matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifest that proceedeth of a perfect Promise; if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it, as appeareth by my general Sentence, to agree with the Superiors, and only find fault in the Inferior Subjects, who daily transgress the Kings Majesties Proclamations, and other, whereof I spake then.

Winchesters opinion of the Kings minority.

Mr. *Cecils* repair a-gain to *Winchester.*

Omission excused by a distinction.

A lock of words, that is, to open and shut a-gain as they list.

Answer by words to omission in deeds.

The tenth Article.

Item, *That you being also commanded on his Majesties behalf, for avoiding of Tumult, and for other great Considerations inhibited to treat of any Matter in controversie concerning the Mass, and of the Communion*, Then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, *did, contrary to the said Commandment and Inhibition, Declare divers your Judgments and Opinions in the same, in the manifest contempt of his Highness said Inhibition, to the great offence of the Hearers, and disturbance of Common Quiet and Unity of the Realm.*

Winchester.

Answer to the 10. Article. Mr. *Cecil.*

To the tenth Article the said Bishop answered, That the Wednesday at After-noon, next before the Friday when I Preached, Mr. *Cecil* came to me, and having in all his other Accesses spoken no word thereof, did then utter and advise me from the Duke of *Somerset*, that I should not speak of the Sacrament, or of the Mass, whereby he said I should avoid trouble. And when he saw me not to take it well, I mean, quoth he, doubtful matters. I asked him what? he said Transubstantiation. I told him, He wist not what Transubstantiation meant. I will Preach, quoth I, the very Presence of Christs most Precious Body and Blood in the Sacrament, which is the Catholick Faith, and no doubtful matter, ne yet in Controversie, saving that certain unlearned speak of it they wot not what. And among the shatters, quoth I, whereof I have promised to speak, I must by special words speak of the Sacrament, and of the Mass also. And when I shall so speak of them, I will not forbear to utter my Faith and true belief therein, which I think necessary for the Kings Majesty to know; and therefore, if I wish to be hanged when I came down, I would speak it. Which plain zeal of my Conscience, grounded upon Gods Commandment to do his Message truly, I would not hide but utter so, as my Lord should, if he would not have it spoken of, nor let me to come there as he might have done: whereas else, if I had had a deceitful purpose, I might have accepted the advice, and without any colour of trouble, have refused to follow it as a thing grounded upon Wealth only, as it was then uttered. With this my Answer, Master *Cecil* departed, and upon the Thursday, which was the next Day following, and the Evening before I Preached, between three and four at Afternoon, I received a Letter signed with the hand of the Duke of *Somerset*, the Copy whereof I am ready to exhibit, and took it then, and esteemed it so now to contain no official Inhibition, whereunto I might by Gods Law, or the Kings Majesties Laws, with discharge of my Conscience and Duty obey, although the said Letters had been (as they were not) in such terms framed, as had precisely forbidden me (as they did not) but only to speak of matters in Controversie of the Sacrament, which indeed I did not, but only uttered a Truth to my Conscience most certainly perswaded of the most Holy Sacrament, necessary to be known to the Kings Majesty, and to be uttered by me admitted to that place of Preaching, from whence God commandeth his Truth to be uttered, which in this nature of Truth (the undue estimation and use whereof, Saint *Paul* threateneth with temporal death) may in no wise be omitted. So as I was and am perswaded, the right estimation of the Sacrament to be to acknowledge of the very Presence of the same most precious Body and Blood present in the Sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us. If I shewed not my Sovereign Lord the truth thereof, I for my part suffer him wittingly to fall into that extream danger of Body, which Saint *Paul* threateneth, whose Person I am bound by nature, by special Oaths, and by Gods Laws, to preserve to my power, as I will do, and must do by all ways and means. And if the Kings Majesty doth vouchsafe to teach his People not to obey his Commandment, where God Commandeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of *Somersets* Letter for an Inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to speak, as he doth when the Wolf cometh, and not to hide my self in silence, which is the most shameful running away of all. I have much matter to alledge against the Letter why I should not credit it, written in his name alone, against a common Letter (as I took it) written by him and the Council, and published in Print the first day of the said Month, which maintaineth my Preaching of the Sacrament and Mass, according to the Proclamation and Injunctions, the violation of which publick Letters, had been a disorder and contempt, whereas I neither offended in the one nor the other.

Winchester wouldne de talk of th Sacrament and of the Mass.

St. Paul threateneth death to the ministers of the Sacrament: Keep the real presence of Christ is in the Sacrament. Nego argue. aversum. And why would not *Winchester* allow this reason in other, in Quæstionistes, speaking the word of truth after their conscience, contrary to his inhibition?

And as for tumult, none could reasonably be feared of any thing spoken agreeable to the Kings Majesties Laws, as there did follow none, nor the People, nor any Man did offer my person any wrong, or make tumult against me, notwithstanding, Players, Jesters, Rymers, Ballad-makers, did signifie me to be of the true Catholick Faith, which I, according to my duty, declared to the Kings Majesty, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be used of any Creature against God, no more can the Kings name be used of any Subject against his Highness. Wherefore seeing the abuse of this Holy Sacrament hath in it a danger assured by Scripture, of Body and Soul; whosoever is perswaded in the Catholick Faith, as I am, findeth himself so burdened to utter that unto his Majesty, as no worldly loss can let him to do his duty in that behalf, and much less my Lords private Letters written without other of the Councils hands.

Winchesters exploit Players and Ballad-makers.

Winchesters Catholick Faith in the Sacrament.

The eleventh Article.

XI. Article. Item, *That after the Premisses*, viz. *in the month of* May *or* June, *or one of them, in the third year of his Highness reign, his Majesty sent especiall unto you to know your Conformity towards his said Reformations, and specially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately set forth by his Majesty, wherevnto you at the same time refused to shew your self Conformable.*

Winchester.

Answer to the XI Article. Sir *Anthony Wingfield* and Sir *Ralph Sadler* here to *Winchester.* To the eleventh Article; for Answer and Declaration thereof, he said, The next day at Afternoon after he had Preached, when he looked for no such matter, came to his House the Right Worshipful Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Knights, accompanied with a great number of the Guard, and used themselves for their part according to their Worships, and (I doubt not) as they were appointed, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* began thus with me; my Lord, said he, ye Preached yesterday Obedience, but ye did not obey your self, and went forth with his Message very soberly, as he can, and discreetly. I asked him wherein I obeyed not. He said, touching my Lord of *Somerset*s Letter. Mr. *Sadler*, quoth I, I pray you say unto my Lords Grace, I would he never made mention of that Letter for the love I bare him. And yet, quoth I, I have not broken that Letter, and I was minded, quoth I, to have written to my Lord upon the receit of it, and lo, quoth I, ye may see how I began, and shewed him (because we were then in my Study) the beginning of my Letter, and reasoned with him for the declaration of my self, and told him therewith, I will not spend, quoth I, many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my manner to you, & this declaration may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the Prison, and for that purpose I pray you make sute on my behalf.

Winchester arrested. *Winchester* committed to the Tower. Master *Wingfield* laid his hand on my shoulder, and Arrested me in the Kings name for Disobedience. I asked him, Whither I should? They said, To the Tower. Finally, I desired them, that I might be spoken with shortly, and heard what I could say for my self, and prayed them to be suters in it, and so they said they would.

After that I was once in the Tower, until it was within six days of one whole year, I could hear no manner word, message, comfort, or relief, saving once when I was sick, and me thought some extremity towards me, my Chaplain had leave to come to me once, and then denied again, being answered, That my Fever was but a *Tertian*, which my said Chaplain told me when he came to m eat the *Easter* following, and there being with me from the morning until night on *Easter-day*, departed, and for no sute could I ever have him since. To Mr. Lieutenant I made divers sutes to provoke the Duke of *Somerset*s Grace to hear me: and if I might have the liberty of an Englishman, I would plainly declare I had neither offended Law, Statute, Act, Proclamation, nor his own Letter neither; but all would not help, and I shall report me to Mr. Lieutenant, whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or used any unseemly words, ever demanding Justice, and to be heard according to Justice. When I had been thus in the Tower one whole year within six days or seven, as I remember, came to the Tower the Lord Chancellor of *England*, now being the Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary *Peter*, who calling me unto them, as I remember entred thus: They said, they had brought with them a Book passed by the Parliament, which they would I should look on, and say my mind to it, and upon my Conformity in it, my Lord of *Somerset* would be suter to the Kings Majesty for mercy to be minist red to me. Whereunto I answered, That I trusted, if I might be heard, the Kings Majesties Justice would relieve me, which I had long sued for, and could not be heard. And to sue for Mercy, quoth I, when I have not in my Conscience offended, and also to sue out of this Place, where asking of Mercy, implieth a further suspicion then I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient; and therefore, quoth I, Not Guilty, is and hath been continually allowed a good Plea for a Prisoner. Then my Lord said, Why, quoth he, Were ye not commanded to Preach of the Kings Authority in his young age, and did not? I told him I was not commanded. Is not, quoth he, that Article in the Papers ye had delivered you? I affured him no.

The Lord Chancellor and Secretary *Peter* come to *Winchester* in the Tower.

Winchester denieth to sue for mercy.

{KING} Edw. 6.

Talk between the Chancellor and *Winchester* in the Tower.

And after communication of the Kings Majesties Authority, wherein was no disagreement; then my Lord Chancellor said, I had disobeyed my Lords Graces Letter. I told him, I thought not, and if the matter came to judgment, it should appear. And then I said to him, my Lord, how many open Injunctions under Seal and in open Court have been broken in this Realm? the punishment whereof hath not been handled after this sort, and yet I would stand in defence that I have not broken his Letter, waying the words of his Letter, wherein I reasoned with Mr. Secretary *Peter* what a controversie was, and some part what I could say further. But whatsoever I can say, quoth I, you must judge it, and for the Passion of God do it, and then let me sue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known, if I will have it. But when I am quoth I, declared an Offender, I will with humility of suffering make amends to the Kings Majesty, so far as I am able; for I should never offend him, and much less in his young age.

Winchester will acknowledge no offence.

My Lord Chancellor then shewed me the beginning of the Act for Common Prayer, how dangerous it was to break the order of it. I told him that it was true, and therefore if I came abroad, I would beware of it. But it is, quoth I, after in the Act, how no man should be troubled for this Act, unless he were first Indicted, and therefore (quoth I) I may not be kept in Prison for this Act. Ah (quoth he) I perceive ye know the Law well enough. I told him my Chaplain had brought it unto me the Afternoon before. Then they required me to look on the Book, and to say my mind in it; I answered, that I thought not meet to yield my self a Scholar to go to School in Prison, and then flander my self as though I redeemed my faults with my Conscience. As touching the Law which I know, I will honour it like a Subject; and if I keep it not, I will willingly suffer the pain of it. And what more Conformity I should shew, I cannot tell, for mine Offences be past, if there be any. If I have not suffered enough, I will suffer more, if upon examination I be found faulty; and as for this new Law, if I keep it not, punish me likewise.

Winchester will not go to School in Prison.

Then my Lord Chancellor asked me, Whether I would not desire the Kings Majesty to be my good Lord. At which words I said; alas, my Lord, quoth I, do ye think that I have so forgotten my self? My duty, quoth I, requireth so, and I will on my knees desire him to be my good Lord, and my Lord Protector also, quoth I, that is well said, quoth my Lord Chancellor. And what will ye say further, quoth my L. Chancellor? in good faith, quoth I, this, that I thought when I had Preached, that I had not offended at all, and think so still, and had it not been for the Article of the Supremacy, I would have rather fained my self sick, than be occasion of this that hath followed; but going to the Pulpit, I must needs say as I said. Well quoth my Lord Chancellor, let us go to our purpose again. Ye will, quoth he, desire the Kings Majesty to be your good Lord, and the Lord Protector also, and ye say ye thought not to have offended. All this I will say, quoth I; and ye will (quoth my L. Chancellor) submit your self to be ordered by the Lord Protector. Nay, quoth I, by the Law; for my L. Protector, quoth I, hath scourged me over fore this year, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with my L. Chancellor, when I would not refer my Order to my L. Protector, but to the Law; and staying at this point they were content to grant me of their gentleness, to make their sute to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me liberty to go in the Gallery, and that I should hear of one of them within two days following, I desired them to remember that I refused not the Book by way of contempt, nor in any evil manner, but that I was loth to yeild my self a Scholar in the Tower, and to be seen to redeem my faults, if I had any, with my Conscience. My body, I said, should serve my Conscience, but not contrariwise. And this is the truth upon my Conscience and Oath, that was done and said at their coming. There was more said to the purposes aforesaid. And I bind not my self to the precise

Winchester desireth the King to be his good Lord.

Winchester yet will not confess himself to be an offender. *Winchester* will not admit himself to the Lord Protector, but to the Law.

{KING} Edw. 6.

cise form of words, but to the substance of the matter and fashion of the entreating. So near as I can remember, I have truly discharged mine Oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almost, within fourteen days, notwithstanding two Letters written by me to the Council, of most humble request to be heard according to Justice. And then at the end of two years almost, came unto me the Duke of *Somerset*, with other of the Council; which matter, because it is left out here, I shall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apare, for declaration of my behaviour at all times.

The twelfth Article.

Item, *That after that*, &c. *the ninth day of* July, *in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign, his Highness sent unto you his Graces Letters, with a certain Submission and Articles, wherevnto his Grace willed and commanded you to subscribe. To which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe.*

Winchester.

The Kings Letter delivered to *Winchester* in the Tower. To the twelfth Article, for answer thereunto, he granted, that about the time mentioned in this Article, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, Lord great Master, Sir *William Herbert*, and Mr. Secretary *Peter* came to the Tower, and called me before them, and delivered unto me the Kings Majesties Letters, which I have to shew, and received them at the hands of the Lord Treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and still upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more ease, and go apart with them, and consider them: which after that I had throughly read, I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of my self as was there written, and to say otherwise of my self than my Conscience will suffer me, and where I trust my Deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn my self with my tongue. I should sooner, (quoth I to them) by commandment, I think if ye would bid me tumble my self desperately into the *Thames*.

Other Articles yet to *Winchester*. The Article which touched him, was the first Article, pretending him to subscribe, which Article he willeth here to be put out. *Winchester* subscribeth to the Kings Articles.

My Lord of *Warwick* seeing me in that Agony, said, What say ye, my Lord, quoth he, to the other Articles? I answered, That I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my Conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of my self. Well, quoth my Lord of *Warwick*, Will ye subscribe to the other Articles? I told him I would. But then, quoth I, the Article that toucheth me must be put out. I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the out-side what I would say unto it. And then my Lord of *Warwick* entertained me very gently, and would needs, whiles I should write, have me sit down by him; and when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said, we had ere this sit together, and trusted we should do so again. And then having Pen and Ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the Article that touched me, these words, I *cannot with my Conscience say this of my self*; or such like words. And there followed an Article of the Kings Majesties Primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an *I*, onward, as may appear by the Articles, and they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their Articles; which I did. Whereat, because they shewed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, That by this means I had placed my subscription above them all; and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort.

Other Articles offered to *Winchester*, but refused.

And I was bold to recount unto them merry Tales of my misery in Prison, which they seemed content to hear, and then I told them also (desiring them not to be miscontent with that I should say) when I remember each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good Lords, and yet when they meet together, I feel no remedy at their hands. I looked (quoth I) when my Lord of *Somerset* was here, to go out within two days, and made my farewel Feast in the Tower and all, since which time there is a month past, or thereabout; and I agree with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My Lord Treasurer said nay, I should hear from them the next day: and so by their special Commandment I came out of the Chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart as my good Lords; and so was done. By which Process appeareth, how there was in me no contempt, as is said in this Article, but such a Subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make, which I took in my Conscience for a whole satisfaction of the Kings Majesties Letters, which I desire may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further, That other would have put in many mo Articles, but they would have no more but those.

Winchester lost his farewel Feast in the Tower.

The thirteenth Article.

Item, *That you having of soons certain of the Kings Majesties Honorable Council sent unto you the twelfth of* July, *in the said fourth year, with the said Submission, and being on his Majesties behalf required and commanded to consider again, and better the said Commission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of your self, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto.*

Winchester.

To the thirteenth Article he said: The next day after the being in the Tower of the said Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other, came unto me Sir *William Harbert* and Mr. Secretary *Peter*, to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my Fault (as they said) because the other Form liked me not. Whereunto I said, I knew my self innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a device to impair my innocency in any the least point either by Words or Writings, it can have no policy in it. For although I did more esteem Liberty of Body, than the defamation of my self, yet, quoth I, when I had so done with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by own (*a*) Pen once made a naughty Man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked my self the more surer in; and a small pleasure were it to me to have my Body at Liberty by your procurement, and to have my Conscience in perpetual Prison by mine own act. Many more Words there were, and persuasions on their parts; which caused me to require of them, for the Passion of God, that my matter might take an end by Justice; and so they departed, there being no Contempt or Faction of Disobedience shewed on my behalf, but only Allegation for my defence of mine own Innocency in the best manner I could devise, as I trust they will testifie.

Winchester still standeth upon reputation of his Innocency.

(*a*) Your putting to your Pen in this matter would not have made you naught, but your naught, if itself would not put to your Pen.

The fourteenth Article.

Item, *That after all this*, viz. *the fourteenth day of* July *in the said fourth year, the Kings Majesty sent yet again unto you certain of his Majesties Honorable Council, with another Submission, and divers other Articles, willing and commanding you to Subscribe your name thereunto. Which to do you utterly refused.*

Winchester.

To the fourteenth Article he said, That on the Monday in the Morning following came the Bishop of *London*, Sir *William Harbert*, Mr. Secretary *Peter*, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a Paper, with certain Articles written in it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required, that my matter might be tried by Justice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more Articles, or to trouble my self with the reading of them; and yet they desired me instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and to shew my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of Prison to make answer to them all, such as I would abide by, and suffer pain for, if I have delivered it. I would indeed gladly have been in hand with my Lord of *London*; but he said he came not to dispute, and said, It was the hand of God that I was thus in Prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time.

The Bishop of *London* words to *Winchester*.

Finally,

Finally, my request was, That they should in this Form make my answer to my Lords of the Council, as followeth: That I most humbly thank them of their good will to deliver me by the way of Mercy; but because in respect of mine own innocent Conscience I had rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both was in the Kings Majesties hands, that I might have it; which if it happen to me more grievous, I will impute it to my self, and evermore thank them for their good will; and so departed I with them, as I trust they will testifie, and no misbehavior or misdemeanor to have been used on my behalf.

Winchester refuseth to be delivered by way of mercy.

The fifteenth Article.

Item, *That after all this, viz. the nineteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, you being personally called before the Kings Majesties Privy Council, and having the said Submission and Articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused for unjust considerations by you alledged to subscribe the same.*

Winchester.

To the fifteenth Article I grant, That upon a Saturday at Afternoon, even at such time of the day as they were at Even-song in the Chappel of the Court, I was brought thither, and at my coming the Lords of the Council said, They were all my Judges by special Commission, and intended to proceed thus with me: That I should subscribe certain Articles which were then read, and I must directly make answer, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise: For the Passion of God, my Lords, be my good Lords, and let me be tried by Justice, whether I be faulty or no: and as for these Articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make answer to them, whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they having further to say, I answered, These Articles were of divers sorts; some be Laws, which I may not qualifie; some be no Laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers understandings, and a subscription to them without telling what I mean, were over dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their Requests, That if they would deliver me the Articles into the Prison with me, I would shortly make them particular answer, and suffer the pains of the Law, that by my Answer I might incur into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they sent unto me the Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary *Peter*, who communed with me of a mean way, and that liked not the Lords. And then I was called forth again, and my absolute subscription required again: and I again made offer to answer particularly, for I could not with my Conscience subscribe them as they were absolutely. And these my considerations I trust to be just, seeing no man for any Commandments ought to offend his Conscience, as I must have done in that case.

{Anno 1550.}

Winchester required again to subscribe. Refuseth to subscribe.

The sixteenth Article.

Item, *That for your sundry and manifold Contempts and Disobediences in this behalf used, the Fruits of your Bishoprick were then by special Commission of his Majesty justly and Lawfully sequestred.*

Winchester.

To the sixteenth Article, I deny Contempts and Disobedience of parts, and say, That my doings cannot so be termed, because it is taught in this Realm for a Doctrine of Obedience, That if a King command that which is contrary to the Commandment of God, the Subject may not do as he is commanded, but humbly stand to his Conscience, which is my case, who could not with my Conscience do as I was required. And as touching the Fact of Decree, there was indeed a Decree read, having words so placed and framed, as though I were such an Offender, which matter I deny. And in that Decree was mention made of Administration of Fruits; but whether the former words were of the present Tense, or else to be sequestred, I cannot precisely tell, but do refer that to the tenor of the Decree.

But this answer could not stand in Queen Maries days.

{KING Edw. 6}

The seventeenth Article.

Item, *That after this you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication, that you should within three months next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit your self, under pain of deprivation.*

Winchester.

To the seventeenth Article I answer, that in the same Decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the Decree to the latter end, I remember there was an Intimation and three months spoken of, and expressed also, how at every months end I should have Pen and Ink offered to write, if I would yet subscribe; and as I understand, it was upon the pain of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word Deprivation, but therein I refer me to the Acts of the Sentence; which when it was read, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those Articles partiouларly, even remaining in Prison. And this done, I made sute for some of my Servants abroad to resort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessary business, which could not be obtained. And yet to provoke it, I said to my Lord of *Warwick*, how for agreeing with my Lord of *Somerset*, I had some commodity, and for agreeing with him had nothing, and therefore would needs by Intercession prefs him, that I might by this means have some of my Servants resorting unto me. He answered very gently. And then one said, I should within two or three days have some body come to me. And then I was dismissed, with commandment to the Lieutenant, to let me have the same liberty I had, but no more.

The eighteenth Article.

Item, *That the said three months are now throughly expired and run.*

Winchester.

To the eighteenth Article he said, There is almost six months passed in time and number of days, but not one month past to the effect of the Law, nor ten days neither, because I have been so kept in Prison, that I could not seek for remedy in form abovesaid, nor was there at every month, after the form of the Sentence, offered me Pen, Ink, and liberty given me to consult and deliberate with other learned Men and Friends, what were best to do, or to send unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the Decree given, I protested before my Servants, whom I had only commodity to use as witnesses of the nullity of the Decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were in Law, I appealed to the Kings Majesty, because my request was not admitted, to have the copy of the Articles to answer them particularly, and because it is excessive correction, to sequester my Fruits and keep me in Prison. With other cases to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soon as I could come to any prefence meet therefore, as I did in this Assembly at my last repair, desiring therewith the benefit *restitutionis in integrum*, because of mine Imprisonment; and therefore do answer this matter with protestation of that Appeal, and utterly deny all manner of contempt.

Winchester appeal to the King.

The nineteenth Article.

Item, *That you hitherto, according to the said Intimation and monition, have not submitted, reconciled, nor reformed your self, but contemptuously yet still remain in your first disobedience.*

Winchester.

To the nineteenth Article I say, That I have been all this while in Prison so kept, as no man could have access to counsel with me, nor any means to write or send to any man, having made continual sute to Master Lieutenant and

{KING Edw. 6} and Master Marshal, under whose Custody I am here, and to make sute in my name to the Lords of the Council, that I might come to Hearing, or else be Bailed upon Surety; which I could not obtain, and so have remained under the benefit of my said Appeal to the Kings Majesty, made, as I might for the time, which I estsoons desire I may have liberty to profecute.

The words of Winchester upon his protestation exponded.

And whereas answering to these Articles for declaration of the integrity of my Conscience, I use in the same places general words: I protest I mean not by those words to set forth my self otherwise more arrogantly than as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpose moveth me to say, and as my Conscience beareth witness unto me at this time, and therefore will say therein with St. *Paul*, *Nihil mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum.* Wherefore if any especially be objected unto me, wherein by ignorance or overlight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear against the Kings Majesties Laws, Statutes and Injunctions, I shall desire and protest that it be not prejudicial to mine Answer (for this present, *Credo*, as Lawyers in Civil matters use that term) to be true, that is to say, such as without any alteration in my Conscience presently, I may of my self say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I spake of commandment to be made to me against Gods Law, I protest not to touch my Sovereign Lords Honor therein, which my duty is by all means to preserve, but that the commandment given refolveth to be against Gods Law on my part in the obedience to be given, because I may not answer or say otherwise but *ita, est; non, non.* So as my words and heart may agree together, or else I should offend Gods Law, which my Sovereign, if he knew my Conscience, would not command me.

Winchester Credo.

After these things thus passed, certain of the Council, by the Kings appointment had sundry days and times access to him in the Tower to perswade with him; which were these, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord great Chamberlain, and Master Secretary *Peter*. Who repairing to him the third day of *June*, *Anno* 1550. he desired of them to see the Kings Book of proceedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full Answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself thereunto, and promising, that in case any thing offended his Conscience, he would open it to none but to the Council. Whereupon it was agreed, the Book should be sent him to see his Answer, that his Case might be resolved upon, and that for the mean time he should have the liberty of the Gallery and Garden in the Tower, when the Duke of *Norfolk* were absent.

Winchester requireth the sight of the Kings book of Proceedings.

The King then was lying at *Greenwich*, at which time the Lieutenant of the Tower was appointed to deliver the Kings Book to the Bishop of *Winchester*. Who within three days after (which was the thirteenth of *June*) made Declaration again unto the Council, that the Bishop having perused it, said unto him, He could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty, and so being, he would say his Conscience. Whereupon the Lords, and other that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct Answer, that the Council thereupon might determine further order for him.

Winchester denieth to make any direct answer unto the Book, unless he were set at liberty.

The Answer of the Bishop being received, through the report of the Lords which had been with him, declaration was made again the eighth day of *July*, 1550. that his Answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in Prison to make any direct Answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the Kings Majestics proceedings, or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular Articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not, and a Letter also directed unto him from the Kings Highness, with the which the Lord Treasurer, the Lord great Master, the Master of the Horse, and Master Secretary *Peter*, should repair unto him; the Tenor of which Letter hereafter insueth.

Winchester answers never doubtful.

Articles and Letters sent to Winchester.

A Letter sent to the Bishop of *Winchester*, signed by the King, and subscribed by the Council.

The King's Letter to Winchester.

IT is not (we think) unknown unto you, with what Clemency and Favour We, by the advice of our Council, caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry Complaints and Informations that were made to Us and Our said Council of your disordered Doings and Words, both at the time of our late Visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the Favour, both then and many other times manifested unto you, wrought rather an Infolent misfashness in your self, than any obedient Conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your Vocation, we would not but use some demonstration of Justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent Contempts, and other Inobediencies, as after and contrary to our Commandment were openly known in you, as also for some example and terrour of such others as by your example seemed to take courage, to mutter and grudge against our most Godly Proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have insued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said Council committed to Ward. Where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time at sundry times divers of the Noble Men, and others of our Privy Council, and travelling by them with Clemency and Favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your Duty; yet in all this time have you neither knowledged your faults, nor made any submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet shewed any appearance either of Repentance, or of any good Conformity to our Godly Proceedings. Wherewith albeit we both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our Laws, cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others: yet for that We would both the World and your self also should know that we delight more in Clemency, than in the straight administration of Justice, We have vouchsafed, not only to address unto you these our Letters, but also to send of same unto you, four of our Privy Council with certain Articles, which being by Us, with the advice of our said Council considered, We think requisite, for sundry Considerations, to be subscribed by you, and therefore Will and Command you to subscribe the said Articles, upon pain of incurring such Punishment and Penalties as by our Laws may be put upon you for not doing the same.

Notorious contempt in Winchester noted.

Given at our Palace of *Westminster*, the eighth day of *July*, the fourth Year of our Reign.

With this Letter addressed from the King and his Council, these Articles also, were delivered to the Bishop of *Winchester*, here following.

The Copy of the Articles.

The Bishop's answer to this Article in the Margent.

WHereas I, Stephen *Bishop* of Winchester, *have been suspected as one too much favoring the Bishop of* Romes *Authority, Decrees and Ordinances, and as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majesties proceedings in alteration of certain Rites in Religion, was convented before the Kings Highness Council, and admonished thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my Declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the Kings Majesties indignation, but also divers of his Highness Subjects, have by my example taken encouragement (as his Graces Council it certainly informed,) to repine at his Majesties most Godly Proceedings; I am right sorry therefore, and acknowledge my self condignly to have been punished, and do most heartily thank his Majesty, that of his great Clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me, not according to rigor, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the World how little I do repine at his Highness doings, which be in Religion most Godly, and to the Commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm and say freely of mine own Will, without any Compulsion, as followeth.*

1. *That*

The Kings Supremacy.

I. *That by the Law of God, and the Authority of Scriptures, the Kings Majeſty and his Succeſſors are the Supreme Heads of the Churches of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland.

The Kings authority to diſpenſe with Holy days and Faſting days in appointing the time.

II. Item, *That the appointing of Holy-dayes and Faſting-dayes, or any ſuch like, or to diſpence therewith, it in the Kings Majeſties Authority and Power: and his Highneſs as Supreme Head of the ſaid Churches of* England *and* Ireland, *and Governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the Holy-dayes and Faſting-dayes, or diſpence therewith, as to his Wiſdom ſhall ſeem moſt convenient for the Honor of God and the Wealth of this Realm.*

The Kings Book of proceedings.

III. Item, *That the Kings Majeſty hath moſt Chriſtianly and Godly ſet forth, by and with the conſent of the whole Parliament, a decent and Chriſtian Book of Service of the Church, to be frequented by the Church, which Book is to be accepted and allowed of all Biſhops, Paſtors, Curates, and all Miniſters Eccleſiaſtical of the Realm of* England, *and ſo of him to be declared and commended in all places where he ſhall fortune to preach or ſpeak to the People of it, that it is a Godly and Chriſtian Book, and Order, and to be allowed accepted, and obſerved of all the Kings Majeſties true Subjects.*

The Kings full authority in this tender age.

IV. *I do acknowledge the Kings Majeſty that now is (whoſe Lyfe God long preſerve) to be my Soveraign Lord, and Supreme Head under Chriſt to me as a Biſhop of this Realm, and natural Subject to his Majeſty, and now in this his young and tender Age to be my full and entire King; and that I, and all other his Highneſs ſubjects, are bound to obey all his Majeſties Proclamations, Statutes, Lawes and Commandments, made, promulgate, and ſet forth in his Highneſs young years, as well as though his Highneſs were at this preſent thirty or forty years old.*

Abrogation of all the Articles.

V. Item, *I confeſs and acknowledge, That the Statute, commonly called the Statute of the Six Articles, for juſt cauſes and grounds, is by Authority of Parliament repealed and diſannulled.*

The Kings Juriſdiction in the after and more full explication of Eccleſiaſtical.

VI. Item, *That his Majeſty and his Succeſſors have Authority in the ſaid Churches of* England, *and alſo of* Ireland, *to alter, reform, correct and amend all Errors and Abuſes, and all Rites and Ceremonies Eccleſiaſtical, as ſhall ſeem from time to time to his Highneſs and his Succeſſors moſt convenient for the edification of his People, ſo that the ſame alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and Law of God.*

Subſcribed by *Stephen Wincheſter*, with the Teſtimonial Hands of the Council to the ſame.

Subſcription of Winchester to the Articles aforeſaid.

To theſe Articles afore ſpecified, although *Winchester* with his own hand did ſubſcribe, granting and conſenting to the Supremacy of the King as well then being, as of his Succeſſors to come; yet becauſe he ſtuck ſo much in the firſt Point touching his Submiſſion, and would in no caſe ſubſcribe to the ſame, but only made his Anſwer in the Margent (as is above noted) it was thereupon thought good to the Kings, that the Maſter of the Horſe, and Maiſter Secretary *Peter* ſhould repair unto him again with the ſame requeſt of Submiſſion, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in caſe the words ſeemed too ſore, then to refer it unto himſelf, in what ſort and with what words he ſhould deviſe to ſubmit him, that upon the acknowledgement of his fault, the Kings Highneſs might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined. Which was the eleventh day of *June*, the year abovelaid.

Winchester desireth to subscribe to the Articles, so he may be ſpeaking of divers Articles.

When the Maſter of the Horſe and Secretary *Peter* had been with him in the Tower according to their Commiſſion, returning from him again, they declared unto the King and his Council how preciſely the ſaid Biſhop ſtood in juſtification of himſelf, that he had never offended the Kings Majeſty; wherefore he utterly refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion at all. For the more ſurety of which denial, it was agreed, That a new Book of Articles ſhould be deviſed, wherewith the ſaid Maſter of the Horſe, and Maiſter Secretary *Peter*, ſhould repair unto him again; and for the more authentick Proceeding with him, they ſhould have with them a Divine and a Temporal Lawyer, which were the Biſhop of *London*, and Maſter *Goodrick*.

{KING Edw. 6.}

The Copy of the laſt Articles ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Winchester again required to ſubmit himſelf.

Whereas I Stephen *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *have been ſuſpected as one that did not approve or allow the Kings Majeſties Proceedings in alteration of certain Rites in Religion, and was convented before the Kings Highneſs Counſel, and admoniſhed thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my Declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deſerved his Majeſties diſpleaſure; I am right ſorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the World how little I do repine at his Highneſs doings, which he in Religion moſt godly, and to the Commonwealth moſt profitable, I do affirm in following.*

Good reaſon and ground to ſuppreſſing Houſes of Religion.

I. *That the late King, of moſt famous memory,* King Henry *the Eighth, our late Soveraign Lord, juſtly and of good reaſon and ground hath taken away, and cauſed to be ſuppreſſed and defaced, all Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, and all Conventicles and Convents of Monks, Friers, Nuns, Canons, Bonbons, and other Perſons called Religious, and that the ſame being ſo diſſolved, the Perſon therein bound and profeſſed to Obedience to a Perſon, Place, Habit, and other ſuperſtitious Rites and Ceremonies, upon that diſſolution and order appointed by the Kings Majeſties Authority as Supreme Head of the Church, are clearly releaſed and acquitted of thoſe Vows and Profeſſions, and at their full liberty, as though thoſe unnvity and ſuperſtitious Vows had never been made.*

Marriage permitted by Gods Law, ſtands good without the Popes diſpenſation.

II. Item, *That any perſon may lawfully Marry, without any diſpenſation from the Biſhop of* Rome, *or any other man, with any perſon whom it is not prohibited to contract Matrimony with, by the Laws Levitical.*

Pilgrimages going on.

III. Item, *That the Vowing and going on Pilgrimage to Images, or the Bones or Reliques of any Saints, hath been ſuperſtitiouſly uſed, and cauſe of much Wickedneſs and Idolatry, and therefore juſtly abolished by the late ſaid King, of famous memory, and the Images and Reliques ſo abuſed have been for great and godly Conſiderations defaced and deſtroyed.*

Gadding about with St. Nicholas &c.

IV. Item, *That the counterfeiting of* St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Katharine, *and* St. Edmund, *by Children heretofore brought into the Church, was a meer mockry and foliſhneſs, and therefore juſtly abolished and taken away.*

Scripture to be in the vulgar tongue.

V. Item, *It is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Teſtament and New, that is, the whole Bible, be had in* English *and publiſhed, to be read of every man, and that whoſoever doth repel and debort men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably.*

Chantry Maſſes well put down.

VI. Item, *That the ſaid late King, of juſt ground and reaſon, did receive into his hands the authority and diſpoſition of Chauntries, and ſuch Livings as were given for the maintenance of private Maſſes, and did well change divers of them to other uſes.*

Winchester required to ſubſcribe to their Articles.

VII. *Alſo the Kings Majeſty that now is, by the advice and conſent of the Parliament, did upon juſt ground and reaſon, ſuppreſs, abolish, and take away the ſaid Chauntries, and ſuch other Livings as were uſed and occupied for maintenance of private Maſſes, and Maſſes ſatisfactory for the Soule of them that are dead, or finding of Obites, Lights, or other like things: The Maſs that was wont to be ſaid of Prieſts was full of abuſes, and had very few things of Chriſts Inſtitution, beſides the Epiſtle, Goſpel, the Lords Prayer, and the words of the Lords Supper's the reſt, for the more part, were invented and deviſed by Biſhops of* Rome, *and by other men of the ſame ſort, and therefore juſtly taken away by the Statutes and Lawe of this Realm; and the Communion which is placed inſtead thereof, is very Godly, and agreeable to the ſame Scriptures.*

The Maſs full of abſurdities and well changed to the Communion.

Sacrament in both kinds.

VIII. Item, *That it is moſt convenient and fit, and according to the firſt Inſtitution, that all Chriſtian men ſhould receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in both the kinds, that is, in Bread and Wine.*

Maſs the Popes Ordinance.

IX. *And the Maſs, wherein only the Prieſt receiveth, and the other do but look on, is but the invention of Man, and the Ordinance of the Biſhop of* Romes *Church, not agreeable to Scripture.*

The Sacrament not to be adored.

X. Item, *That upon good and godly conſiderations it is ordered in the ſaid Book and Order, that the Sacrament ſhould not be lifted up, and ſhewed to the People to be adored, but*

{KING Ed. 6.} *to be with godly Devotion received, as it was firſt inſtituted.*

XI. Item, *That it is well, politickly and godly done, that the Kings Majeſty by Act of Parliament, hath commanded all Images which have ſtood in Churches and Chappels, to be clearly abolished and defaced, leſt hereafter at any time they ſhould give occaſion of Idolatry, or be abuſed, as many of them heretofore have been, with Pilgrimages, and ſuch Idolatrous Worſhipping.*

All Images abolished.

Maſs-Books Grails, &c. defaced.

XII. *And alſo for that like godly and good conſiderations, by the ſame Authority of Parliament, all Maſs-Books, Couvebers, Grails, and other Books of the Service in Latine, heretofore uſed, ſhould be abolished and defaced, as well for certain Superſtitions in them contained, as alſo to avoid diſſenſion: And that the ſaid Service in the Church ſhould be through the whole Realm in one uniform Conformity, and no occaſion through thoſe old Books to the contrary.*

Vowed chaſtity of Prieſts hath no commandment of God.

XIII. *That Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, have no commandment of the Law of God, either to vow Chaſtity, or to abſtain continually from Marriage.*

XIV. Item, *That all Canons, Conſtitutions, Lawes poſitive, and Ordinances of Man, which do prohibit or forbid Marriage to any Biſhop, Prieſt or Deacon, be juſtly, and upon godly grounds and conſiderations taken away and aboliſhed by Authority of Parliament.*

Homilies to be read in the Church.

XV. *The Homilies lately commanded and ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty, to be read in the Congregation of* England, *are godly and wholſome, and do teach ſuch Doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.*

XVI. *The Book ſet forth by the Kings Majeſty, by Authority of Parliament, containing the form and manner of making and conſecrating of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholeſome Doctrine of the Goſpel, and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithful Members of the Church of* England, *and namely the Miniſters of Gods Word, and by them commended to the People.*

The Kings book of Orders.

Orders of Subdeacon, Benet and Collet, not uſed in the Church.

XVII. *That the Orders of Sub-deacon, Benet and Collet, and ſuch others as are commonly called, Minores Ordines, be not neceſſary by the Word of God to be reckoned in the Church, and be juſtly left out in the ſaid Book of Orders.*

Doctrine of our ſalvation ſufficiently contained in the Scripture.

XVIII. *That the Holy Scriptures contain ſufficiently all Doctrine required of neceſſity for Eternal Salvation through Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and that nothing is to be taught as required of neceſſity to Eternal Salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures.*

Paraphraſes of Eraſmus.

XIX. *That upon good and godly conſiderations it was and is commanded by the Kings Majeſties Injunctions, That the Paraphraſes of* Eraſmus *in* English, *ſhould be ſet up in ſome convenient place in every Pariſh Church of this Realm, whereas the Pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to read the ſame.*

Winchester required to ſubſcribe to their Articles.

XX. *And becauſe theſe Articles aforeſaid, do contain only ſuch Matters as be already publiſhed and openly ſet forth by the Kings Majeſties Authority, by the Advice of his Highneſs Council, for many great and godly Conſiderations; and amongſt others, for the common Tranquility and Unity of the Realm; His Majeſties pleaſure, by the Advice aforeſaid, is, That you the Biſhop of* Winchester, *ſhall not only affirm thoſe Articles with ſubſcription of your Hand, but alſo declare and profeſs your Self well contented, willing and ready to Publiſh and Preach the ſame at ſuch Times and Places, and before ſuch Audiences, as to his Majeſty from time to time ſhall ſeem convenient and requiſite, upon pain of incurring ſuch Penalties and Puniſhments as for not doing the ſame, may by his Majeſties Lawes be inflicted upon you.*

Theſe Articles were ſent the fifteenth of *July*.

The Biſhop of *Winchester* receiving and peruſing theſe Articles, made this Anſwer again: That firſt, Touching the Article of Submiſſion, he would in no wiſe conſent, affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the Kings Majeſty in any ſuch ſort as ſhould give him cauſe thus to ſubmit himſelf; praying earneſtly to be brought unto his Tryal, wherein he refuſed the Kings mercy, and deſired nothing but "*Juſtice*. And for the reſt of the Articles, he anſwered, That after he were paſt

"So ye might fortune to have turned your Anſwer to a Halter.

{Ann. 1550}

his Trial in the firſt point, and were at liberty, then it ſhould appear what he would do in them; if not being (as he ſaid) reaſonable, that he ſhould ſubſcribe them in Priſon.

Of this Anſwer, when the King and his Council had intelligence by the foreſaid Maſter of the Horſe, Secretary *Peter*, the Biſhop of *London*, and Mr. *Goodrick*, who had been with him, it was agreed that he ſhould be ſent for before the whole Council, and peremptorily examined once again, whether he would ſtand at this Point or no; which if he did, then to denounce unto him the Sequeſtration of his Benefice, and conſequently the Intimation, in caſe he were not reformed within three Months, as in the day of his appearance ſhall appear. The tenor and words of which Sequeſtration, with the Intimation, followeth.

The words of the Sequeſtration, with the Intimation to the Biſhop of *Winchester*.

The tenor of the Sequeſtration read to Winchester.

Foraſmuch as the Kings Majeſty, our moſt Gracious Soveraign Lord, underſtandeth, and it is alſo manifeſtly known and notorious unto us, That the clemency and long-ſufferance of His Majeſty, worketh not in you that good effect, and humbleneſs, and conformity, that is requiſite in a good Subject; and for that your Diſobedience, Contempts, and other Miſbehaviours, for the which you were by His Majeſties Authority juſtly committed to Ward, have ſince your ſaid committing daily more and more increaſed in you, in ſuch ſort as a great Slander and Offence is thereof riſen in many parts of the Realm, whereby alſo much Slander, Diſſention, Trouble and Unquietneſs, is very like more to enſue, if your foreſaid Offences, being as they be, openly known, ſhould paſs unpuniſhed: We let you wit, That having ſpecial and expreſs Commiſſion and Commandment from His Majeſty, as well for your Contumacies and Contempts ſo long continued, and yet daily more increaſing, as alſo for the exchange of the Slander and Offence of the People, which by your ſaid ill Demeanors are riſen, and for that alſo the Church of Winchester may be in the mean time provided of a good Miniſter, that may and will ſee all things done and quietly executed according to the Laws and common Orders of this Realm, and for ſundry other great and urgent Cauſes, We do by theſe Preſence ſequeſter all the Fruits, Revenues, Lands, and Poſſeſſions of your Biſhoprick, of Winchester, and diſcern, deem and judge the ſame to be committed to the ſeveral Rents, Collection and Cuſtody of ſuch perſon or perſons as His Majeſty ſhall appoint for that purpoſe. And becauſe your former Diſobediences and Contempts ſo long continued, ſo many times doubled, renewed and aggravated, do manifeſtly Declare you to be a Perſon, without all hope of recovery, and plainly incorrigible; We eſtſoons admoniſh and require you to obey His Majeſties ſaid Commandment, and that you do declare your ſelf, by Subſcription of your Hand, both willing and well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others the ſaid Articles, and all ſuch other matters as be or ſhall be ſet forth by His Majeſties Authority of Supreme Head of this Church of England, *on this ſide and within the term of three Months, wherein we appoint one Month for the firſt monition, one Month for the ſecond monition and warning, and one Month for the third and peremptory monition.*

The cauſe why this Sequeſtration was laid upon Winchester.

Within which time as you may yet declare your Conformity, and ſhall have Paper, Pen and Ink, when you ſhall call for them for that purpoſe; ſo if you willfully forbear and refuſe to declare your ſelf obedient and conformable as is aforeſaid, we intimate unto you, That His Majeſty, who like a good Governor, deſireth to keep both his Commonwealth quiet, and to purge the ſame of evil men (eſpecially Miniſters) intendeth to proceed againſt you as an incorrigible perſon, and unmeet Miniſter of this Church, unto the deprivation of your ſaid Biſhoprick.

Inſtruction given to Winchesters Friends.

Nevertheleſs, upon divers good Conſiderations, and ſpecially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed, That the ſaid Biſhops Houſe and Servants ſhould be maintained in their preſent Eſtate, until the time that this Injunction ſhould expire, and the matter for the mean time to be kept ſecret.

After

{Ann. 1550} After this Sequestration, the said Bishop was conveneed unto *Lambath* before the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and other the Kings Commissioners, by vertue of the Kings special Letters sent unto the said Commissioners, to wit, the arch bishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas* Bishop of *London*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Ely*, *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Secretary *Peter*, Sir *James Hales* Knight, Dr. *Leyson*, Dr. *Oliver*, Lawyers, and *John Gosnold* Esquire, &c. before them, and by them to be examined, by whom were objected against him nineteen special Articles, in order and form here following.

The names of the Commissioners. Delegate in the cause of Stephen Gardiner.

Articles and Positions minisired joyntly, and severally objected to the Bishop of *Winchester*.

Articles minisired against him, each by the Commissioners.

IN primis, *That the Kings Majesty, justly and rightfully is, and by the Lawes of God ought to be, the Supream Head in Earth of the Church of* England *and* Ireland, *and so is by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, and by the Act of Parliament justly, and according to the Lawes of God recognized.*

II. Item, *That His Majesty as Supream Head of the said Churches, hath full power and authority to make and set such Lawes, Injunctions and Ordinances for and concerning Religion, and Orders in the said Churches, for the increase of Vertue, and expelling of all Errors, Heresies, and other Enormities and Abuses.*

III. Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects are bound by the Lawes of God to obey all his Highness said Lawes, Injunctions and Proceedings, concerning Religion, and Orders in the said Churches.*

Winchester sworn to the Kings Supremacy.

IV. Item, *That you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester *have sworn obedience unto his Majesty, as Supream Head of this Church of* England, *and also of* Ireland.

V. Item, *That all and every his Graces Subjects that disobey any of his Majesties Lawes, Injunctions, Ordinances and Proceedings already set forth and published, and hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished according to his Graces Ecclesiastical Lawes used within this his Realm.*

Winchester after his Oath found disobedient to the King and his proceedings.

VI. Item, *That you the said Bishop, as well in the Kings Majesties late Visitation within your Diocess, as at sundry other times, have been complained upon, and sundry Informations made against you for your doings, sayings and preachings against sundry Injunctions, Orders and other Proceedings of his Majesty set forth for the Reformation of Errors, Superstitions, and other Abuses in Religion.*

VII. Item, *That after and upon the occasion of those and other many Complaints and Informations you have been sundry times admonished, commanded and enjoyned to conform your self, as to your duty appertaineth.*

The manifold transgressions of Winchester worthy of punishment.

VIII. Item, *That after the Premisses, and that for those former Admonitions and Commandments notwithstanding, you did yet still show your self not Conformable; and for that also your example, the people were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietness minisired, you were called before the Kings Majesties Council in th Month of* June, *the second Year of his Majesties Reign, and by them on his Highness behalf commanded to preach a Sermon before his Majesty, and therein to declare, the Justness and godliness of his Majesties Father and his proceedings, upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain Articles to you delivered in Writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof touching the usurped Authority of the Bishop of* Rome, *and that his pretended authority was justly and godly taken away in this Realm, and other the Kings Majesties Dominions, touching the first suppression and taking away of Monasteries, Religious Houses, Pilgrimages, Reliques, Shrines and Images, the Superstitious going about of S.* Nicholas *Bishop of S.* Edmund, *S.* Katherine, *S.* Clement, *and such like, for taking away of Chantries, Obites and Colleges, touching hallowing of Candles, Waters, Ashes, Palm, holy Bread, Beads, creeping to the Cross, &c. touching the setting forth of the Kings Majesties Authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highness were of many more years, touching Auricular Confession, touching the Procession and Common Prayer in English, and that things done in General Councils against the Word of God, may be justly revoked in particular Councils.*

IX. Item, *That you receiving the same, and promising to declare them in a Sermon by you made before his Majesty for that purpose, on the Feast of St.* Peter, *in the said second year of his Highness Reign, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters, to the great contempt of his Majesty, and dangerous example of others.*

{KING L Ed. 6. Winchester contemptuous disobedience to the King.}

X. Item, *That you being also commanded, and on his Majesties behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other great Considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in Controversie concerning the Mass of the Communion (then commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar) did contrary to the said Commandment and Inhibition, declare divers your Judgments and Opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of his Majesties said Inhibition, to the great offence of the Hearers, and disturbance of the common Quiet and Unity of the Realm.*

Winchester stubbornly refused to conform himself to the Book of the Kings proceedings

XI. Item, *That after the Premisses,* viz. *in the Months of* May *or* June, *or one of them, in the third year of his Highness Reign, his Majesty sent sundry times unto you, to know your Conformity towards his said Reformation, and especially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately set forth by his Majesty, whereunto you at the same time refused to shew your self Conformable.*

XII. Item, *That after that,* viz. *the ninth day of* July, *in the fourth year of his Majesties Reign, his Highness sent unto you his Graces Letters, with a certain Submission and Articles, wherunto his Grace willed and commanded you to subscribe; to the which Submission, you contemptuously refused to subscribe.*

Winchester standeth in justification of himself.

XIII. Item, *That you having sundry certain of the Kings most Honorable Council sent unto you the twelfth of* July, *in the said fourth year, with the same submission, and being in his Majesties behalf Required and Commanded to confesse again better the said Submission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of your self, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto.*

XIV. Item, *That after all this, the fourteenth day of* July, *in the said Fourth year, the said Kings Majesty sent yet again unto you certain of his Majesties most Honorable Council with another Submission, and divers other Articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your Name thereunto, which to do you utterly refused.*

XV. Item, *That after all this,* videlicet, *the nineteenth of* July, *in the said fourth year, you being personally called before the whole Council, and having the said Submission and Articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust and fantastical Considerations by you alledged, to subscribe the same.*

Fantastical considerations of Winchester:

XVI. Item, *That for your sundry and manifold Contempts, and Disobediences in this behalf used, the Fruits of your Benefice were then by special Commission of his Majesty justly and lawfully Sequestred.*

XVII. Item, *That after this you had Intimation and peremptory Monition, with Commination, that you should, within three months next following the said Intimation, reconcile and submit your self upon pain of Deprivation.*

XVIII. Item, *That the said three Months are now fully expired and run.*

Winchester refuseth to answer true.

XIX. Item, *That you have not hitherto, according to the said Intimation and Monition, submitted, reconciled, or reformed your self, but contemptuously yet still remain in your disobedience. Wherupon they required the Bishop of* Winchester, *then and there personally present, to be sworn faithfully and truely to make answer.*

After these Articles were exhibited unto him, and he having leave to say for himself, wherein he used all the Cautels, Shifts and Remedies of the Law to his most advantage, by way of Protesting, Reculing, and Excepting against the Commition, and requiring also the Copies as well of the Articles, as of his Protestation, of the Actuaries, (which were *W. Say*, and *Tho. Argal*) time and respite was assigned unto him to answer to the said Articles in Writing. But he so cavilled and dallied from day to day to answer directly, although he was sufficiently labored and perswaded to the same by sundry Callings and Acts, and also abundantly Convicted by Depositions and Witnesses, especially by matter induced by the Lord *Page*, and *Andrew Boynton*, and Master *Chaloner*, pag. 816. (all which I refer to my first Book) that at last he appealed from

Time given to Winchester to answer by writing.

Winchester refuseth to answer to the Depositions of these and other witnesses exhibited against him, to the first Edition of Acts and Monuments pag. 816.

{KING Edw.6} from them (reputing them to not to be competent and indifferent Judges to hear and determine his cause) unto the Kings Royal Person; notwithstanding by protestation always reserving to himself the benefit of his Appellation; and so proceeded he to the answering of the foresaid Articles, but in such crafty and obstinate manner, as before he had been accustomed, and as at large, to them that be desirous to understand the process thereof, in the first Book of the *Acts and Monuments* of the Church aforesaid may appear.

But briefly to conclude, such exceptions he used against the witnesses produced against him, and he himself produced such a number of witnesses in his defence, and used so many delays and cavillations, that in the end the Commissioners, seeing his stubbornness, proceeded to the sentence definitive against him, as hereunder followeth.

Sentence definitive against *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*.

The final sentence for deprivation of the Bishop of *Winchester*.

IN the *Name of God* Amen. *By authority of a Commission by the high and mighty Prince our most gracious Sovereign Lord* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of* England, *France and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of* England, *and also of* Ireland, *in earth the supream Head, the tenour whereof hereafter ensueth;* Edward *the Sixth, &c. We* Thomas *by the sufferance of God Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primat of all* England, *and Metropolitane, with the Right Reverend Fathers in God,* Nicholas *Bishop of* London, Thomas *Bishop of* Ely, and Henry *Bishop of* Lincoln, Sir William Peter *Knight, one of our said Sovereign Lords two principal Secretaries, Sir* James Hales *Knight, one of our said Sovereign Lords Justices of his Common Pleas,* Griffith Leison, and John Oliver *Doctors in the Civil Law,* Richard Goodrick, *and* John Gosnold *Esquires, Delegates and Judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the form and tenour of the said Commission, for the hearing, examination, debating, and final determination of the causes and matters in the said Commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certain Articles objected of office against you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *as more plainly and fully is mentioned and declared in the said Commission and Articles, all which we repute and take here to be expressed; and after sundry judicial assemblies, examinations and debatings of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging, and the same also being by us, oft heard, seen, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things as by the laws, equity, and the said Commission ought, or needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *do proceed to the giving of our final judgment and sentence definitive in this manner following.*

{Ann. 1551}

The end of *Stephen Gardiner* late Bishop of *Winchester*, unto whom the *Papistical* Clergy doth so much lean, as to a mighty *Atlas*, and upholder of their ruinous Religion. And although I have not herewithal to fully expressed all his Letters, Answers, Preachings, Examinations, Defenitions, Exhibits and Attestations, with the Depositions of all such witnesses as he could and did produce for the most advantage of his own cause, with such notes also and collections gathered upon the same, as here I might, and as before I have done, I must intreat the Reader to consider first the greatness of this Volume, which would not well bear the tedious tractation thereof; and secondly, to content himself in reforting to our first History, where not only he may perufe the whole discourse of this Bishops doings set forth at large, but also may briefly read in a few summary notes collected the whole discourse of his doctrine and judgment, touching what points of Religion he did consent and agree, or not agree unto, *Page* 862.

Winchester *deprived of his Bishoprick.*

Forasmuch as by the Acts inacted, Exhibits and Allegations proposed, deduced and alledged, and by sufficient proofs with your own confession in the causes aforesaid, had and made, we do evidently find and perceive that you Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person much grudging, speaking and repugning against the godly Reformations of abuses in Religion, set forth by the Kings Highness authority within this his Realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said Sovereign Lord and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his Princely Office, and the state and common quietness of this Realm; and forasmuch as you have and yet do contemptuously refuse to recognize your notorious negligences, and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment, contrary both to your Oath sworn, obedience, promise, and also your bounden duty of Allegiance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the Realm, through your wilful doings, sayings and preachings, contrary to the common order of the Realm, and for sundry other great causes by the acts, Exhibits, your own confession, and proofs of this process more fully appearing; considering withal that nothing effectually hath been on your behalf alledged, proposed and proved, ne by any other means apparently, which doth or may empair or take away the proofs made against you, upon the said matters and other the premisses.*

Winchester deprived of the first Bishoprick.

Therefore we Thomas *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *Primat of all* England, *and Metropolitan, Judge Delegate aforesaid, having God before our eyes, with expresh consent and assent of* Nicholas *Bishop of* London, Thomas *Bishop of* Ely, Henry *Bishop of* Lincoln, Sir William Peter *Knight*, Sir James Hales *Knight*, Griffith Leison and John Oliver *Doctors of the Civil Law*, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnold, *Esquires, Judges and Colleagues with us in the matters aforesaid, and with the counsel of divers learned men in the Laws, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premisses, do judge and determine you* Stephen *Bishop of* Winchester, *to be deprived and removed from the Bishoprick of* Winchester, *and of all the rites, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said Bishoprick in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be, and by these presents we do deprive and remove you from your said Bishoprick, and all rites and other commodities aforesaid; and further pronounce and declare the said Bishoprick of* Winchester, *to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce and declare in these writings.*

Bish. Gardiner deprived of his Bishoprick.

This sentence definitive being given, the said Bishop of *Winchester*, under his former Protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excellive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there *apud acta*, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeal to the Kings Royal Majesty first, secondly and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, most instantly, and asked Apostles, or Letters dimissorials to be given and granted unto him: And also under Protestation not to recede from the former appellation, asked a Copy of the said sentence; the Judges declaring that they would first know the Kings pleasure and his Council therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed *William Say* and *Thomas Argal* to make a publick Instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to bear testimony thereunto, &c.

S. Gardiner appealeth from the sentence to the King.

And thus have you the whole Discourse and Proceis of

The notes and collections hereof read in the first Edit. thereof, pag. 862.

out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things be spoken, but what the Paraphrast uttereth in the person of Christ, or of the Evangelist, and not in his own, that he wresteth unto the Author, and maketh thereof Heresie and abomination.

The like impudency and quarrelling also he used against *Bucer*, *Luther*, *Peter Martyr*, *Cranmer*, and almost against all other true Interpreters of the Gospel; so blind was his judgment, or else so wilful was his mind in the truth of Christs Doctrine, that it is hard to say, whether in him unskilfulness or wilfulness had greater predomination. But against this Doctor *Gardiner* we will now set and match on the contrary side Doctor *Redman*, forsomuch as he departing this transitory life the same present year 1551. cometh now by course of History here to be mentioned; who for his singular life and profound knowledge, being inferior in no respect to the said *Gardiner*, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the Gospels cause, as the other seemeth an enemy by all manner of ways to impair and deface the same. For the more assured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoyn (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the said Dr. *Redman* lying on his Death-bed, and Master *Wilkes*, Master *Alexander Nowel*, Doctor *Young*, and other Witnesses more. Whereof the said Mr. *Wilkes* thus recordeth, speaking in his own person, and his own words, as followeth.

Wherefore as unskilful as wilfull.

Dr. Redman first to match D. Gardiner.

A note of the communication that I Richard Wilkes *had with Master Doctor* Redman, *being sick at* Westminster, *but of good memory, the 2d day of* November, 1551. *in the presence of Mr.* Young *and another whom I did not know, and two of Master Doctor* Redman's *servants, the one called* Ellis, *and the other unknown.*

The communication and confession of Dr. Redman in his Death-bed.

IThe foresaid *Richard Wilkes* coming to Doctor *Redman* lying sick at *Westminster*, and first saluting him after my ordinary duty, visited him with health both in soul and body; not doubting moreover but he did practice the godly counsel in himself, which he was wont to give to other being in his case; and thanks be to God (said I) who had given him stuff of knowledge to comfort himself withal. To whom he answering again, said in this wise, *God of all comfort give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my mind wholly fixed in him.* Master *Young* and I said *Amen*. Then I communed with him of his sickness, and of the weakness of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, ye he, if it were his pleasure, that raised up *Lazarus*, could restore him to health again. *No, no*, saith he, *that is past, and I desire it not, but the will of God be fulfilled.*

After this or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be so bold, not troubling him, to know his mind for my learning in some matters and points of Religion. He said, yea, and that he was as glad to commune with me in such matters, as with any man. And then I said to his servants, I trusted I should not trouble him. No, said *Ellis* his servant, my Lord of *London*, Master *Nowel* and other have communed with him, and he was glad of it: Then said Mr. *Redman*, *No, you shall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to speak the truth, and his truth, and that which shall redound to his Glory, and send us unity in his Church*, and we said *Amen*.

Communication touching the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood.

I said, He should do much good in declaring his Faith, and I would be glad to know his mind as touching the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

He said, As man is made of two parts, of the body and the soul, so Christ would feed the whole man; but what (saith he) be the words of the Text? Let us take the words of the Scripture; and he rehearsed the Text himself thus, *Accepit Jesus panem, Christ took Bread.* Wherein his will was to institute a Sacrament. *Accipite, comedite. Take, eat.* Here he told the use of it. What did he give to them? *Hoc est corpus meum*, he calleth it his body.

Then I asked him of the presence of Christ.

He said, Christ was present with his Sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought. And there was *Mira unitio*, a wonderful union (for that word was named betwixt Christ and us) as St. *Paul* saith, *Vos estis ex ossibus ejus, & caro ex carne ejus, Ye be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh.* The which union was ineffable.

KING Edw. 6. Question. Whether Christ be present in the Sacrament. Unio.

Then I asked him what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really.

Question, Whether Christ be present corporally, naturally, and really in the Sacrament. Corporally, that is really: so Christ is there not

He answered, If you mean by corporally, naturally and really, that he is there present *vere*, I grant.

Then I asked how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, blood and bone, as I have heard the Stewards in the Lords Court charge when the fix Articles stood in effect, and charge the Inquest to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Christ was present in the Sacrament of the Altar, in flesh, blood and bone; they should apprehend them.

Q. Whether Christ be there flesh, blood and bone.

He said that it was too gross, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the *Capernaites*.

Q. Whether Christ be received in mind and spirit, or with mouth and body, or with both?

Then I asked him, Inasmuch as Christ was there *vere*, how do we receive him? in our minds and spiritual parts, or with our mouths, and into our bodies, or both?

He said, We receive him in our minds and souls by faith.

Then in as much as he was much in this point, that there was *Mira unitio*, a *marvellous union* betwixt us and Christ, in that we were *Caro ex carne ejus, & os ex ossibus ejus, Bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*: I desired to know his opinion whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no?

Q. Whether Christs very body be received into our very bodies or no?

Here he paused and held his peace a little space, and shortly after he spake, saying, *I will not say so, I cannot tell, it is a hard question; but surely*, saith he, *we receive Christ in our soul by faith. When you do speak of it otherways, it soundeth grossly, and savoureth of the Capernaites.*

Then I asked him what he thought of that which the Priest was wont to lift up and shew the people betwixt his hands?

Q. Whether that be to be worshipped which the Priest sheweth to the people betwixt his hands.

He said, *It is the Sacrament.* Then said I, they were wont to worship that which was lifted up. *Yea*, saith he, *but we must worship Christ in Heaven; Christ is neither lifted up nor down.* I am glad, said I, Master Doctor, to hear you say so much. I would not speak of the holy Sacrament otherwise than reverently, but I fear left that Sacrament, and the little white piece of Bread so lifted up, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour.

Q. Whether the carrying about of the Sacrament is to be allowed.

Then said he, looking up and praying, *God grant us grace that we may have the true understanding of his Word, whereby we may come to the true use of his Sacraments*; and said, he would never allow the carrying about of the Sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

Then after a little while pausing, said I, Master Doctor, if I should not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in Transubstantiation. *Jesus*, *Master* Wilkes, quoth he, *will you ask me that?* Sir, (said I) not if I should trouble you. *No, no, I will tell you*, said he. *Because I found the opinion of Transubstantiation received in the Church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient Doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be satisfied. Then I went to the School Doctors, and namely to* Gabriel, *and weighed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pythier*, Languescabat opinio mea de Transubstantiatione, *My opinion of Transubstantiation waxed feeble: and then*, saith he, *I returned again to* Tertullian *and* Irenæus, *and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion that there should be Transubstantiation* prorsus erat abolita, *was quite dashed.*

Transubstantiation.

Transubstantiation not to be found in the Fathers.

Then, said I, You know that the School Doctors did hold, That *panis non remanebat post consecrationem, That bread remained not after the consecration*, as they called it.

The School Doctors deceived in the word Consecration. What is Consecration?

The School Doctors (saith he) did not know what *Consecratio* meaneth; and here he paused awhile. I pray you (said I) say you what *Consecratio* means? Saith he, It is *Tota actio*, in ministring the Sacrament as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministry,

KING Edw. 6. ministry, as Christ ordained it, that is *Consecratio*, and what (said he) need we to doubt that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good Authors that be of the later time, be of that opinion.

Anno 1550. Talk about Dr. Redman.

After that I had communed with Mr. *Redman*, and taken my leave of him, Master *Young* came forth into the next Chamber with me, to whom I said that I was glad to see Master Doctor *Redman* so well minded. Then said Master *Young* to me, *I am sure he will not deny it; I ensure you*, saith he, *Master Doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before in certain things: that I would have burned and lost my life for them; now* (saith Master *Young*) I doubt of them. *But I see*, saith he, *a man shall know more and more by process of time, and reading and hearing of other, and Master Doctor Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them.*

Dr. Young stayed by Dr. Redman from his Popish opinion.

Also *Ellis*, Master Dr. *Redman's* Servant shewed me, that he did know that his Master had declared to K. *Henry the 8th* his Majesty, *That Faith only justifieth*; but that Doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, left they should be negligent to do good works.

The opinion of Dr. Redman touching justification by faith.

The said Mr. *Young* hath reported (the which also I heard) that Master Dr. *Redman* should say, that *confessus Ecclesiæ*, the consent of the Church was but a weak Staff to lean to, but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him when he should be in such case as he was then.

Confessus Ecclesiæ is but a weak staff to lean to.

Another communication between Doctor Redman *lying in his Death-bed, and Master* Nowel *then Schoolmaster in* Westminster, *and certain other, with notes of his censure and judgment touching certain points of Christs Religion.*

The confession of Dr. Redman before Mr. Nowel.

1. IMprimis, The said Doctor *Redman* sent for Mr. *Nowel* of his own mind, and said he was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moved the said Dr. *Redman* of a day or two before; and he being desired of the said Master *Nowel* to declare his mind concerning certain points of our Religion, first said, *Ask me what ye will, and I will answer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the World or any worldly person.*

Witnesses, *Alexander Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.*

2. *Item*, The said Dr. *Redman* said, That the See of *Rome* in these later days, is *Sentina malorum*, that is, *a sink of all evil.*

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Richard Elisborne, Ellis Lomas.*

3. *Item*, That Purgatory, as the Schoolmen taught it, and used it, was ungodly, and that there was no such kind of Purgatory as they fained.

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elisborne, John Wright.*

Offering up of the Sacrament called the Sacrifice of the Mass.

4. *Item*, That the offering up of the Sacrament in Masses and Trentals for the sins of the dead, is ungodly.

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.*

5. *Item*, That the wicked are not partakers of the Body of Christ, but receive the outward Sacrament only.

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elisborn, John Wright.*

Carrying about of the Sacrament disproved.

6. *Item*, That the Sacrament ought not to be carried about in Procession; for it is taught what is the use of it in these words, *Accipite, manducate, & bibite, & hoc facite in mei memoriam, Take, eat, and drink, and do this in remembrance of me.*

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas.*

Adoration of the Sacrament disproved.

7. *Item*, That nothing which is seen in the Sacrament, or perceived with any outward sense, is to be worshipped.

Witnesses, *John Young, Alexander Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton.*

A gross opinion to think that Christ is corporally eaten in the Sacrament.

8. *Item*, That we receive not Christs Body *Corporaliter, id est*, *crasse*, corporally, that is to say, grossly, like other meats, and like as the *Capernaites* did understand it.

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.*

Christ spiritually, and truly eaten in the Sacrament.

9. *Item*, That we receive Christs Body *sic spiritualiter, ut tamen vere, so spiritually*, that nevertheless *truly.*

Witnesses, *John Young, Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.*

Transubstantiation hath no proof in the old Doctors.

10. *Item*, As touching Transubstantiation, That there is not in any of the old Doctors any good ground or sure proof hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he feeth what can be answered to the objections made against it.

Witnesses, *John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.*

Christ can neither be lifted up nor down.

11. *Item*, Being asked of Master *Wilkes*, what that was which was lifted up between the Priests hands, he answered, *He thought that Christ could neither be lifted up nor down.*

Witnesses, *John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.*

Priests Marriage lawful by Gods Word.

12. *Item*, That Priests may by the Law of God marry Wives.

Witnesses, *Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas.*

Faith only justifieth, a true Doctrine. The true Faith defined.

13. *Item*, That this Proposition, *Sola fides justificat*, so that *fides* signifie *Veram, vivam, & acquiescentem in Christo fidem, id est, amplexum Christi*, that is to say, that only Faith doth justifie, so that Faith do signifie a true, a lively, and a Faith resting in Christ, and embracing Christ, is a true, godly, sweet and comfortable Doctrine, so that it be so taught that the People take none occasion of carnal liberty thereof.

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elisborn, Ellis Lomas.*

Works do not merit to Salvation.

14. *Item*, That our works cannot deserve the Kingdom of God, and life everlasting.

Witnesses, *John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elisborn, John Wright.*

Faith received the same that Peter did, as Simon Magus received the same Baptism that the Apostles did, when he did receive only the outward Sacrament to his condemnation; for he said that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy Fleth to an ungodly man: And this he said was always his mind, though he knew well that other men did otherwise think.

15. *Item*, That the said Dr. *Redman*, at such times as we the aforesaid persons, who have subscribed, heard his communication concerning the foresaid points of Religion, was of quiet mind, and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

Witnesses, *J. Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elisborn, John Wright.*

¶ Also Mr. *Young* of himself doth declare further touching the former Articles in this wise.

¶ *To the fifth Article.*

Dr. Youngs testimony of Dr. Redmans Doctrine.

IMprimis, That Dr. *Redman* said more, whereas St. *Augustine* said, *Quod Judas idem accepit quod Petrus*, that *Judas* received the same that *Peter* did, he said, that he understood that of the Sacrament; and that after the same phrase a man might say, *Quod Simon Magus idem Baptisma recepit quod Apostoli*, That *Simon Magus* received the same Baptism that the Apostles did, when he did receive only the outward Sacrament to his condemnation; for he said that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy Fleth to an ungodly man: And this he said was always his mind, though he knew well that other men did otherwise think.

¶ *To the sixth Article.*

Carrying about of the Sacrament.

Item, He said he never liked the carriage about of the Sacrament, and preached against it about 16 years since in *Cambridge*.

¶ *To the tenth Article.*

Transubstantiation.

Item, When he was demanded of Transubstantiation, he said, That he had travelled about it, and thinking that the doubts which he perceived did rise thereon,

should be made plain by the Schoolmen, did read their Books, and after that he had read them, the opinion of Transubstantiation was every day *Magis & magis languida*, that is, weaker and weaker, and that there was no such Transubstantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole School did not know what was meant by Consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy Communion.

¶ *To the thirteenth Article.*

Justification by faith only.

Item, He said, That he did repent him that he had so much strived against Justification by Faith only.

¶ *To the fourteenth Article.*

Works merit not eternal life.

Item, That Works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deserve eternal life, and the Kingdom of God, no not the works of Grace: *Nam donum Dei vita aeterna: For everlasting life is the gift of God.*

Although these testimonies above alledged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, found Doctrine, and sincere judgment of Dr. *Redman*: yet (*velut ex abundanti*) I thought not to cut off in this place the testimonial Letter or Epistle of Dr. *Young*, written to Master *Cheke*, specially concerning the premisses. Which Epistle of Doctor *Young*, as I received it written by his own hand in the *Latin* Tongue, the Copy which he himself neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of *Acts and Monuments*, so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the *English* Tongue, the tenor whereof followeth.

The Letter of Master Young *to Master* Cheke *concerning Doctor* Redman, *translated out of* Latine *into English.*

Mr. Youngs letter to Mr. Cheke concerning Dr. Redman.

ALthough, right Worshipful, I am stricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe (but that it otherwise pleased Almighty God) and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Doctor *Redman*, insomuch that, all attonied with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think, yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your Worships will and pleasure, that so I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by Gods grace, here in these my Letters sincerely, and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confess at the hour of his death, as touching the controversies of Religion, wherewith the Spouse of Christ is in these our days moft miserably troubled and tormented.

Commendation of Dr. *Redman*.

This Doctor *Redman*, being continually by the space of twenty years, or somewhat more, exercised in the reading of the holy Scripture, with such industry, labour, modesty, magnanimity and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controversies of Religion, that in all his doings, as he would not seem to approve that which was either false or superstitious; so he would never improve that which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain Points and Articles of his Faith, he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his singular Gravity, either for softness, fear, or lack of stomach to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation, by familiar acquaintance with him was throughly known (with them also which were present at his departure) may easily perceive and understand, how in grave and weighty matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgment and unfeigned conscience, he descended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed.

I give your wisdom to understand, that when death drew near, he casting away all hope of recovery, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which were present heard) but of Heaven and heavenly matters, of the later day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom moft fervently he desired to be; whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners moft worthily, and not without tears, he oftentimes used to extol and speak of: and us which were there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare our selves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this moft wretched and corrupt world. And besides that he promised (calling God to witness thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come) if any would demand any question, that he would answer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth. At what time there were present Mr. *Alexander Nowel*, a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had always singularly well loved the said Mr. *Redman*, to whom he spake on this wise.

{KING Edw. 6} Exhortation of Dr. Redman to them that were about him.

Mr. Alexander Nowel, since Dean of Paul's.

Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favoured, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do ask those things of you which I shall propound, but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching those troublous controversies which are in these our days: and I shall receive and approve your words as Oracles sent from Heaven.

To whom when Doctor *Redman* had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, Mr. *Nowel* said, *I would* (quoth he) *right gladly, but that I fear by my talk and communication, I shall be unto you, so feeble and now almost spent, a trouble and grief.* Then said Doctor *Redman*, replying, *What shall I fare my Carkas* (quoth he) *which hath so short a time here to remain? Go to, go to*, (said he) *propound what you will.* Then Master *Nowel* put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare; whereunto the said Dr. *Redman* severally answered, as hereafter followeth.

The See of Rome a sink of all sin.

The first question that he asked of him was, What he thought of the Bishop of *Rome*. Unto whom Doctor *Redman* answered, *That the See of* Rome *in these our later days had much swarved from the true Religion and worshipping of God, and worthily those vices stained and polluted; which I therefore* (quoth he) *pronounce to be the sink of all evil, and shortly will come to utter ruine by the scourge of God, except it do fall the sooner to repentance*; wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuse of our *English* Church.

Purgatory.

Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning Purgatory, and what the Schoolmen judged thereof, he answered, That the subtil reasons of the Schoolmen concerning Purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, That when we be rapt to the Clouds to meet Christ coming to judgment with a great number of Angels in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged (with fire, as it is written, *The fire shall go before him, and shall flame round about his enemies, and the fire shall burn in his sight, and round about him shall be a great tempest*, saying, That divers of the old Writers approved this his sentence concerning Purgatory.

Psal. 97. 50.

The wicked and the flesh of Christ.

When he was asked whether wicked and ungodly people in the holy Communion did eat the body of Christ, and drink his bloud; he answered, That such kind of men did not eat Christs moft bleffed flesh, but only took the Sacrament to their own damnation; saying, That Christ would not give his moft pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. And that (quoth he) that is objected by St. *Augustine*, That *Judas* received the self same thing which *Peter* received, that I think to be understood of the external Sacrament. And the like kind of phrase of speaking (said he) we may use concerning the Baptism of *Magus*; That *Simon Magus* received that which the Apostles did receive. Indeed as concerning the Sacrament of the external Baptism, *Simon Magus* received that which the Apostles did; but that internal grace wherewith the Apostles were endued, and that holy Spirit wherewith by Baptism they were inspired, he lacked. And so (quoth he) the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy Table of the Lord, do receive the Sacrament and the self same which good and godly men receive; but the body of Christ they do not receive, for Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it them. And thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

Being

{KING Edw. 6} How Christ is present in the Sacrament.

Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Christs presence to be in the Sacrament, or no: he answered, That Christ did give and offer to faithful and Christian men his very real body and bloud verily and really, under Sacraments of Bread and Wine; insomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food are by the benefit thereof united and made one with Christ in his flesh and body. And therefore he said that Christ did distribute his body spiritually, that he gave it truly, yet not so nevertheless, that by their eating and the like words we should conceive any gross and carnal intelligence, such as the *Capernaites* once dreamed of, but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavour to express by some kind of words the ineffable Majesty of this Mystery. For the manner whereby Christ is there present, and ministreth to the faithful his flesh, is altogether inexplicable; but we must believe (quoth he) and think, that by Gods mighty power, and the holy operation of his Spirit, this so notable a Mystery was made; and that Heaven and Earth was joined together in that moment, as the blessed man S. *Gregory* saith, The lowest parts are joined with the highest; by which is understood that holy food whereby they which be regenerate in the Holy Ghoft in Baptism, are nourished to immortality. And further he said, That Christs body was received in the said Sacrament by faith; which being received, both body and soul were quickened to everlasting life.

The Capernaites gross errour of Christs bodily presence in the Sacrament.

Transubstantiation.

Being then required to say his mind about Transubstantiation, he gave answer, That he had much travelled in that point, and that he first much favoured and inclined to that part which maintained Transubstantiation: in searching the verity whereof moft studiously he had been no little while occupied, and found no little incumbrance inmite and almoft inexplicable absurdities. In consulting whereof, when he had but finally contented himself he said he took in hand the Schoolmens works, and perused *Gabriel* and other Writers of that sort, for that by their help and aid he hoped that all inconveniences which did spring and arise by maintenance of Transubstantiation might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly frustrate (said he) for that he did find in those Books many fond and phantastical things, which were both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be alledged about such a Mystery, and truly (said he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opinion touching the maintenance of Transubstantiation, did every day more and more decrease, and therefore in conclusion he perswaded himself to think that there was no such Transubstantiation as the Schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; saying that indeed the ancient Writers were plainly against the maintenance thereof; amongst whom he recited by name, *Justine*, *Irene*, and *Tertullian*, notorious adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereunto, That the whole School underflood not what this word *Consecratio* was, which he defined to be the full entire action of the whole Communion.

Consecration what it meaneth.

Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy Supper; he told us, that we are bound so to do, and that it was moft agreeing to piety and godly Religion. Likewise being asked, whether he would have the visible Sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted up between the Priests hands; he answered, That nothing which was visible, and to be seen with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would Christ be elevated into any higher, nor pulled down into any lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled down lower.

Nothing to be worshipped that may be seen.

The Sacrament not to be carried about.

Again, being asked his opinion about the custom and manner in carrying about the Sacrament in solemn Pomps, Processions, and otherwise; he said, that he always misliked and reproved that order; insomuch that about sixteen years agone, openly in the Pulpit at *Cambridge*, he spake against that abuse, and disallowed that Ceremony; shewing that Christ had expressed by plain and evident words a very fruitful and right use of this Sacrament, when he said, *Take ye* (by which words he doth declare the proper use and order of that his precious gift:) *This is my body*, (whereby he doth evidently and plainly shew what by that gift they should receive, and how royal and precious a gift he would give them:) and therefore he judged such pompous and superstitious ostentations utterly to be condemned and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeit vices.

In this point the judgment of Dr. Redman is not to be followed.

His judgment also being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in Orisons, whether he thought it profitable or no; He answered, That it seemed to him to be no less profitable than religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the Books of *Macchabees*. The which Books although S. *Hierome* adjudging as not authentick, thought good to be read in the Temples only for the edifying of the Church, and not for the assertion of opinions; yet with me the opinions of the other Writers, to whom those Books are allowed as Canons, prevail, which he in that point thinketh good to be read.

Trental Masses disproved.

Being furthermore required to shew his mind about Trental Masses, and Masses of *Scala coeli*; he shewed them that they were altogether unprofitable, superstitious and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of superstition, not yielding the fruit which they promised to bring forth. The sacrifice of the Supper of the Lord (the Eucharist I mean) that Sacrifice, he said, could not be offered for the sins of the quick and the dead.

The Sacrifice of the Mass disproved.

Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he shewed his opinion concerning justification by Christ. I lament (said he) and repent, beseeching God forgiveness of the same, that too seriously and earnestly I have withstood this propolition, *That only faith doth justifie*; but I always feared that it should be taken to the liberty of the flesh, and so should detile the innocency of life which is in Christ. But that propolition, *That only faith doth justifie*, is true, (quoth he) sweet, and full of spiritual comfort, if it be truly taken, and rightly understood. And when he was demanded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof, I understand (quoth he) that to be the lively faith which reacheth in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth him; so that in our only Saviour Jesus Christ all the hope and truft of our salvation be surely fixed. And as concerning good works, faith he, they have their crown and merit, and are not destitute of their rewards; yet nevertheless, they do not merit the Kingdom of Heaven. For no works (said he) could purchase and obtain that blessed, happy and everlasting immortality; no nor yet those things which we do under grace, by the motion of the Holy Ghoft. For that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed upon us mortal men of the heavenly Father for his Son our Saviour Christs sake, as S. *Paul* testifieth, *The gift of God is eternal life.*

Faith only justifieth.

Works do not merit salvation.

Rom. 6.

And these be the resolutions which I heard him give to the questions of Master *Nowel* proposed. From which his sentence and judgment so heard by me, and of him uttered (as I remember) he never declined or varied. I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to cease these troublous storms wherewith the Church is tossed, and vouchsafe for his holy Names sake tenderly to behold and look upon his poor wretched flock so miserably scattered and dispersed; beseeching him also of his goodness to preserve your Worship.

The judgment of Dr. Young about the controversies of Religion.

At *London* the third of *November*.

Here followeth the History, no less lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner *an* Englishman, *suffering moft constantly in* Portugal, *for the testimony of Gods Truth.*

{Ann. 1552} The story of W. Gardiner and other Martyrs at Lisbon in Portugal.

COming now to the next year following, 1552, we will somewhat step aside, and borrow a little leave, coasting the Seas into *Portugal*, amongst the *Popish* Merchants there, whither a certain Country-man of ours doth call me, named *William Gardiner*, a man verily in my judgment not only to be compared with the moft principal and chief Martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the ancient Churches in the time of the first Persecutions cannot shew a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and stedfast constancy, the invincible strength of his spirit, or the cruel and horrible torments: the report only and hearing whereof were enough to put any man in horrour or fear. Yet notwithstanding, so far off it was that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted, whether the pain of his body, or the courage of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

W. Gardiner comparable with the Martyrs in the Primitive Church.

What duty is to be observed of Christians to the Sheild Martyrs past.

Wherefore if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reacts, this one man amongst many seemeth worthy to be numbred, and also to be celebrate in the Church with *Ignatius*, *Laurentius*, *Cyriacius*, *Crescentius* and *Gordianus*. And if the Church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these Martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is inlarged, by whose constancy it is confirmed, by whose testimony it is witnessed, and finally, through whose agonies and victories the truth of the Gospel doth gloriously triumph; let not us then think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetual token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themselves receive no glory at our hands, and much less challenge the same, but referring it wholly unto the Lord Christ, from whom it came, whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them. Notwithstanding, forsomuch as Christ himself is glorified in his Saints, we cannot chuse our selves thankful unto him, except we also chew our selves dutiful unto those by whom his glory doth increase.

The memory of Christs Martyrs not to be forgotten.

How it came to pass that the Primitive Church had yearly commemoration of Martyrs.

Superstition in honouring Martyrs.

Hereupon I think it came to pass that the ancient Christians in the time of the first Persecutions, thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the Martyrdom of those holy men, not so much to honour them, as to glorifie God in his souldiers, unto whom all glory and praise doth worthily belong; and moreover, that we being instructed by their example might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of those Wars, to stand more stoutly in battel against our adversaries, and learn the more easily to contemn and despise this world.

What profit cometh by the story of Martyrs to us.

For in considering the end and death of these men, who will greatly long or lust after this life, which is so many ways miserable, through so many afflictions dolorous, through so many casualties ruinous, wherein consisteth so little constancy, and less safety, being never free from some hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly opprefled, and wherein no man can live in quietness except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that in this great slaughter of good men, with so many spectacles and examples of cruel torment, Christians do yet live as it were drowned in the foolish desires of this world, seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yield up their Spirits under the hands of such tormentors, to ly in filthy Prisons, in bonds, darkness and tears. and in the end to be confirmed with fire. We see so many Prophets of God, even Christ himself the Son of God, to be so cruelly and many ways afflicted in this world, turmoiled, scourged and crucified; and yet we laugh, drink and give our selves unto all loosness of life, and all lasciviousness. For honour and great possessions we contend; we build; we study and labour by all means to make our selves rich. Unto whom it doth not suffice, that we with safety and freedom from their afflictions, Racks, Wheels, Scourges, Irons red hot, Gridirons, Flesh-hooks, Mallets, and other kind of torments, may serve our Christ in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over our selves to all kind of wickedness, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Satan.

The World giveth quiteremes to the wicked, especially.

Good men most ill used in this World.

This suffrings of Martyrs be left from torm, to pluck us from this World.

But what do we think in so doing? Either we must reckon those men to be most miserable in this life, or else our selves to be most unhappy. But if their blessedness be most certain and sure, then let us direct the course of our life to the same felicity. These men have forsaken this life, which the, might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be slow to correct and amend the same; and though we cannot dy with the will and pleasure of Satan,

The great difference between Christs Martyrs that have been, and the life of Christians which now is.

we suffer the cruel looks of Tyrants, the fearful kinds of Torments, or the violent assaults of the Tormentors in any quarrel of godliness, if in peace and quietness we are, and that with every small breath or wind of temptation, blown away from God, so faint-hearted without any resistance, that we are carried headlong into all kind of wickedness and mischief? one fingeth Songs of love, another watcheth all the night at Dice, some spend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting, some tipple so at Taverns that they come home reeling. Others, whatsoever desire of revenge doth put into their heads, that by and by they seek to put in practice. Some gape after riches; some swell with ambition; some think they are born for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of injury and perjury, nay rather it is so rare a thing patiently to suffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the flight to do injury to others, we think our selves scarce men. There is no love almost nor charity among men; neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

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But amongst all the rest, unstable covetousness and avarice so reigneth, that no man almost is contented with any tolerable estate of life, either that will prescribe himself any measure in having that he possesseth; or in profiling for that which he lacketh: never quiet, but always toyling; never satisfied, but always unstable. Whereby it so cometh to pass, that the minds of men which professs themselves to be good Christians being occupied in such worldly carks and cares, can scarcely find any vacant leisure to think upon heavenly things; and yet notwithstanding, with these minds, we will needs seem Christians. But now setting apart these complaints spent in vain, we will profecute our purposed story touching good *William Gardiner*.

And first as concerning his kindred, he was of an honeft flock, born at *Bristow*, a Town of Merchandile on the Sea Coast of *England*, honestly brought up, and by nature given unto gravity, of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always from his Childhood preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his handsome and indifferent learning, did not a little commend and beautifie his other ornaments. When he grew unto those years at which young men are accustomed to settle their minds to some kind of life, it happened that he gave himself to the Trade of Merchandile, under the conduct and guiding of a certain Merchant of *Bristow* called Master *Paget*, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty six years or thereabout) sent into *Spain*, and by chance the Ship arriving at *Lubon* (which is the chief City of *Portugal*) he tarried there about his Merchandile, where at the last he having gotten understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both unto his Master and others, in such things as pertained unto the Trade of that Vocation. Whereunto he did so apply himself, that nevertheles, he in that *Popish* Country, referving still the Religion of his own Country of *England*, ever kept himself found and undefiled from the *Portugals* Superstition. There were also besides him divers other good men in the same City. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men, unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his imbecility and weakenefs, that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his sins, neither yet inflamed with the love of godliness.

W. Gardiner followed the Trade of Merchandile.

The godly disposed mind of *W. Gardiner*.

Whilst he was there abiding, it happened that there should be a solemn Marriage celebrate the first of *September* in the year above said, betwixt two Princes, that is to say, the Son of the King of *Portugal*, and the *Spanish* Kings daughter. The Marriage day being come, there was great resort of the Nobility and Estates. There lacked no Bishops with Miters, nor Cardinals with Hats, to set out this royal Wedding. To be short, they went forward to the Wedding with great pomp, where a great recourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service sake, and some (as the manner is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole City, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness. In this great assembly of the whole Kingdom, *W. Gardiner*, who albeit he did not greatly

A solemn Marriage between the K. of Portugal, and the K. of Spains Daughter in Portugal.

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esteem such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also, coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunity and better place to behold and see.

A Popish celebration of a Marriage.

The hour being come, they flocked into the Church with great solemnity and pomp; the King first, and then every estate in order; the greater persons, the more Ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their Masses; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The Cardinal did execute, with much singing and Organ-playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking, their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the external Sacrament. How grievously these things did prick and move this young mans mind, it cannot be expressed, partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the common people, and not only of the common people, but especially to see the King himself and his Council, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed, to be seduced with like Idolatry as the common people were; insomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would even that present day have done some notable thing in the Kings sight and presence, but that the great press and throng that was about him letted that he could not come unto the Altar. What need many words, when the Ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very sad and heavy in his mind, insomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him. Who albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cause of his sadness, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man, but seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition.

The godly zeal of *W. Gardiner* in seeing the Idolatry of the people, and the great diffworship of God.

W. Gardiner observeth his Books of Accounts.

In this deliberation and advice his mind being fully settled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts so exactly (as well of that which was due unto him, as that which he owed unto others) as no man could justly ask so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and continual meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one hour or two of rest in the night, as *Pendigrace* his fellow companion both at bed and board, being yet alive can testifie.

W. Gardiner continuing in watching and prayer.

The Sunday came again to be celebrate either with like pomp and solemnity, or not much less, whereas the said *William* was present early in the morning, very cleanly apparelled even of purpose, that he might stand near the Altar without repulse. Within a while after cometh the King with all his Nobles. Then *Gardiner* setteth himself as near the Altar as he might, having a Testament in his hand, the which he diligently read upon, and prayed, until the time was come that he had appointed to work his feat. The Mass began, which was then solemnized by a Cardinal. Yet he sat still. He which said Mass, proceeded, he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, shewed his god unto the people, all the people gave great reverence, and as yet he stirred nothing. At the last they came unto that place of the Mass, whereas they use to take the Ceremonial Host, and tosse it to and fro round about the Chalice, making certain circles and semicircles. Then the said *William Gardiner*, being not able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the Cardinal: and (which is uncredible to be spoken) even in the presence of the King and all his Nobles and Citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the Cake from the Priest, and trode it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the Chalice. This matter at the first made them all abashed, but by and by there arose a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The Nobles and the common people ran together, amongst whom one drawing out his Dagger gave him a great wound in his shoulder, and as he was about to strike him again to have slain him, the King twice commanded to have him saved. So by that means they abstained from murther.

W. Gardiner advised preparation to this accomplishment of his purpose.

The Cardinal at his Mass.

W. Gardiner plucketh the Cardinals Idol out of his hands at Mass as he was teaching about the Chalice.

W. Gardiner wounded with a Dagger.

W. Gardiner brought before the King.

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the King; by whom he was demanded what Countryman he was, and how he durst be so bold to work such a contumely against his Majesty, and the Sacraments of the Church? He answered, Most noble King, I am not ashamed of my Country, which am an *English* man both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffick of Merchandile. And when I saw in this famous assembly so great Idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought, neither could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that which you have seen me presently do. Which thing (most noble Prince) was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose (as before God I do clearly confess) to seek the salvation of this people.

The Oration of *W. Gardiner* before the said King.

When they heard that he was an *English* man, and called to remembrance how the Religion was restored by King *Edward*, they were by and by brought in suspition, that he had been suborned by *English* men thus to do, to mock and deride their Religion. Wherefore they were the more earnest upon him to know who was the author and procurer that he should commit that act. Unto whom he answered, desiring them that they would conceive no such suspition of him, forsomuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conscience. For otherwise there was no man under the Heaven, for whose sake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but that he ought this service first unto God, and secondarily unto their salvation: wherefore if he had done any thing which were displeasant unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so unreverently used the holy Supper of the Lord unto so great Idolatry, not without great ignominy unto the Church, violation of the Sacrament, and the peril of their own souls, except they repented.

The suspition of the *Portugals* upon the fact of *W. Gardiner*.

The answer of *W. Gardiner* to the false suspition of the *Portugals*.

Whilest that he spake these with many other things more unto this effect very gravely and stoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to faint. Whereupon Surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured if it were possible, and be referved for further examination, and more grievous torment. For they were fully perswaded that this deed had divers abettors and fetters on: which was the cause that all the other *English* men also in the same City came into suspition, and were commanded to safe custody. Amongst whom *Pendigrace*, because he was his Bedfellow, was grievously tormented and examined more than the refidue, and scarcely was delivered after two years imprisonment. The other were much sooner set at liberty at the intercession of a certain Duke. Notwithstanding their suspition could not yet be thus satisfied, but they came into his Chamber to seek if there were any Letters, to understand and find out the author of this enterprise. And when as they could find nothing there, they came again unto him being grievously wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most grievous heresie. Of both which points, with such dexterity as he could, he cleared himself. Wherein albeit he spake in the *Spanish* Tongue well, yet he used the *Latin* Tongue much more exactly.

Pendigrace Bedfellow to *W. Gardiner*, imprisoned upon suspition.

W. Gardiner Chamber searched.

But they not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kind of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth the Bull of *Phalaris*. Because there should no kind of extreme cruelty be left unassayed, they caused a linnen cloth to be sowed round like a Ball, the which they with violence put down his throat into the bottom of his stomack, tyed with a small string which they held in their hands, and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence, to pluck ing it to and fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as that with much less grief they might have rid him out of his life at once.

The Bull of *Phalaris*, a certain Tyrant was a kind of torment made of Brass like a Ball with fire under it to torment such as were put into it, to make them to roar like a Bull.

Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevail to go this way to work, they asked him whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deed? To scathing the deed, he answered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little sorry that it was done in the Kings presence, to the disquietness of his mind. However, that was not to be imputed unto him, which neither interpifed nor thought upon any such matter, but was rather to be ascribed unto the King, in that he having power would not prohibit so great Idolatry used among his people. This he spake with great fervency.

W. Gardiner not repenting his deed.

After

After that they had used all kind of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him three days after to execution. And first of all, bringing him into the Vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the Market-place, whereas his other hand also was cut off; which he kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done, after the manner and fashion of *Spain*, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horse-belly, he was carried to the place of execution.

The right hand of W. Gardiner cut off in the Vestry. The left hand of W. Gardiner cut off in the Market-place.

There was in that place a certain Engine, from the which a great Rope coming down by a Pulley was fastened about the middle of this Christian Martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into the which he was by little and little let down, not with the whole body, but so that his feet only felt the fire. Then was he hoised up, and so let down again into the fire, and thus oftentimes pulled up and down. In which great torment for all that he continued with a constant spirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

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The wretched cruelty of the Portugals in burning a Christian Martyr.

The cruell handling of William Gardiner an English Merchant in Portugall

W. Gardiner at his burning willed again to repent.

At the last when his feet were consumed, the Tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his deed, and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the Saints. Whereunto he answered, That as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, so he had the less need of the help of our Lady or any other Saints: and what external torments soever they used, the Truth (he said) remaineth always one and like unto it self: the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not now deny it at his death: desiring them to leave off such vanities and folly. For when as Christ did cease any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate, and said, *O eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beseech thee look down upon thy servant*, &c. And when as they fought by all means possible to stop or hinder his praying, and praising God in this sort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearing the three and fortieth Psalm, *Judica me Deus, & discerne causam meam de gente non sancta. Judg me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people.*

W. Gardiner would not cease to call our Lady, &c. to be his and Christ to be his Advocate.

The prayer of W. Gardiner out of Psal. 43.

He was not come unto the later end of the *Psalm*, when as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt asunder, he fell down into the midst thereof; whereas giving his body for a sacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for perpetual rest and quietness.

A lesson for the Tormentors.

Thus it seemed good in the sight of God, by this messenger to provoke the *Portugals* to the sincere knowledg of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And if it be so great an offence to violate the ordinances of mans Law, and to contemn the Ambassadors of Kings and Princes, let the *Portugals* and all others look well unto it, what it is so cruelly to handle the heavenly messenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevenged by the mighty hand of God, when as not only the very same night, amongst divers of the Kings thips which were in the next Haven ready to sail, one was burned, being set on fire by a sparkle of *Gardiners* fire driven thither with the wind, but also the Kings Son which then was married, died within half a year, and in the next year after the King himself also died, and so both within one year after the tormenting of this blessed Martyr.

The hand of God upon the executors.

It is reported that that sparkle lighted among Gunpowder.

Thus the body of the said *Gardiner* being consumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people so ceased not, but they were as cruel against him being dead, as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this Martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea for very madness they would scarce tarry until he were burned, but every man as they could catch any piece of him half burned, threw it into the Sea.

The blind and miserable cruelty of the Portugals against a poor Englishman.

This sacrifice thus ended, the Clergy to pacifie Gods wrath which they feared for the violating of their Altar, appointed a certain Fast of certain days, for penance to purge that fact, which fact rather should have taught them to purge themselves, and to put away their filthy Idolatry, and much rather they should have fasted and repented for that their extreme cruelty they had shewed unto the lively member of Christ.

A Pope holy Fast for revenging the wrath of their God of the Altar.

Albeit this death of *William Gardiner* seemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet for all that there are some (as I have heard divers report) out of whose minds the remembrance of this constant Martyr can never be pulled, and is so fresh yet amongst them, as if it were now lately done; and finally, albeit it be a good while since he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful feed, hath taken such root in some, that even

{KING Edw.6} even unto this present day he is a lively and diligent Preacher unto them against Superstition and Idolatry used in their Churches. *Ex testimonio N. Fildi, Pendagracae, & aliorum, qui res gestas interfuerunt.*

The Tragical History of the worthy Lord Edward *Duke of* Somerset, *Lord Protector, with the whole cause of his troubles and handling.*

{Anno 1552} *The story of the Lord Protector Duke of Somerset.*

AFter so many troublous matters in this History aforepassed, coming now to the lamentable and tragical Narration of the Lord *Edward* Duke of *Somerset*, the Kings Uncle, and Protector of his person, and of his Realm, I could not well enter into the story of him without some premonition, first to all Noble Personages, of what honour or calling soever within this Realm, by way of History briefly to admonith them, no man to plant any trust or affurance upon the brickle pillars of worldly prosperity how high soever it seemeth, considering that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruin; no wisdom so circumspect, but it may be circumvented; no virtue so perfect, but it may be envied; neither any mans trade so simple, but it may be beguiled. And therefore seeing the condition of mortal things is so, that no man can always stand in this so ruinous a world: the surest way is for every man to chuse his standing so, that his fall may be the easier. But because my purpose is (as I have said in the stories before) to abridg and make short, I will here stay, referring thee to the secret consideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered; and so falling into the story of the Lord Protector Duke of *Somerset*, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

Worldly prosperity not to be trusted unto.

King *Edward*, after that both his Father and Mother were dead, had three Uncles left him by his Mothers side, *Edward*, *Thomas*, and *Henry Semer*, of the which two first, one was made Protector of the Realm, and the other High Admiral of the same. These two Brethren, so long as they were knit and joyned together in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the King their Nephew, and the whole Commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtil old Serpent always envying mans felicity, through flanderous tongues fought to sow matter, first of discord between them, then of suspition, and last of all extreme hatred; insomuch that the Protector suffered his Brother being accused (whether truly or falsely the Lord knoweth) to be condemned, and to lose his head. Whereby it came to pass (whether by the correction of Gods judgment upon him, or whether that he after the death of his Brother, and the King being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to shift for himself) that not long after he was overmatched and overthrown of his enemies, and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost his head also, to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequel of this History followeth to be declared. For the better Introduction of which History, first to begin with the foresaid Brother of the Lord Protector, namely Sir *Thomas Semer* High Admiral of *England*, and the Kings Uncle, here is to be understood that he had married Queen *Katharine* late wife to King *Henry* the Eighth, of whom ye heard before. Now it happened (upon what occasion I know not) that there fell a displeasure betwixt the said Queen and the Dutchess of *Somerset*, and thereupon also in the behalf of their wives, displeasure and grudg began between the Brethren. Which albeit through perswasion of friends it was for a time appeased between them; yet in short space after (perchance not without the privy setting forward of some which were back-friends to the Gospel) it brake out again, both to the trouble of the Realm, and specially to the confusion of them both, as after it proved. First to the Lord Admirals charge it was laid, that he purposed to destroy the young King, and translate the Crown unto himself, and for the same being attainted and condemned, he did suffer at *Tower-hill* the twentieth of *March* 1549. As many there were which reported that the Dutchess of *Somerset* had wrought his death; so many more there were, who misdoubting the long standing of the Lord Protector in his state and dignity, thought and affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one Brother would be the ruin of the other; the experiment whereof as it hath often been proved, so in these also effoons it infused.

Concord maketh Brethren strong.

Sir Thomas Semer Lord Admiral.

Displeasure between the Queen and the Dutchess of Somerset.

Discord between the L. Protector and the L. Admiral his Brother. The L. Admiral Beheaded at Tower hill. Ecce quo die cordia fratrum interdum miscreta.

It was not long after the beheading of the Lord Admiral, but Insurrections began to kindle the fame year in diverse quarters of the Realm, as is above storied. By the occasion whereof the Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy Seal was sent to the West parts, and the Lord *Dudley* Earl of *Warwick* was sent with an Army into *Northfolk*; where both he himself, and a great number of Gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the Rebels, were in great danger: notwithstanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the Rebels, which was about the beginning of *September* 1549. After this victory atchieved, in the next month following, which was *October*, how the matter fell out between the Lord Protector and certain other Lords, I know not, but at the return of the Earl of *Warwick* aforesaid, great working and consultation there was among the Lords, assembling themselves in the house of Mr. *York*, and at *Baisards-Castle*, and in the Lord Mayors house at *London*, against the Lord Protector, remaining then with the King at *Hampton-Court*. Of the which business and trouble thus the Lord Protector writeth in his Letters to the Lord *Russel* in the West Countrey as followeth.

John Dudley Earl of Warwick afterward Duke of Northumberland.

Discord between the Earl of Warwick and the L. Protector.

A Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy-Seal, concerning troubles working against him.

A Letter of the L. Protector to the L. Privy-Seal.

After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the Kings Majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain Letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant nor intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Bulloign *to the* French, *and that we do withhold wages from the Soldiers, and other such Tales and Letters they do spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live) the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, specially of those men towards the Kings Majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, that is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the Kings Majesty, with such force and power as you may, to shew the part of a true Gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward and the Kings Majesty in time to come, and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other Letters from them: but as you tender your duty to the Kings Majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair with such force as ye have to his Highness Castle of* Windsor, *and cause the rest of such force as ye may make to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell. From* Hampton-Court *the sixth of* October.

Your Lordships assured loving
Friend, *Edward Somerset.*

An Answer to the Lord Protectors Letter.

TO this Letter of the Lord Protector sent the sixth of *October*, the Lord *Russel* returning answer again upon the eighth of the said month, first lamenteth the heavy diffention fain between the Nobility and him, which he taketh for such a Plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this Realm, being the next way, saith he, to make of us Conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole Realm an universal calamity and thraldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord do help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the Dukes request in his Letters, forsomuch as he heard before of this broil of the Lords, and fearing left some conspiracy had been meant against the Kings person, he hasted forward with such

The effect of the Lord Russels Letter answering to the Lord Protectors.

such company as he could make for the surety of the King, as to him appertained. Now perceiving by the Lords Letters sent unto him the same sixth day of *October* these tumults to rise upon private causes between him and them, he therefore thought it expedient that a convenient power should be levied, to be in a readiness to withstand the worst (what perils soever might ensue) for the preservation both of the King and state of the Realm from the invasion of foreign enemies, and also for the staying of bloodshed, if any such thing should be intended between the parts in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for discharge of his Allegiance humbly beseecheth his Grace to have the same also in special regard and consideration, first that the Kings Majesty be put in no fear; and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will so conform himself as no such private quarrels do redound to the publick disturbance of the Realm; certifying moreover the Duke, that if it were true which he understandeth by the Letters of the Lords, that he should send about Proclamations and Letters for raising up of the Commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding he trusted well that his wisdom would take such a way as no effusion of blood should follow.

The Contents of the second Answer of the L. Russel to the L. Protector.

And thus much being contained in his former Letters of the eighth of *October*, in his next Letters again, written the eleventh day of *October*, the said Lord *Russel* rejoycing to hear of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protector made unto the Lords, writeth unto him, and promiseth to do what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir *William Harbert* joyned together with him) doth lie, to work some honourable reconciliation between him and them; so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had resolved to have the same in readiness for the benefit of the Realm, to occur all inconvenience whatsoever (either by foreign invasion or otherwise) might happen, and so having their power at hand, to draw near, whereby they might have the better opportunity to be sollicitors, and a means for this reformation on both parties, *&c.*

The good L. Russel's sollicitor for peace between the L. Protector and the Lords.

And thus much for answer of the Lord *Russel* to the Lord Protectors Letters.

The Lords of the Council assembled against the L. Protector.

But now to the matter again of the Lords, who together with the Earl of *Warwick* (upon what occasion God knoweth) being assembled at *London*, as ye heard against the Lord Protector; when the King with his Council at *Hampton-Court* heard thereof, first Secretary *Peter* with the Kings message was sent unto them, whom the Lords notwithstanding detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the Lord Protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth.

A Letter of the Lord Protector to the Council at *London*.

The L. Protectors Letter to the Lords of the Council at London.

MY Lords, we commend us most heartily unto you, and whereas the Kings Majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remain, and were advertised by us and such other of his Council as were then here about his person, to send Mr. Secretary Peter *unto you, with such message as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesties person, with preservation of his Realm and Subjects, and the quiet both of us and your selves, as Mr.* Secretary *can well declare to you; his Majesty and we of his Council here do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said Mr.* Secretary, *and have not as it were vouchsafed to send answer to his Majesty, neither by him nor any other. And for our selves we do much more marvel and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the Kings Majesty and us to these extremities. Which as we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend as nature and our allegiance doth bind us, to extremity of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who giveth victory as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor do we understand what you do require or seek, or what you do mean) and that you do seek no hurt to the Kings Majesties person; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the Kings Majesties person, his Realm and Subjects, you shall find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we do esteem the King's wealth and tranquillity of the Realm, more than all other worldly things; yea more than our own life. Thus praying you to send your determinate answer herein by Master Secretary* Peter, *or if you will not let him go, by this Bearer; We beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to Gods honour, the preservation of the King, and the quiet of us all, which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.*

{KING Edw.6}

No word hitherto sent from the Lords to the Lord Protector, what they required of him to do. Reasonable conditions offered by the Lord Protector.

From the Kings Majesties Castle of *Windsor*, the seventh of *October*, 1549.

Your Lordships Loving
Friend, *E.Somerset.*

After these Letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the Lord Protector, and yet not much regarded of the Lords, they perfisting still in their pretended purpose, took this advice, first to keep themselves in the City of *London*, as strong as they might; and therefore calling upon the Mayor and the Aldermen, they willed them in any case to provide a good and substantial Watch by night, and a good Ward by day, for the safeguard of their City, and the Ports and Gates thereof; which was consented unto, and the Companies of *London* in their turns warned to watch and ward accordingly.

A solemn Watch commanded in *London*.

Then the said Lords and Counsellors demanded of the Lord Mayor and his Brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the Lord Protector out of *Windsor* from the King; but thereunto the Mayor answered, That he could grant none aid without the assent of Common-Council of the City: Whereupon the next day a Common-Council was warned. But in the mean time the said Lords of the Council assembled themselves at the Lord Mayors House of *London*, who then was Sir *Henry Amcottes* Fishmonger, and *William Lock* Mercer, and Sir *John Asleph* Sheriffs of the said City, and there the said Council did agree and publish a Proclamation forthwith against the Lord Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth:

The City of *London* perfied with 500 men to fetch the L. Protector. The answer of the Lord Mayor to the Lords. The Lords assembled in the Lord Mayors house.

The effect of the Proclamation set out against the L. Protector.

First, That the Lord Protector, by his malicious and evil Government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the Realm.

2. The lois of the Kings Pieces in *France*.

3. That he was ambitious and fought his own glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly Houses in the time of the Kings Wars.

4. That he esteemed nothing the grave counsel of the Counsellors.

5. That he sowed division between the Nobles, the Gentlemen and Commons.

6. That the Nobles assembled themselves together at *London* for none other purpose, but to have caused the Protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the Kings Majesty as appertained, whatsoever the Protectors doings were; which they said were unnatural, ungrate and trayterous.

7. That the Protector slandered the Council to the King, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the King and the Nobles.

8. That he was a great Traytor, and therefore the Lords delired the City and Commons to aid them, to take him from the King.

And in witness and testimony of the Contents of the said Proclamation, the Lords subscribed their names, which were these:

{Ann. 1552}

The Lord Rich, *Lord Chancellor.*
The Lord Saint John, *Lord great Master, and President of the Council.*
The Lord Marquess of Northampton.

The

{KING Edw.6}

The Earl of Warwick, *Lord great Chamberlain.*
The Earl of Arundel, *Lord Chamberlain.*
The Earl of Shrewesbury.
The Earl of Southampton, Wriothesley.
Sir Thomas Cheyney *Knight, Treasurer of the Kings House, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports.*
Sir John Gage *Knight, Constable of the Tower.*
Sir William Peter *Knight, Secretary.*
Sir Edward North *Knight.*
Sir Edward Montague, *Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.*
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Edward Wootton.
Doctor Wootton, *Dean of* Canterbury.
Sir Richard Southwell.

The Lords coming to Guildhall.

After the aforesaid Proclamation was proclaimed, the Lords or the most part of them, continuing and lying in *London*, came the next day to the *Guildhall*, during the time that the Lord Mayor and his Brethren sat in their Court or inward Chamber, and entred and communed a long while with the Mayor: and at the last the Mayor and his Brethren came forth unto the Common-Council, where was read the Kings Letter sent to the Mayor and Citizens, commanding them to aid him with a Thousand well appointed men out of their City, and to send the same with all speed to his Castle at *Windsor*.

This Letter by name was directed to Sir *Henry Amcottes* Knight, Lord Mayor, to Sir *Rowland Hill* Knight, Mayor Elect, and to the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*. The day and date of the Letter was the sixth of *October*, in the third year of his Reign, being signed with the hand of the King, and the Lord Protector; the Contents of which Letter, for the satisfaction of the Reader, are here to be seen in manner and form as followeth.

EDWARD.

By the King.

The Copy of the Kings Letter sent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, in the behalf of the Lord Protector.

TRusty and Wellbeloved, We Greet you well. We charge and command you most earnestly to give order with all speed for the defence and preservation of that our City of London *for us, and to levy out of hand, and to put in order as many as conveniently you may, well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watch at the Gates, and to send us hither, for the defence of our person, one thousand of that our City, of trusty and faithful men, to attend upon us and our most entirely beloved Uncle* Edward *Duke of* Somerset, *Governour of our Person, and Protector of our Realms, Dominions and Subjects, well harnessed, and with good and convenient weapon; so that they do make their repair hither unto us this night, if it be possible, or at the least to morrow before noon, and in the mean time to do what appertaineth unto your duty for ours and our said Uncles defence against all such as attempt any conspiracy or enterprise of violence against us and our said Uncle, as you know hath for our preservation and defence at this present. Given under our Signet at our Manner of* Hampton-Court, *the sixth of* October, *the third year of our Reign.*

You shall further give credit to our trusty and welbeloved *Owen Cleydon*, the Bearer hereof, in all such things as he shall further declare unto you on the behalf of us and our said Uncle the Lord Protector.

EDWARD SOMERSET.

This Letter of the King and of the Lord Protector was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the Lords keeping at *London* had knowledg immediately thereof (by the means, as some suppose, of the Lord *Paget*, who was then with the King and the Protector, but the truth the Lord knoweth) being there ready furnished with their own bands of Serving-men, and other Souldiers and men of Arms.

Who forthwith upon the same addressed their Letters in semblable wife to the said Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the Kings name, not only for a supportation of Armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient Watch to fortifie their City, but also that they should not obey any such Letters, Proclamations, or Injunctions sent to them from the Duke. Which Letter of the Lords at the same instant came likewise to the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, the sixth day of the said month of *October*. The tenour and Copy of which Letter here ensueth.

To our very good Lord, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of *London*.

The Letter of the Lords sent to the Lord Mayor and Council of London against the Lord Protector.

AFter our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship; knowing your hearty favour and earnest zeals to the preservation of the Kings Majesty, and of this Realm, and other his Majesties Realms and Dominions, we have thought good to advertise you, that notwithstanding all the good advice and counsel that we could give to the Duke of Somerset, *to stay himself within reasonable limits, and to use his Government now in the tender age of his Majesty, in such sort as might tend to his Highness surety, to the conservation of his estate, and to his honour; the said Duke nevertheless still continueth in his pride, covetousness, and ambition, ceaseth not daily, by all the ways and means he can devise, to enrich himself without measure, and to impoverish his Majesty.*

He buildeth in four or five places most sumptuously, and leaveth the poor Souldiers unpayed of their wages, unvictualed, and in all things so unfurnished, as the losses lately sustained, to the greatest dishonour that ever ca se to the King and this Realm, do declare. He soweth daily division between the Nobles and Gentlemen, and Commons. He remaindeth and entertaineth a number of those that were Captains of the Commons in these late insurrections; and finally in such wise subverteth all Lawes, Justice and good order (as it is evident) that putting his trust in the Commons, and perceiving that the Nobles and Gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his Devilish purposes, he laboureth first to have them destroyed, and thinketh after easily enough to atchieve his desire, which it appeareth plainly, is to occupy the Kings Majesties place. For his doings, whosoever list to behold them, do manifestly declare, that he mindeth never to render account to his Majesty of his proceedings.

Crimes laid to the Lord Protector by the Lords.

These things with many moe too long to recite, considered, we pondered with our selves, that either we must travel for some reformation, or we must in effect as it were consent with him to the destruction of our Sovereign Lord and Country. Whereupon laying apart all respects, and resting only upon our duties, we joined in counsel, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him. Who perceiving that we joyned for the King, and would have such order as might be for the surety of his Majesties person, and the Commonwealth, straight put himself in force, and refuseth at plain point (as it appeareth) either to go through with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or to try it by the sword.

Now forsomuch as we see presently, that unless there be a reformation, the person of the Kings Majesty is in most certain danger, and this Realm our natural Country like to be destroyed with all our posterities; like as we have again fully resolved with Gods help, either to deliver the Kings Majesty and the Realm from this extreme ruin and destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of our faithful hearts and duties; so knowing your hearty good wills and truth to his Majesty, and therefore nothing doubting of your readiness to joyn with us in our godly purpose, we thought good to let you know the very truth of our enterprise, and in the Kings Majesties behalf to require you not only to put good and substantial order for watch and ward, but also to have an earnest continual regard to the preservation, within your City, of all Harness, Weapons, and Munitions, so as none be suffered to be conveyed to the said Duke, nor any others attending about him: and besides,

Iuste iudicate filii hominum.

beſides, that you from henceforth obey no Letters, Proclamations, nor other Commandments to be ſent from the ſaid Duke. And thus we bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily farewell.

From *London*, the ſixth of *Octobet*.

Your Lordſhips aſſured loving Friends,

William Saint John.
W. Northampton.
John Warwick.
Arundel.
Th. Southampton.
William Peter.
Edward North.
John Gage.
Richard Southwell.

The City of *London*, urged with two contrary Letters at one inſtant.

After the receiving of theſe two Letters above mentioned, the one from the King, the other from the Lords, which came both at one inſtant, with contrary commandment to the Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*, the caſe ſeemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were beſt for the Citizens of *London* to do. On the one ſide the name and authority of the King was much on the other ſide the power and Garriſons of the Lords, lying then in *London*, was not little, which ſeemed then to be ſuch as would have no repulſe.

The Recorder ſpeaketh for the Lords.

The caſe thus ſtanding perplexedly, firſt by the mouth of the Recorder it was requeſted, that the Citizens would grant their aid rather unto the Lords, for that the Protector had abuſed both the Kings Majeſty and the whole Realm, and that without he were taken from the King, and made to underſtand his folly, this Realm was in great hazard, and therefore required that the Citizens would willingly aſſent to aid the Lords with five hundred men.

Hereunto of a great part in the Common-Council was no other anſwer made but ſilence. But the Recorder (who at that time was Mr. *Brook*) ſtill reſted upon them for anſwer. At the laſt ſtepped up a wiſe and good Citizen named *George Stadlow*, and ſaid:

The grave Oration of a diſcreet Citizen ſpeaking for the King, whoſe name was *George Stadlow*. 2 Parliament-men. Diviſion between the Lords and King *Henry* the Third.

"In this caſe it is good for us to think of things paſt, "to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember, ſaith "he, in a ſtory written in *Fabians* Chronicle, of the War "between the King and his Barons, which was in the time "of King *Henry* the Third, and the ſame time the Barons "(as our Lords do now) demanded aid of the Mayor and "City of *London*, and that in a rightful cauſe for the Com"monwealth, which was for the execution of divers good "Laws againſt the King, which would not ſuffer thoſe "Laws to be put in execution; and the City did aid them, "and it came to an open Battel, and the Lords prevailed "againſt the King, and took the King and his Son priſon"ers, and upon certain conditions the Lords reſtored the "King and his Son again to their liberties, and among all "other conditions this was one, that the King ſhould not "only grant his pardon to the Lords, but alſo to the Citi"zens of *London*; the which was granted, yea and the "ſame was ratified by Act of Parliament. But what fol"lowed of it? Was it forgotten? no ſurely, nor forgi"ven neither, during the Kings life. The Liberties of the "City were taken away, ſtrangers appointed to be our "Heads and Governours, the Citizens given away body "and goods, and from one perſecution to another were "moſt miſerably afflicted. Such a thing is it to enter into "the wrath of a Prince, as *Solomon* ſaith, *The wrath and indignation of a Prince is death.* Wherefore, foraſmuch as this aid is required of the Kings Majeſty, whoſe voice we ought to hearken unto (for he is our high Shepherd) rather than unto the Lords, and yet I would not with the Lords to be clearly ſhaken off; my counſel is, that they with us, and we with them may joyn in ſuit, and make our moſt humble Petition to the Kings Majeſty, that it would pleaſe his Highneſs to hear ſuch complaint againſt the Government of the Lord Protector, as may be juſtly alledged and proved, and I doubt not but this matter will be ſo pacified, that neither ſhall the King not yet the Lords have cauſe to ſeek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both.

The wrath of a King not raſhly to be provoked.

{KING Edw. 6}

After this tale the Commons ſtayed, and the Lord Mayor and his Brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the Lords. To make ſhort, I let paſs what order by the City was taken. But the concluſion was, that the Lords (upon what occaſion I know not) ſat the next day in Council in the Star-Chamber, and from thence ſent Sir *Philip Hobbie* with the Letter of credence to the Kings Majeſty, beſeeching and requeſting his Majeſty to give credit to that which the ſaid Sir *Philip* ſhould declare unto his Majeſty in their names; and the King gave him liberty to ſpeak, and moſt gently heard all that he had to ſay. Who ſo handled the matter, declaring his meſſage in the name of the Lords, that in the end the Lord Protector was commanded from the Kings preſence, and ſhortly was committed to ward in a Tower within the Caſtle of *Windſor*, called *Beauchamp* Tower, and ſoon after were ſtayed Sir *Thomas Smith*, Mr. *Whalley*, Mr. *Fiſher*, and many other Gentlemen that attended upon the Lord Protector. The ſame day the Lords of the Council reſorted to the King, and the next day they brought from thence the Lord Protector, and the other that were there ſtayed, and conveyed them through the City of *London* unto the *Tower*, and there left them.

{Anno 1552}

Here is to be noted that the City levied too men, but they were not ſent.

The L. Protector committed to priſon in *Windſor*-Caſtle.

Shortly after the Lords reſorted unto the *Tower*, and there charged the Lord Protector with ſundry Articles, which follow.

The Lord Protector committed to the Tower.

Articles objected againſt the Lord Protector.

Articles objected againſt the L. Protector

IN primis, You took upon you the Office of Protector and Governour, upon condition expreſly and ſpecially that you would do nothing in the Kings affairs, publickly or privately, but by the aſſent of the late Kings Executors.

2. Alſo you, contrary to the ſaid condition, of your own authority did ſtay and let Juſtice, and ſubverted the Laws, as well by your Letters, as by your Commandments.

3. Alſo you cauſed divers perſons being arreſted and impriſoned for Treaſon, Murder, Manſlaughter, and Felony, to be diſcharged and ſet at large, againſt the Kings Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

4. Alſo you have made and ordained Lieutenants for the Kings Armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and ſeal.

5. Alſo you have communed with the Embaſſadors of other Realms, diſcouring alone with them the weighty cauſes of this Realm.

6. Alſo you have ſometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the Kings moſt Honourable Councellors, for ſhewing and declaring their adviſes and opinions againſt your purpoſes in the Kings weighty affairs, ſaying ſometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwiſe adviſed, and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleaſure.

7. Alſo you had and held againſt the Law, in your own houſe, a Court of Requeſts, and thereby did inforce divers the Kings ſubjects to anſwer for their Freeholds and Goods, and determined the ſame to the ſubverſion of the ſame Laws.

8. Alſo, you being no Officer, without the advice of the Council, or the more part of them, did diſpoſe of the Offices of the Kings gift for money, and granted Leaſes and Wards of the Kings, and gave Preſentations to the Kings Benefices, and Biſhopricks, having no authority ſo to do. And further, you did meddle with the ſelling of the Kings lands.

9. Alſo you commanded Multiplication and Alcumiſtry to be practiſed, to abuſe the Kings Coyn.

10. Alſo you cauſed a Proclamation to be made concerning Incloſures, whereby the common people have made divers Inſurrections, and levied open War, and diſtrained and ſpoiled divers of the Kings ſubjects, which Proclamation went forth againſt the will of the whole Council.

11. Alſo

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11. Alſo, you have cauſed a Commiſſion, with certain Articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning Incloſures of Commons, High-ways, decaying of Cottages, and divers other things, giving the Commiſſioners authority to hear and determine the ſame cauſes, to the ſubverſion of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; whereby much Sedition, Inſurrection, and Rebellion have riſen and grown amongſt the Kings Subjects.

12. Alſo, you have ſuffered the Rebels and Traitors to aſſemble and to lie in Camp and Armor againſt the King, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any ſpeedy ſubduing or repreſſing of them.

13. Alſo, you did comfort and incourage divers of the ſaid Rebels, by giving of them divers ſums of your own Money, and by promiſing to divers of them, fees, rewards and ſervices.

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14. Alſo, you in favour of the ſaid Rebels did, againſt the Laws, cauſe a Proclamation to be made, that none of the ſaid Rebels or Traitors ſhould be ſued or vexed by any perſon for any their offences in the ſaid Rebellion, to the clear ſubverſion of the Law.

15. Alſo you have ſaid in the time of the Rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the ſaid Rebels and Traitors; and ſaid, That the covetouſneſs of the Gentlemen gave occaſion to the common people to riſe, ſaying alſo, That better it were for the Commons to die, than periſh for lack of living.

16. Alſo you ſaid, that the Lords of the Parliament were loth to incline themſelves to reformation of incloſures and other things, therefore the people had good cauſe to reform the things themſelves.

17. Alſo you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by ſuch as did ſurvey *Bullogne* and the Pieces there, would never amend the ſame defaults.

18. Alſo you would not ſuffer the Kings Pieces beyond the Seas, called *New-haven* and *Black-neſt*, to be furniſhed with men and victuals, although you were adverti-ſed of the defaults therein by the Captains of the ſame Pieces and others, and were thereto advertiſed by the Kings Council; whereby the *French* King, being the Kings open Enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the Pieces, to the Kings great loſs, and diſhonour of his Realm.

19. Alſo you declared and publiſhed untruly, as well to the Kings Majeſty, as to other the young Lords attendant upon his Graces perſon, that the Lords of the Council at *London* minded to deſtroy the King, and you required the King never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewiſe you required the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make ſedition and diſcord between the King and his Lords.

20. Alſo where the Kings Majeſties Privy Council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the King and his Realm, did conſult at *London*, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you, charitably to amend your doings and miſgovernment, you, hearing of their ſaid aſſembly, cauſed to be declared by Letters in divers places, the ſaid Lords to be high Traitors to the King, to the great diſturbance of the Realm.

The merciful working of the Lord for the L. Protector.

AND thus much hitherto concerning the firſt trouble of the Lord Protector Duke of *Somerſet*, with the Crimes and Articles objected againſt him, with his priſonment alſo in the Tower, and the terrible Proclamation given out againſt him. All which purpoſes of man, though they ſeemed fully to intend no leſs than the ſpilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only diſpoſer of all mens purpoſes, ſo ordered the matter by the means of the King labouring for his Uncle, that in ſhort while after he was let out of the Tower, and that Proclamation which before had made him a Traitor, within three days after was called in again, *(a Domino factum eſt iſtud)* with commandment given, none of them to be fold. And ſo the Duke of *Somerſet*, graciouſly eſcaping this adverſity, was again reſtored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the ſpace of two years and two days.

The Lord Protector delivered out of the Tower.

The ſtrouble of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

After the which time of reſpite being expired, the ſaid Duke of *Somerſet* was apprehended and committed again to the Tower, and with him alſo Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Ralfe Vane*, Sir *Myles Partridge*, and other. At length the time being come of his arraignment aforeſaid good Duke being brought from the To-was conveyed through *London* with the Ax of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of Bills, Halberds, Pikes, and Polaxes in moſt forcible wiſe; a Watch alſo ſet and appointed before every mans Door through the high ſtreet of *London*, and ſo was he brought into *Weſtminſter* Hall, where the Lords of the Council ſitting as his Judges in the middle of the Hall, upon a new Scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with Treaſon and Felony.

He is brought to the Tower.

In the which judgment, I paſs over the unſeemly ſpeech, the vile taunts and deſpiteful rebukes, without all modeſty or honeſty, uſed by certain of the Sergeants and Juſtices, and ſome other ſitting there. All which notwithſtanding he patiently and quietly did ſuffer, neither ſtorming inwardly in ſtomach, nor reviling them with words again; but like a Lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekneſs, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no leſs patience to bear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their glavering words and flatterings in time of his high eſtate and proſperity. And as the patience of this good Duke was marvelous in forbearing his enemies, ſo alſo was his diſcretion and temperance no leſs ſeen in anſwering for himſelf to the Articles to him objected; whereunto he wiſely and ſubſtantially replied, putting himſelf in the end to be tried by his Peers. Who then at length, after conſultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus; That as concerning the caſe of Treaſon, wherewith he was charged, they diſcharged him, but they accounted him guilty of Felony. When the people (which were there preſent to a great number) heard the Lords ſay, Not guilty, (meaning by the caſe of Treaſon) ſuppoſing no leſs but that he had bin clearly acquitted by theſe words, and eſpecially feeling the Ax of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladneſs they made an outcry, well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the Duke, whoſe life they greatly deſired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent Duke condemned to die for Felony. Which Act of Felony had been made a little before againſt the Rebels and unlawful aſſemblies, ſuch as ſhould ſeek or procure the death of any Councellor, ſo that every ſuch attempt and procurement, according to the Act, ſhould be adjudged Felony. By the vertue of which Act the Duke being accuſed, with certain other his Complices, to intend and purpoſe the death of the Duke of *Northumberland*, and of certain behide, was therefore caſt and condemned of Felony, and ſo was returned toward the Tower again.

The vile taunts of certain Juſtices and others ſitting in judgment againſt the good D. of *Somerſet*.

The great patience of the D. of *Somerſet* in taking rebuke.

The diſcreet behaviour of the Duke in anſwering for himſelf.

The hearty affection of the people toward the Duke of *Somerſet*.

The D. of *Somerſet* condemned of Felony. *Stat. an. 5. reg. Edw. 6.*

The D. of *Somerſet* accuſed for ſeeking the death of the D. of *Northumberland*

At whoſe paſſage through the City great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, ſome rejoycing that he was acquitted, ſome bewailing that he was condemned.

Thus the good Duke paſſing through a great part of the City, landing at the Crane of the Vinetree, was conveied to the Tower, where he indured till the 22 of *January*. Upon the which day, at the coming down of the Letter of execution from the King and the Council, the foreſaid Duke and Uncle to the King being found no Traitor, only being caſt by the Act of Felony, was delivered unto the Sheriffs, and ſo brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be beſtowed, in deſcribing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been ſuggeſted to us upon the credit of a certain Noble Perſonage, who not only was there preſent at the deed doing, but alſo in a manner next unto him upon the Scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes, and with his pen alſo reporting the ſame in order and manner as here followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1552, the two and twentieth of *January*, in the ſixth year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of Tutors, the noble Duke of *Somerſet*, Uncle to King *Edward*, was brought out of the Tower of *London*, and according to the manner delivered to the Sheriffs of the City, and compaſſed round about with a great number of armed men both of the Guard and others, he was brought unto the Scaffold on Tower Hill, where he nothing changing

either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

The cheerful countenance of the Duke of *Somerset* at his death.

After that he had ended a few short Prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the *East* side of the Scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me standing about the midst of the Scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the Ax, or yet of the Hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as before times he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of other, and especially the Poor (towards whom, as it were with a certain Fatherly love to his Children, he always shewed himself most attentive) he uttered these words to the people.

The words of the Duke of *Somerset* to the people at his death.

Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the King neither by word nor deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this Realm as any man hath been. But forsomuch as I am by a Law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my self as well as others to be subject thereunto. Wherefore to testifie my obedience which I owe unto the Laws, I am come hither to suffer death; wherefore I willingly offer my self, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him nor my self.

Moreover, dearly beloved Friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian Religion; which (so long as I was in Authority I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoyce therein, sith that now the state of Christian Religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the Primitive Church. Which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God both unto you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will with like thankfulness accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.

The care of the Duke of *Somerset* in setting forth true Religion.

When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or Tempest, which unto some seemed to be heard from above; like as if a great deal of Gunpowder being inclosed in an Armory, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some again it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of Horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or stroke stricken, or any man seen, they ran away, some into the Ditches and Puddles, and some into the Houses thereabouts; otherwhile, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down groveling unto the ground, with their Polaxes and Halberds; and most of them cried out, Jesus save us, Jesus save us. Those which tarried still in their places, for fear knew not where they were; and I my self which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly burly, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would knock me on the head. It happened here, as the Evangelists write it did unto Christ, when as the Officers of the high Priests and Pharisees, coming with Weapons to take him, being astonied ran backwards and fell to the ground.

A sudden noise and fear of the people at the death of the Duke of *Somerset*.

The like story you shall read of *Caius Marius* in *Plutarchus* the 2d Book and 5. Chap.

In the mean time, whilest these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one Sir *Anthony Brown* riding under the Scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise, For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, That the King by that Messenger had sent his Uncle pardon; and therefore with great rejoycing and casting up their Caps, they cried out Pardon, Pardon is come; God save the King. Thus this good Duke, although he was destitute of all mans help, yet he saw before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that in so great slaughter of Dukes as hath been in *England* within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this Duke the publick ruine of all *England*, except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

The great favour of the people to the Duke of *Somerset*.

But now to return from whence we have strayed; the Duke in the mean time standing still in the same place, modestly and with a grave countenance made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet. Which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner.

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Dearly beloved Friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you mainly hope or believe. It seemeth this good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now joyn in Prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the Kings Majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always shewed my self a most faithful and true Subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty in his affairs both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole Realm. At which words all the people cried out and said, *it was most true.*

The words of the Duke again to the people.

Then the Duke proceeding, said, *Unto whose Majesty I wish continual health, with all fecility and all prosperous success.* Whereunto the people again cried out, *Amen.*

Testimony of the people with the Duke of *Somerset*.

Moreover, I do wish unto all his Counsellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly unto justice. Unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the Kings Majesty.

The zealous standing of the D. of *Somerset* in defence of the truth against the Bishops at *Windsor*.

The confession of the Duke of *Somerset*.

Moreover, forsomuch as heretofore I have had often-times affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom throughout all my life I have most grievously offended; and all other whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep your selves quiet and still, lest through your tumult you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and through your quietness I shall be much more quieter. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness that I die here in the Faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my lives end.

A compassion between Duke Hamfrey Uncle to K. *Henry* the sixth and the Duke of *Somerset* Uncle to K. *Edward* the sixth.

The Duke of *Somerset* dieth in the Faith of Jesus Christ.

After this, he turning himself again about like a meek Lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Doctor *Cox*, which was there present to counsel and advertise him, delivered a certain Scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God. Which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind (as it appeared) and first bad the Sheriffs farewel, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and other, taking them all by the hands which were upon the Scaffold with him. Then he gave the Hangman certain Money. Which done, he put off his Gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his Shirt-strings. After that, the Hangman coming unto him turned down his Collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then lifting up his eyes to Heaven, where is only hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkercher, he laid himself down along, shewing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that before his eyes were covered there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks.

Touching the troubles of the Duke of Gloucester read before.

D. *Cox*, his ghostly Father.

A false miracle detected by D. *Heamfrey* of *Glocester*.

This thus most meek and gentle Duke lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his Doub'et covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus saying, *Lord Jesus save me*, as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the

The ghastly end of the Duke of *Somerset*.

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the name of Jesus was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and Gospel he always shewed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours. Thus, gentle Reader, thou hast here the true History of this worthy and noble Duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie.

The vertues of the Duke of *Somerset*.

Astouching the manners, disposition, life and conversation of the said Duke and the Kings Uncle, what shall we need to speak, when as he cannot be sufficiently commended, according to the dignity of his vertues? There was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high Estate. He was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive unto the affairs of the Commonwealth. Which if he had lived together with King *Edward*, he was like to do much good in reforming many misorders within this Realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury, being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient love and zeal of the Gospel and of Religion he brought with him to the state of this his Dignity. The proof whereof sufficiently was seen in his constant standing to Gods truth, and zealous defence thereof, against the Bishops of *Chichester*, *Norwich*, *Lincoln*, *London*, and others moe, in the consultation had at *Windsor*, the first year of the Kings Reign.

Briefly, considering the nature and vertues of this Duke, I may (as seemeth) not unaptly compare and resemble him unto Duke *Humfrey*, the good Duke of *Glocester*. Who likewise being Uncle unto King *Henry* the sixth and Protector of the Realm (as this was also to King *Edward* the sixth) yet he wanted not his Enemies and privy enviers, especially *Henry Beauford* Cardinal, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; who, at that time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this Duke, procured much trouble against him, and great division in the whole Realm, insomuch that all the Shops within the City of *London* were shut in for fear of the favourers of these two great personages; for each part had assembled no small number of people

For pacifying whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Quinber*, called the Prince of *Portugal*, rode eight times in one day between the two adversaries. Such were when the troubles of this tumultuous division within the Realm, between these two, as is before expressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord betwixt parties in this Protectors days. And as in their afflictions and troubles these two Dukes seemed not much unlike, so in matters of Religion, and in discerning truth from falshood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the Gospel did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this later Duke, (the Lord be praised therefore) yet the wisdom and towardness of the other Duke also touching the same was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous Act of that noble Duke, in discerning and trying out the false lying miracle and Popish Hypocrisie of the blind Begger at Saint *Albans*, mentioned in his story before. For the which cause, and for his diligent study in reforming that and such other blind abuses of fained Religion, he was the more hated of the Spiritualty, and such as *Winchester* then was.

The Testimony of M. *Wil. Tindal* of good D. *Humfrey*.

Finally as this Lord Protector Duke of *Somerset* the Kings Uncle, by certain of the Council was then accused, arraigned and condemned for the trespass (as it was given forth) of Felony (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any) for the other Uncle of King *Henry* the sixth was made away. Of whose decease thus writeth M. *Tindal* in his practise of Prelates; at the last they found the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to pass, and made a Parliament far from the Citizens of *London*, where was slain the said good Duke and the only wealth of the Realm, and the mighty Shield which so long had kept it from the forrow, which shortly after his death fell upon them by heaps. But the Chronicles (saith he) cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheless, this they tellsihe, that he was a vertuous man, godly and good to the Commonwealth.

But to leave Duke *Humfrey*, and to return to the manners and vertues of the Duke of *Somerset*, which before we were about to describe; as he was a gentle and courteous Duke at home, so was he no less fortunate a Captain in warfare abroad. Under whose government and guiding not only divers rebellious commotions were happily suppressed here at home; but also abroad, in the expedition of *Scotland*, such a Victory was given him of God, that with the loss scarce of six hundred of his own men, there were of the enemies as good or little less than ten thousand slain and put to flight, and even the very same day and time in the which all the Idolatrous Images were here burnt at *London*. And yet all these Wars notwithstanding, whereunto he was against his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as may be seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by him set forth in Print before, and sent to the Realm of *Scotland*.

The happy success of the Duke of *Somerset* in his victory.

But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkned with some spot of vice adjoyned withal; so amongst the manifold commendations of this Duke, one thing there was too, which both disdained his honour and estimation much, and also more enpaired and hindered his own life and safety; which was, that he in condescending to the death of his Brother, followed too rathly the perswasion of certain whosoever they were; for that matter lacked not perchance some singular fetch and policy of some, more craftily than godly disposed persons, as many good men have supposed.

Gods chastisement upon the D. of *Somerset*.

But whatsoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is that the said Duke, in suffering or procuring the death of his Brother, not only endamaged himself, and weakened his own power, but also provoked the chastisement of Gods scourge and Rod, which did so light upon him.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, who suffered also at the Tower next before the Lord Admiral, the Lord Protectors Brother, because the casting of him was so near to the death of King *Henry*, as I know not upon whom or what cause the same did proceed; I pass it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the Duke of *Somerset*, whatsoever his other vices and vertues were, this is certain, that his end (the Lord so working with him) was constant in Christs truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

The beheading of the Earl of *Surrey*.

Moreover, on the 26. day of *February*, in the same year was Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge* both Hanged at the Tower-hill; and Sir *Michael Stanhop*, and Sir *Thomas Arundel* beheaded upon the Scaffold, all which four were condemned by the said Act of unlawful assembly, and as accessaries unto the Duke of *Somerset*.

Sir *Ralph Vane*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Mic. Stanhop* and Sir *Tho. Arundel* suffered at Tower-hill.

Not long after the death of the Duke of *Somerset*, in the next year following, deceased the King himself about the Month of *June*, whereof more shall be said (the Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In the mean season, before we come to close up the later end and story of this good King, the place here present seemeth not unfit to intermit by the way a few other things before happening within the time of his Reign, namely, concerning matters incident of the Church, and of Religion. Which state of Religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this Kings days, had not the unhappy troubles of the outward state, among the Lords not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good towardnes of things begun. But the malice of the Devil how subtilly worketh it, if men could see it? So long as the Lords agreed in concord among themselves, *Winchester* and *Bonner* with all that Faction was cut short, and began to condescend to good conformity. But afterward perceiving the States and Nobles of the Realm to be among themselves divided, and the Lord Protector the Kings Uncle displaced, and his Brother the Admiral before beheaded, and the young King now

Religion hindered by discord.

left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till at last it came to pass as they themselves delired. And thus though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us what discord worketh in publick weals; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is to the advancement especially of Gods matters appertaining to his Church. Examples whereof in this Kings days be not far to seek. For as touching the success of the Gospel of peace, while publick peace and the Gospel did joyn together, marvelous it was how Error and Popery were in themselves confounded, and athamed almoft to shew their faces. Infomuch that then both Doctor *Smith*, *Chadsey*, *Standish*, *Tong*, *Oglethorpe*, with many moe recanted their former ignorance, whose recantations I have to shew. *Bonner* then with his own hand subscribed unto the Kings Supremacy, and promoted his Injunctions.

Discord what decay it worketh in a commonwealth.

D. *Smith*, *Chadsey*, *Standish*, *Tong*, *Oglethorp*, reclaimed from their errors.

The Gospel how it flourished so long as peace continued.

The same also did *Stephen Gardiner*, subscribing with his own hand to the first Book of the Kings proceedings, and no doubt had done less to the second Book also so set forth by the King, had not the unfortunate discord fallen amongst the Nobles in time so unfortunate, as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what Papist was found in all the Realm, which for the Popes devotion would not did once put his neck in the Halter to die a Martyr for his sake?

Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius placed in the Universities.

I shewed before how in these peaceable days of King *Edward*, *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, *Paulus Phagius*, with other learned men moe, were entertained, placed, and provided for in the two Universities of this Realm. *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, who there with their diligent industry did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise present in my hands here to insert, but that the bigness of this Volume driveth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations to be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin, and require of themselves a whole Volume to comprehend them.

The Kings Visitors at the disputation in *Oxford*.

First, *Peter Martyr*, being called by the King to the publick reading of the Divinity Lecture in *Oxford* amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the publick Schools three conclusions of Divinity to be disputed and tried by Argument. At which disputations were present the Kings Visitors, to wit, *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Doctor *Cox* Chancellor of that Univerlity, D. *Hains* Dean of *Exceter*, Maller *Richard Morison* Esquire, *Christopher Nevinson* Doctor of Civil Law. The conclusions propounded were these.

The conclusions to be disputed in *Oxford*.

1. *In the Sacrament of thanksgiving there is no Transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.*

2. *The body and blood of Christ is not carnally or corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor, as other use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine.*

3. *The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally.*

Disputers of the contrary part against Peter Martyr.

They which were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Doctor *Tresham*, Doctor *Chadsey*, and *Morgan*. The reasons and principal Arguments of *Peter Martyr* hereunder follow.

The Arguments of Peter Martyr *upon the first conclusion.*

The 1. Argument of Peter Martyr against Transubstantiation.

The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the Evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his Disciples. Saint *Paul* likewise doth oft times make mention of bread.

Ergo, We also with the Scriptures ought not to exclude Bread from the nature of the Sacrament.

Cyprianus.

Cypr. in serm. De cœna Dom.

As in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen outwardly, and his Divinity was secret within: so in the visible Sacrament the Divinity inferteth it self in such sort as cannot be uttered, that our devotion about the Sacraments might be the more religious.

Ergo, As in the person of Christ, so in the Sacrament, both the natures ought still to remain.

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Gelasius.

Gelasius contra hæreticos Eutych.

The Sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ are a divine matter; by reason whereof we are made partakers by the same of his divine nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.

Augustinus.

Aug. de consensu Evangelistarum. lib. 3. cap. 21.

As the person of Christ consisteth of God and Man, when as he is true God, and true Man. For every thing containeth in it self the nature and verity of those things whereof it is made. Now the Sacrament of the Church is made of two things, that is, of the Sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the Sacrament that is signified, &c.

Theodoretus.

Theod. Dial. 1. contra Eutych.

These visible mysteries which are seen be hath honoured with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature, &c. And the same *Theodoretus* again saith.

Theod. Dial. 2. contra Eutych.

Those mystical Sacraments after sanctification do not pass out of their own proper nature, but remain still in their former substance, figure, and shape, &c.

Ergo, Like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinity; so in the Sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the substances remain whole.

Origen.

Orig. in Mat. cap. 15.

If whatsoever entreth into the mouth goeth down into the belly, and so passeth through a man's even that meat also which is sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, as touching that part which it hath material within it, passeth into the belly, and so voideth through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoyned to it, according to the measure of Faith, it is profitable and effectual, &c. And he addeth moreover, *For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily, &c.*

Irenæus.

Irenæus lib. 4. contr. hæref.

Jesus taking bread of the same condition which is after us, (that is, taking bread of the same nature and kind which we use commonly to eat) *did confess it to be his body. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us* (that is, which we commonly use to drink) *confessed it to be his blood, &c.*

Iren. lib. 5. cap.

Item, lib. 4. *Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the* Eucharist, *consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the sacred* Eucharist, *be now not corruptible, having hope of Resurrection, &c.*

Argument.

Ba- The bread in the Sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made incorruptible by hope.

ro- But our bodies are not made incorruptible by changing their substance;

co. *Ergo*, No more is the bread changed into the substance of the body.

Gregory.

Greg. in Reg

Notwithstanding whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour, &c.

Argument.

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Argument.

Da- Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread, and not accidents only.

ri- In the Sacrament bread is received either leavened or unleavened;

i. *Ergo*, In the Sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents only.

Argument.

Ba- The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is unsensible in operation.

ro- Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundness.

co. *Ergo*, The body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantial.

Argument.

The words of the Evangelist speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread.

Ergo, The substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the Sacrament.

Chrysostome.

Chrysost. Co. 1. Homili. 27.

Christ in giving Bread and Wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me.

Cyrillus.

Cyril. in Joan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread.

Also the same *Cyril* saith, *In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.*

Ergo, By these Doctors it remaineth bread after the consecration.

Ambrose.

Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called another kind of thing. After consecration the body of Christ is signified.

Arguments of Peter Martyr *disputing with Master* Chadsey *upon the first question.*

Da- The Analogy and resemblance between the Sacrament and the thing signified must ever be kept in all Sacraments.

ri- In the Sacrament of the Lords body this Analogy or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be Transubstantiated:

si. *Ergo*, The substance of bread must needs remain in the Sacrament.

The Major or this Argument is certain by Saint *Augustine*, *Lib. de Catechisandis rudibus, & Epist. ad Dardanum.* Where he saith, *Sacraments must needs bear a similitude of those things whereof they are Sacraments, or else they can be no Sacraments.*

Aug. Epist. ad Dardanum.

The Minor is thus proved.

Argument.

Analogy or proportion between the outward nourishing of bread in our bodies, and the inward nourishing of Christs bodily flesh in our souls.

Ba- The resemblance between the Sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.

ro- Without the substance of bread and wine there is no resemblance of nourishing.

co. *Ergo*, Without the substance of bread and wine the Analogy cannot hold.

Argument.

Ba- Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogy of this Sacrament is this, That as one loaf of bread and one cup of wine containeth many Corns and many Grapes; so the mystical Congregation containeth many Members, and yet maketh but one body.

ro- Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented.

co. *Ergo*, Without the substance of bread and wine, the Analogy of this spiritual conjunction cannot hold.

Another Argument.

Ba- Every Sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.

ro- Without the substance of Bread and Wine there is nothing that signifieth in the Sacrament.

co. *Ergo*, The substance of bread and wine in the Sacrament can in no wise be Transubstantiate from their natures. The Minor is thus to be proved.

Fe- There is no signification in any Sacrament without the element.

si- The substance of bread and wine is the element of this Sacrament.

no. *Ergo*, Without the substance of bread and Wine there is no similitude nor signification in this Sacrament.

Three causes proving that these words of Christ, *Hoc est corpus meum*, are not to be taken literally, but spiritually.

And forsomuch as the adversaries ground their Transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, *This is my body*, which they expound only after the literal sense, without Trope or figure; now that this their expolition is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved.

1. Firft by the words of the Scripture. 2. By the nature of a Sacrament. 3. By the testimonies of the Fathers.

Places of Scripture making against Transubstantiation.

1. Firft, By these words of the Scripture, where he saith, *Do this in remembrance of me*, forsomuch as remembrance properly serveth not for things corporally present, but for things rather being absent.

2. Secondly, Where he saith, *Until I come*, which words were vain, if he were already come by consecration.

3. Thirdly, Where St. *Paul* saith, *The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* Which words of breaking in no case can be verified upon the body of Christ, which for the glory thereof is unpassible.

4. Furthermore whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ without a Trope, forsomuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with Teeth, as we use properly in eating other meats to do.

5. The words moreover of *Luke* and *Paul*, spoken of the Cup, do argue likewise that the other words spoken of the Bread must needs be taken mystically. As where it is said, *This cup is the New Testament*, which words must needs be expounded thus; this Cup doth signifie the New Testament.

6. *Item*, These words of St. *John*, Chap. 6. *My words be spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing, &c.*

The second cause, the nature of a Sacrament.

7. *Item*, Where in the the same place of Saint *John*, Christ, to refel the carnal understanding of the *Capernaits* of eating his body, maketh mention of his Ascension, &c.

The second cause why the words of Christ, *This is my body*, cannot be literally expounded without a Trope, is the nature of a Sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a sign or signification of a thing to be remembred, which thing after the substantial and real presence is absent. As touching which nature of a Sacrament sufficiently hath been said before.

The third cause, the testimony of the Fathers.

The third cause, why the words of confecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient Doctors.

Tertullianus.

Tertul. contra Marc. lib. 4. *This is my body; that is to say, This is a figure of my body.*

Augustinus. Psal. 3.

Aug. in Psal. 3. *Christ gave a figure of his body.*

Aug. con. Adamantum cap. 12. Augustinus contra Adamantum Manichæum.

He did not doubt to say; This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.

Hieronymus.

Hieronymus. *Christ represented unto us his body.*

Augustinus.

Aug. de doctrina Christiana, lib. *Augustine* in his Book *De Doctrina Christiana* declareth expreslly, that this speech of eating the body of Christ is a figurative speech.

Ambrosius.

Ambros. de sacr. l. 6. c. 4. *As thou hast received the similitude of his death; so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.*

Argument.

Fe- The death of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament, but by similitude.
ri- The precious blood of Christ is present in the Sacrament as his death is present.
o- *Ergo*, the precious blood of Christ is not present really in the Sacrament.
The Minor of this Argument is proved before by the words of *Ambrose*.

The second conclusion. *The second Question, Whether the Body and Blood of Christ be in the Bread and Wine, or under the forms of Bread and Wine carnally and corporally.*

Argument.

Di- The true natural body of Christ is placed in Heaven.
sa- The true natural body of Man can be but in one place at once, where he is.
mis. *Ergo*, the true natural body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in Heaven where he is.
The Major is plain by the Scriptures, *Jesus was taken up to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God.* Mat. 26. *The poor ye have always with you, but me you shall not always have,* John 12. *I leave the world and go to my Father.* John 16. *Many shall say in that day; Lo here is Christ, and there is Christ, believe them not.* Mat. 24. *Whom the heavens must receive for a time, until the restitution of all,* Acts 3. *Seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, &c.* Col. 3.
Mat. 26. John 12. John 16. Mat. 24. Acts 3. Col. 3.
The Minor likewise is evident by Saint *Austin*, who, speaking of the glorified body of Christ, affirmeth the same to be in one certain place, *Propter veri corporis modum*, that is, for the manner of a true body.
Aug. ad Dardanum.

Argument.

Da- Every true natural body requireth one certain place.

Augustine.

vi- Christs body is a true natural body.
o. *Ergo*, Christs body requireth one certain place.

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Argument.

Augustine giveth not to the soul of Christ to be in moe places at once but one. *Augustine. ad Dardanum.*
Ergo, much less is it to be given to the body of Christ, to be in moe places at once, but one.
Comparable Majori.

Argument.

The nature of the Angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once. *Rabanus de Spirit. sanct. cap.* 22.
Comparison between Angels and the body of Christ.
Ergo, The body of Christ being the true natural body of a Man, cannot fill divers places at one time.

Argument.

Ba- Whatsoever is in many and divers places at once, is much God.
ro- The body of Christ is not God, but a Creature.
co. *Ergo*, The body of Christ cannot be in moe places together.

Argument.

Fal- We must not so defend the Divinity of Christ, that we destroy his humanity. *Augustine.*
ti- If we assign to the body of Christ plurality of places, we destroy his humanity.
no. *Ergo*, we must not assign to the body of Christ plurality of places.

Argument.

Fal- Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be dispersed in moe places at once.
ti- The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed.
no. *Ergo*, The body of Christ is not dispersed in moe places at one time.

Argument.

Da- Every quantity, that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions, is circumscribed in one peculiar place.
ti- The body of Christ hath his dimensions, and is a quantity.
i. *Ergo*, The body of Christ is circumscribed.

Cyrillus.

The Major is proved by *Cyrillus*. *Whatsoever is understood to be a body, the same is verily in a place, and in magnitude and in quantity. And if it be in quantity, it cannot avoid circumscription*, that is, to have his place.
Cyril. de Trin. lib. 2. pag. 245.

Argument.

Ba- If Christ had given his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible or impassible.
ro- But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gave at supper.
co. *Ergo*, he did not give his body substantially and carnally at supper.

Augustine.

The Minor is proved thus. For if ye say it was passible, *Augustine* is against it, which saith, *Te shall not eat this body which you see, nor drink the same blood which they shall shed that shall crucifieme, &c.* And if ye say it was impassible, that may not be admitted by the words of the Evangelist, which saith, *Eat, this is my body which shall be given for you*; So that, that body was passible, and not impassible, wherein Christ was given.
Aug. in Psal. 98.

Vigilius.

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Vigilius.

Vig. contra Eutichen l. 5. *One Creature cannot receive in it self two contrary or divers things together. But these two things be divers and far unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where, but the flesh is not every where.*

Argument.

Fe- Bodies organical without quantity be no bodies.
ri- The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be without quantity.
o. *Ergo*, The Popes Doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the Sacrament to be no body.

Argument.

Da- All things which may be divided, have quantity.
ri- The body in the Popes Sacrament is divided in three parts.
i. *Ergo*, The body in the Popes Sacrament hath quantity, which is against their own Doctrine.

Argument.

Fe- No natural body can receive in it self, and at one time contrary or divers qualities. *Vigilius.*
ri- To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in one place circumscript, in another place incircumspect, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.
o. *Ergo*, The body of Christ cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adversaries do affirm.

Argument.

Fe- The wicked receive not the body of Christ.
ri- The wicked do receive the body of Christ, if Transubstantiation be granted.
fum. *Ergo*, Transubstantiation is not to be granted in the Sacrament.

Argument for probation of the Major.

Ca- To eat Christ, is for a man to have Christ dwelling and abiding in him. *Augustine.*
mef- The wicked have not Christ dwelling in them.
tres. *Ergo*, the wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

Cyprian.

Cyp. de cœna Dom. Cyprianus, de Cœna Dom. *The eating of Christ is our abiding in him.*

Argument.

Ho- The Holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present.
car- That the Holy Ghost is come it is most certain.
de. *Ergo*, it cannot be that Christ himself should be here really present.
For proof of the Major, *John* the sixteenth. *Unless I go from you the Holy Ghost shall not come: It is expedient for you that I go hence.* John 16.

Argument of Peter *Martyr.*

Ba- If the wicked and infidels do receive the body of Christ, they receive him either with sense, or reason, or with faith.
ro- But they receive him neither with sense, reason, nor with faith.
co. *Ergo*, wicked men and infidels receive in no wise the body of Christ.
Declaration of the Minor. For declaration of the Major, if ye say, they receive him with sense, that is against their own lore, for the body of Christ in the blessed Sacrament (say they) is not sensible, nor to be perceived by any sense; neither with reason can they receive him, by their own learning, for so much as this Sacrament exceedeth all reason; *nec fides habet meritum, ubi ratio præbet experimentum.* And if ye say, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, seeing infidels have no faith?

What it is to eat the body of Christ by the Papists.

What it is to eat the body of Christ by Scripture and Doctors.

What it is to eat the body of Christ by the wicked and infidels do not eat Christ.

What I say is the Papists herein is strange, and differeth from the old Doctors. For where they teach that wicked persons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the Sacrament, yet the matter of the Sacrament which is the very body of Christ, they receive with their mouth, and with their sense the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Christ, such as evil men and infidels may eat, and yet being eaten, it giveth them no nourishment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of his spirit and grace; both Scripture and the ancient Expositors of the Scripture do teach much otherwise. For the Scripture knoweth no such kind of eating Christs body, but only that which is fruitful, wholesome, and effectual. *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him.* &c. *John* 6. And therefore it may appear, that the Scripture meaneth by eating Christs flesh, to believe in Christs Passion, which none can do but only the faithful. And to the same sense found all the old Doctors.

Cyprianus.

Cyp. de cœna Domini. *That we should know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation in him.*

Item, The same *Cyprian*, *The eating therefore of his flesh is a certain desire to abide in him*; and saith moreover, *that none eateth of this Lamb, but such as be true* Israelites, *that is, true Christian men, without colour or dissimulation.*

And again he saith, *That as meat is to the flesh, the same is faith to the soul, the same is the word to the spirit.*

Moreover, *And therefore* (saith he) *doing this we what not our teeth to bite, but with pure Faith we break the holy Bread and distribute it, &c.*

Augustinus.

Aug. de Civitate, l. 21. cap. 25. *It may not be said, that any such do eat the body of Christ, because they are accounted amongst the Members of Christ. Neither can they be both Members of Christ, and Members of an Harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him; he sheweth what it is, not Sacramentally, but indeed to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man so dwelleth in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For so Christ spake those words, as if he should say; he that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.*

John 6.

Also in other places the said *Austin* affirmeth, that *to drink is to live*; And saith moreover, *Why preparest thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe and thou hast eaten, &c.*

All which kinds of eating cannot be said of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful.

And thus briefly we have run over all the Arguments, and Authorities of *Peter Martyr* in that disputation at *Oxford*, with Doctor *Tresham*, *Chedsay*, and *Morgan*, before the Kings Visitors, above named, *An.* 1549.

Furthermore who so listeth more fully to be satisfied and resolved in all the points and occurrents, touching the matter of this Sacrament, let him read the Books first of the Archbishop *Cranmer* against *Winchester*; Secondly, the tractation of *Peter Martyr* made in *Oxford*, translated and extant in English; and thirdly, the Book of Bishop *Ridley* made in prison, called *A brief Declaration of the Lords Supper.*

The like disputation also about the same time was appointed and commenced at *Cambridge*, concerning the same matter of the Sacrament, the Kings Visitors being directed down for the same purpose by the King. The names of which Visitors were these, *Nicholas Ridley* Bishop

shop of *Rochester*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Ely*, Master *John Cheke* the Kings Schoolmaster, Doctor *May* Civilian, and *Thomas Wendy* the Kings Physitian. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these.

The first disputation holden at *Cambridge* the twentieth day of *June Anno* 1549. before the Kings Majesties Commissioners, by Doctor *Madew* respondent, whose first conclusion was this.

Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the consents of the ancient Fathers for these thousand years past. D. Glin. *M.* Langdale, *M.* Segewick, *M.* Yong, *opponents.*

Doctor Madew.

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FIrst of all (quoth he) I am very sorry and do not a little lament the shortness of time, to declare and discuss such weighty matters of Religion in, as these be. But that notwithstanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeed; yet you shall understand how that I have ever both in heart and mind (if otherwise I could have avoided it) abhorred all Scholastical disputations and subtil sophistications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to alledge or bring forth any dismembred, or cut-tailed sentences, or wrested, as happeneth many times, but the whole and full sentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient Doctors; yea, and to avouch such Authors sayings, as are not suspected, or fained, but such as be their own very sayings indeed; which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our disputation shall the sooner appear, and be manifest to this auditory. And for a further declaration of my part, you shall understand, that this my Preface in my said former most Catholick and godly conclusion shall consist in three principal points. 1. First, What thing it was that Christ gave to his Disciples. 2. Secondly, What season or time this Transubstantiation did begin. 3. Thirdly, How many devillish abominations have ensued upon that horrible and pestilent invention. As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gave to his Disciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural senses, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the tasting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye seeth nothing but Bread and Wine, the tasting savouring nothing else; and the hands touch nothing else. He gave also to their understanding not only his holy and sacred Doctrine, but also a special gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material Bread and Wine sanctified, as the rude and plain elements or principles to allure them withal; but he gave them the gift of his Grace and heavenly Doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elements: which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, *Non bibam, &c.* I will not drink hereafter of the Fruit of this Vine, until I drink it new with you in the Kingdom of God. Now this fruit or juyce of the Vine is nothing else but Wine, as *Chrysostome* saith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be reserved after the consecration for a time, it becometh sowre and tart, therefore it is but Wine. And as touching the Bread Saint *Paul* saith thus; Is not the Bread which we break the Communion, or participation of Christs Body? He brake Bread, therefore it was but Bread which he gave them: for the Body of Christ is not broken, as the Scripture saith of the same, *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, you shall not break a bone of him. Also he said, this is my Body, not that the Bread was his Body, and the Wine his blood, but he spake those words to and of his own mortal Body, there sitting amongst them at Supper; or he spake yet doubtfully as thus; this signifieth my Body. It is one thing which is seen, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily form, but that which is understood thereby hath a spiritual Fruit. Saint *Augustine* saith, Let the Word have accès to the element so is it made a Sacrament; mark he saith, Let the Word have accès, and not succès. Now the thing that hath accès to another thing doth not quence the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here, *Ergo*, it is Bread and Wine still as before, howbeit sacred and holy. What saw you yesterday (saith Saint *Augustine*) upon the Altar? Truly Bread and Wine, which your own Eyes can witness, said he. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a Father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our Eyes do behold nothing but Bread and Wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their own proper object, which cannot be by any reason or natural Philosophy. And yet notwithstanding some Papists dream and phantasie such a corporal, real, and gross presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, as they affirm it to be there even as verily as it was upon the Cross. Indeed the Bread is changed after a certain manner into Christs Body: for Christ gave not his own natural Body to his Disciples at his last Supper, but only a sign or figure thereof. Christs Body is there with the Bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of Bread, but they do judge there to be but one Body, that is of Bread, *Ergo*, so it is. Also the very definition of a Sacrament doth plainly repugn unto Transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth the substance of Christs Body, but the accidents do not so; *Ergo*, the substance doth remain of the Bread that nourisheth: it is also called Bread in the *Acts*, and in divers other places of the Scriptures, wherefore it is so, but indeed after a sort more holy then before. What gave he in the Supper? Bread, which is the Body, that is to say, an holy sign of his Body, as *Augustine* doth witness, saying; He doubted not to say, This is my Body, when it was but a sign of his Body. The unleavened Bread was but a bare and naked sign of Christs Body, and so is this Bread the same Body even as Baptism, is. Now indeed there be two manner of signs, One that signifieth only, the other that doth exhibite the thing it self. The first is applied to the old Law chiefly, the other to the Law of Grace. The old ancient and learned Fathers did never use to speak of the substantial change, because that all the mutation is but accidental, not substantial; nor do we deem the bodily substance Sacramentally, but yet we say that this Propolition (*this is my body*) is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some do deem. But it is as much to say as, This signifieth my Body; or else thus, This is a Sacrament of my Body; for the bodily Bread and Christs Body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

This pernicious and monstrous Transubstantiation began first to enter, when the Popish Prelates and Priests began first to understand this said propolition (*This is my body*) of the carnal and real presence of Christs Body, as *Hugo de sancto victore*, *Gratian*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Innocent* the third, the very pestilent poison of all Christian Religion, unto whom we have of long season, yea alas too long, given credit. Under the which *Innocent* the said devillish term or vocable of Transubstantion began, the year one thousand three hundred fifteen. And *Bonifface* after him Bishop of *Rome* made the said mad blind Transubstantiation to be the third Article of the Faith, full wisely no doubt, whereas another Bishop of *Rome* after him affirmed plainly against *Nestor* the Heretick, that Bread remaineth still, whose name was *Gelasius* the third. Now as touching the most shameful and detestable inconveniences which must needs follow this devilish term or vocable of Transubstantiation, you shall understand the first is, That then such Papists will have Christs Body still prostituted and received even of the wicked and naughty people, which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, *Whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.* Now it is plain, that evil persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them, wherefore they receive not his Body therein at all. For Saint *Augustine*, *Tractat.* 8. *super Johan.* saith, itis but Bread which is seen after the confecration, *Ergo*, the substance of Bread is there still. 2. The second inconvenience that groweth hereof, is the fond and superstitious reservation of the Sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vain Tabernacles over the Altar, where oftentimes it did putrifie for all their foolish honour; which began in *Hono-*

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rius his days, the third of that name, Bishop of *Rome*: Which corruption declareth it to be but only Bread, say all the Papists what they list. 3. The third inconvenience that must needs follow Transubstantiation, is Adoration, which is too plain Idolatry, as the Papists do know themselves, if they list: but they are so stiffnecked that they will not know it, and so both have, and yet also will keep the World in blindness still, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the Sacrament, so the Bread is changed into the Body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christs substance, *Ergo*, the substance of the Bread is not changed into Christs Body. And to be short and plain with you, most honourable Audience, the whole universal World hath been, and yet is sore deceived and deluded about the estimation of this Sacrament. Therefore this is most true, when we do receive the said Sacrament worthily, then are we joyned by Faith spiritually to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said in this first matter.

The second matter to be disputed of is this:

That in the Lords Supper is none other Oblation or Sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christs death, and of thanksgiving.

IN this conclusion I will be much shorter, and more compendious than in the first. In consideration whereof, you shall understand that the same is a very godly, and true Catholick propolition. For to offer Christ, and to exhibit the same, is all one thing; for in that he is offered, he is set forth to eat, there is no difference at all between the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command saying, *Do this in remembrance of me*; he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but only that. The Apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, *He took Bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his Disciples.* What gave he to them? Forsooth Bread, which was the Sacrament, and not his Body. No earthly Creature nor heavenly did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himself once for all upon the Cross, *Ergo*, he cannot nor ought not to be many times, and often, though that *Pighius* with all the blind rabble of Papists say the contrary. For truly in this point especially they know not what they say, being so led by the old Pharisaical blindness. But to the purpose: you shall understand, good Auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the Prophet *Malachy*, is nothing else but devout and faithful prayer and thanksgiving, as *Tertullian* saith in his third Book *contra Marcionem*, expounding the *Psalm*, where it is said thus, *The sacrifice of laud and praise shall honour me.* So doth Saint *Jerom*, *Irenæus*, and Saint *Austin* say also upon *Malachy*. Where also they deny that Christ is essentially in the Sacrament. Yea and Saint *Austin Epist.* 95. *ad Paulinum* witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly Members is our true Sacrifice that be Christians. And all the ancient Fathers do call Prayers by the name of Sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoever list to read that most excellent and famous Clerk *Zwinglius*, *cap.* 18. *de articulis*, shall find the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoever the Papists do bark against it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now disputable. And if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of Arguments, I will perform the same in my answer thereunto.

There disputed against this Defendant, Doctor *Glin*, M. *Langdale*, M. *Segewick*, and M. *Yong*, Students in Divinity.

Glin.

Notwithstanding, Right worshipful M. Doctor, that you have so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned Audience, and also though just occasion be ministred to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now indirectly, with contrarious and vain words to occupy the small time which is appointed us for the trial of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing it self, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as saith the Master of the Sentences. All words may signifie at pleasure, and commonly there be more things than vocables. Like as sometimes there was variance amongst learned Men of the Unity of two substances in one personage of Christ God and Man: So is there now in our days variance of Transubstantiation of Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Wherefore I do require you first to shew me here openly what the said Transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing it self, which is our first and chiefest ground.

Madew.

As for that, I need not to shew you; for every man knoweth it.

Glin.

Peradventure it is not so, good Master Doctor. And I am perfectly assured that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be.

Madew.

Forsooth you know it your self, and so do all men else.

Glin.

Well, yet I pray you shew me what thing Christ did demonstrate and shew forth by that Article of the *Neuter Gender*, where he said, *This is my body?* What did he point at in that Article *This?* For if he meant by that, the Bread, then Christ in the Sacrament is not only of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of Bread, of the nature of Man, and of the Divine nature, which to say were blasphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that Text, *He spake the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created.* Moreover, if he should mean by that Article of the *Neuter Gender (this)* the material Bread, then he would have said, *This bread is my body*, so making the Article of the *Neuter Gender*: or else he would have said thus, *Here with this bread is my body*, to have avoided ever after all Heresies, Errors and Schisms. But he said not so, but spake the Article of the *Neuter Gender* saying, *This is my body*, that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the form and kind of Bread, which you see not with your bodily eies, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very Fleth to eat, *John 6.* In like manner when he gave the cup of his Blood, he said not *This* in the *Neuter Gender*, as he would have done if he had meant the material Creature of Wine to have remained, but he said then in the *Masculine Gender*, *This is my blood*, that is to say, the thing contained under the form of Wine, which you see not with your bodily eies, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghost came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our Faith. But out of doubt he should have deceived in this matter, if so be he had given us only material Bread and Wine, instead of his Body and Blood, and not have fulfilled his promise made *John 6.* where he promised thus, *The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.* Here be two things spoken of, with two relatives, whereof the first with his relative must needs be refered to his gift in the last Supper, and the second giving of the same Fleth of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessity unto his giving of his Body upon the Cross. Nor do we find in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfil his said promise made in the sixth of *John*, but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of Transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once think such wickedness of him. He must also be unjust

iust of his promise if it be not performed at any season, as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then if it were performed (as the Catholick Church of Christ doth hold, determine, and believe) then must it needs be granted, that he gave at his last Supper his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the Cross for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloody, yet the very same flesh and blood really after an unbloody sort, and spiritually. He said not, This Bread is my body, nor yet, here with the Bread is my Body, but, *This is my body which shall be given for you.* Neither said he, This wine is my blood, nor with this wine is my blood, which circumstance of plain speech he would have use, if the pure creatures should have remained, but he said, *This is my blood which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins*, that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible forms of bread and wine, are my very proper flesh and blood. I pray you where do you find in the whole body of the Scripture expressed, or iustly understood, that Christ gave but only a bare and naked sign, figure, or Sacrament? Or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you think to find it, I pray you shew me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was phantastical; if it were his true body, (as you do grant) then must there needs be two very true bodies in one place together.

Now that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain by the plain words of the Text saying thus, *Which is betrayed or given*, and *which is shed for you and for many.* But I will let all this pass over, and I do require of you this one question, Whether that the Sacraments of the old Law and of the new Law be all one?

Madew.

The Sacraments of the old Law and new, have they differ.

If you do consider the things themselves, they be all one, but if you respect the only signs, figures, and Sacraments outwardly, then they be divers.

Glin.

I do perceive your answer very well; then further to our purpose, Was Christ then after the same manner in the bread that came from Heaven, in the Paschal Lamb, and in *Isaac*, as he is in this Sacrament? Which if you do grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, this Manna is my body, this Lamb is my body, this *Isaac* is my body. Moreover, if the Sacraments of the old Law, and of the Law of Grace be all one in very deed and effect, (as you seem to grant) then what difference is between the Shew-Bread in *Moses* Law, and the bread that we do break, that S. *Paul* speaketh of? They then had that bread, which signified Christ, and so doth ours (as you say;) that was bread, so is ours; and so by your reason there is no difference between them: yea their Manna, because it came from Heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath, which is contrary to the Truth; for Saint *John* saith, *That the Law was given by* Moses, *but the verity was given by Jesus Christ.* Wherefore that which Christ gave was not only a sign, but also the verity, that is to say, the living bread that came down from Heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the sins of the World, and *Isaac* himself which is Christ, or else you must grant me that we Christians do receive less than the *Jews* did. For they received the bread called Manna from Heaven, and we only a poor morsel of bread from the Earth. Theirs was called Angels food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. Me seemeth that you do distrust the Doctrine of the Faith of *Christendom* for these 500 years, even as though Christ had forsaken his Catholick Church after 1000 years, but that is not so; for he promised his holy Spirit to assist his Spouse the Church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon Transubstantiation: but the Fathers for one thousand years past do grant Adoration of the Sacrament, therefore Transubstantiation also. The Minor I prove by the most clear testimonies of S. *Austin*, S. *Ambrose*, S. *Denise*, S. *Basil*, and Saint *Chrysostom*.

Adoration of the Sacrament maintained by *Glin.*

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Madew.

I deny Master Doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say that the Fathers do understand by Adoration a certain reverent manner, that we should receive the Lords Supper with, which may be called a certain Veneration, but no Adoration.

Glin.

No may? Saint *Austin (De Civitate Dei)* witnesseth that the Ethnikes and Paynims do esteem the Christians to worship and adore the Gods of Wheat and Barly called *Ceres*, and the God of Wine called *Bacchus*. And again St. *Austin* saith thus, Lo, no Man eateth of that bread except he first adore and worship it.

Madew.

By your patience Saint *Austin* in that place speaketh of the honouring of Christs body now sitting in Heaven.

Glin.

Yea Master Doctor, think you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the Sacrament? Seeing that he saith it is there, *This is my body which is given for you*, saith he. More plainly he needeth not to speak for the real presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verifie his word. For if a cunning *Lapidary* should say to you or me, this is a true right Diamond, a perfect Carbuncle, Saphyre, Emrald, or any such precious Stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Christ, God and Man, in that he saith, *This is my body.* And why then ought we not to honour it in the Sacrament? Or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you do grant his body in Heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the Sacrament?

Mat.26.
Mar.14.

Real presence defended by the Papists.

Madew.

Forsooth he hath but one very body, and no moe, but the same is Sacramentally in the Sacrament, and substantially in Heaven; here by faith, and there in deed.

Argument.

Glin.

Well yet once again to you thus. The very true body of Christ is to be honoured, but the same very true body is in the Sacrament, *Ergo*, the body of Christ in the Sacrament is to be honoured.

Bishop Ridley replieth.

Rochester.

Welbeloved friends and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this Disputation, with other that shall be after this, are appointed to search for the plain truth of the holy Scriptures in these matters of Religion, which of a long season have bin hidden from us by the false Glosses of that great Antichrist and his Ministers of *Rome*, and now in our days must be revealed to us Englishmen, through the great mercy of God principally, and secondarily through the most gentle Clemency of our natural Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesty, whom the living Lord long preserve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godliness, to the maintenance of Gods holy Word, and to the extirpation of all blind Glosses of men that go about to subvert the truth. Because therefore that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controverse. Not because this worshipful Doctor hath any need of my help in difficlving of Arguments proposed against him, for as me seemeth he hath answered hitherto very well and Clarkly according to the truth of Gods Word. But now to the purpose, I do grant unto you (Mr. Opponent) that the old ancient Fathers do record and witness a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Christs body, but they speak not of it in the Sacrament, but

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Christ to be honoured in Heaven not in the Sacrament.

but of it in Heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy *Chrysostom* saith, Honour thou it, and then eat it: but that honour may not be given to the outward sign, but to the body of Christ it self in Heaven. For that body is there only in a sign vertually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in spirit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of it. For we receive vertually only Christs body in the Sacrament.

Glin.

How then (if it please your good Lordship) doth Baptism differ from this Sacrament? For in that we receive Christ also by grace and vertually.

Rochester.

Christ worketh otherwise in Baptism, than in the Sacramental bread.

Christ is present after another sort in Baptism than in this Sacrament; for in that he purgeth and washeth the Infant from all kind of sin, but here he doth feed spiritually the receiver in Faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in Heaven still really and substantially. As for example, The Kings Majesty our Lord and Master, is but in one place, wheresoever that this Royal person is abiding for the time, and yet his mighty Power and Authority is every where in his Realms and Dominions: So Christs real person is only in Heaven substantially placed, but his Might is in all things created effectually. For Christs flesh may be understood for the power or inward Might of his flesh.

Glin.

Objed.

If it please your Fatherhood, Saint *Ambrose* and Saint *Augustine* do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ.

Madew.

Answer.

Indeed it is the very body of Christ Sacramentally after the consecration, whereas before it is nothing but common bread, and yet after that it is the Lords bread, and thus must St. *Ambrose* and St. *Augustin* be understood.

¶ *Here the Proctors commmanded the Opponent to divert the second conclusion, but he requested them that they would permit him as long in this matter, as they would in the second, and so he still prosecuted the first matter as followeth.*

Glin.

Well cavilled my little Papist.

THe bread after consecration doth feed the soul, *Ergo*, the substance of common bread doth not remain. The Argument is good, for S. *Ambrose De Sacramentis* saith thus, After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the Prophet *Elias* did turn the nature of Water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and Man?

Madew.

That of Book S. *Ambrose* is suspected to be none of his works.

Rochester.

So all the Fathers say.

Glin.

I do marvel at that, for S. *Austin* in his Book of Retractations maketh plain that that was his own very work.

Rochester.

He speaketh indeed of such a Book so intituled, to Saint *Ambrose*, but yet we do lack the same Book indeed.

Glin.

Cyprian.

Well, let it then pass to other Mens judgments. What then say you to holy S. *Cyprian* 1200 years past? Who saith That the bread, which our Lord gave to his Disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and by the Almighty word was made flesh.

Madew.

I do answer thus, That this word flesh may be taken two ways, either for the substance it self, or else for a natural property of a fleshly thing. So that *Cyprian* there did mean of a natural property, and not of fleshly substance. And contrariwise in the Rod of *Aaron*, where both the substance and also the property was changed.

Glin.

Ambrose.

Holy Saint *Ambrose* saith, the body there made by the mighty power of Gods Word is the body of the Virgin *Mary*

Rochester.

That is to say, that by the Word of God the thing hath a being, that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in Heaven by this Sacramental body.

Glin.

By your patience (my Lord) if it be a body of the Virgin (as S. *Ambrose* saith) which we do consecrate as Ministers by Gods holy Word, then must it needs be more than a sacramental, or spiritual body; yea a very body of Christ indeed, yea the same that is still in Heaven without all moving from place to place, unspeakably, and far passing our natural reason, which is in this mystery so captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively Faith to Gods Word. But let this pass. You do grant that this bread both quicken or give life, which if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a supersubstantial bread.

Rochester.

So doth the effectual and lively Word of God, which for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for the Divine essence infuseth it self unspeakably into the faithful receiver of the Sacrament.

Glin.

Damascene.

How then say you to holy *Damascene* a Greek Author, who, as one *Tritenius* faith, flourished one thousand years past; he saith thus, The body that is of the Holy Virgin *Mary* is joyned to the Divinity after the consecration in verity, and indeed: not as the body once assumpted into Heaven, and sitting on the Fathers right Hand, doth remove from thence and cometh down at the consecration time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transumpted into the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If (saith he) thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to pass, let it be enough to thee to believe that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and we do know no more but that the living Word of God is working and Almighty, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us: and no great marvel, saith he, for we cannot well express how the material bread, wine, or water are transumpted naturally into the same body and blood of the receiver, and be become another body than they were before. So saith this great ancient Clerk, also this Shewbred with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, into Christs body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.

Rochester.

Rochester.

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First I deny (Master Doctor) that *Damascene* was one thousand years past; Secondarily, I say that he is not to be holden as an ancient Father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable Doctrine, as the worshipping of Images and such like. Thirdly, I say that indeed God by his holy Spirit is the worker of that which is done in the Sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common Bread and Wine spiritually into the Lords Bread and Wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lords Word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the substances; for there is no other change there indeed, than there is in us, which when we do receive the Sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Christs Body, Bones and Blood, not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace, much like as *Isaiah* saw the burning Coal, even so we see not there the very simple Bread as it was before the Consecration; for an Union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore if we be joyned to Christ receiving the Sacrament, then there is no adnihilation of Bread, which is, when it is reduced to nothing, as it is in your feigned Transubstantiation.

Damascene expounded.

A spiritual mutation of the bread and wine, but no mutation of the substance.

Glin.

So I perceive you would have me to grant that the Sacrament is but a figure, which *Theophylactus* doth deny.

Rochester.

You say truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure.

Theophylact expounded.

Glin.

Whereas Saint *Paul* saith, That we being many are one Bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one material Bread, as you do here, *Ergo*, he speaketh of heavenly Bread. And holy *Chrysostome* upon *Matthew* saith, That the Paschal Lamb was a figure, but the mystery is the verity. For the Disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christs Blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figue for a figure, but the clear verity instead of the figure, as Saint *John* saith, Grace and verity was given by Christ. Dost thou see Bread? (saith *Chrysostome*) doth it avoid or pass as other meats do which we receive? God forbid. *Ergo*, &c.

The Paschal Lamb a figure.

Madew.

That ancient Clerk *Origen* upon the 15. of St. *Matth.* saith thus, As touching that which is material in the Sacrament, it descendeth and isflueth out as other nutriments do, but as concerning that which is celestial, it doth not so.

The materials parts of the Sacrament flue out as other meats do.

Glin.

Chrysostome, Homily 83. upon *Matthew* saith, That we cannot be deceived of Christs Word, but our natural sences may be deceived in this point very soon and easily; his said words cannot be false, but our sences be many times beguiled of their judgments. Because therefore that Christ said, *This is my body*, let us not at any hand doubt (saith he) but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after in that place he saith thus, It was not enough that he was become man, and afterwards was scourged for us, but also he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him, not through Faith only, but in very deed also he maketh us his Body. And after that he saith, that these works are not of mans power. But the same things that he wrought in his last Supper, he now worketh also by his Precept to his right Ministers, and we do occupy the place of the same Ministers, but he it is that doth sanctifie and transumpt the creatures, he performeth still the same.

Rochester.

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M. Doctor, you must understand, that in that place S. *Chrysostome* sheweth us that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last Supper.

Glin.

Honourable Sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his Disciples no sensible thing in substance, but a thing insensible, his own precious Body and Blood, under the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it seemeth, *Theophylactus* best knew the meaning of *Chrysostome*, because all Authors accept him as a faithful Interpreter of him. And he hath these same plain words transelemented and transformed. Also *Theophylactus Alexandrinus super Marcum*, *Cyrillus*, and Saint *Augustine* saith, That before the Consecration it is Bread, but afterwards it is Christs very Body. In like manner Saint *Augustine* upon the 33. *Psalm* saith, that in the last Supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but Saint *Austin* saith it there for a miracle. *Irenæus* in his Fifth Book is of the same mind. And Saint *Austin* saith, I do remember my words, &c. The Law and Figures were by *Moses*, but the Verity and Body came by Christ.

Rochester.

Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this, If you will receive, and understand he is *Elias*, for a property, but indeed he was not *Elias*, but *John* the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his Body, when it was very Bread. But better then the common Bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ.

¶ Here Master *Langdale* replied to Doctor *Madew*.

Langdale.

Right worshipful Master Doctor, by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your Position, even now before this honourable Audience, the which, as me seemeth, are not consonant to the truth of Gods Word. The first is as touching Christs saying, I will not from henceforth drink any more of the Fruit of the Vine, until I drink it new with you, &c. Which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret as though nothing else remained after the Consecration, but very Wine still. Whereof I do not a little marvel; seeing that most famous Clerk *Erasmus*, whose authority and sentence you refuse at this perfent only, yet nevertheless is very worthy, in this matter, of far better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend to alledge him before this learned and honourable Auditory. He plainly affirmeth that for all his great labour in searching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the Evangelists or yet in the Apostolical Doctrine, that it might be, or was called Wine, after the Consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be so open and plain, as in your declaration you seem to make it, that such a profound Clerk as he was, could not find it out. For that said place he intreated of in his Paraphrases, in his Annotations, and in others of his Lucubrations, and yet he plainly denyeth that same very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is Wine, or may be so called after the Consecration duely performed by a right Minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this so weighty a matter of Christian Religion, as I do his.

Two things noted in M. Madews position.

The saying of Erasmus of the Lords Supper.

Madew.

No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But to content your mind in this point; It is most constant and sure, that *Erasmus* was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to believe Christs Body and Blood to be in the Sacrament in what manner or condition soever it were.

Langdale.

{KING Edw.6}

Langdale.

Erasmus his opinion of the Sacrament. {Ann. 1549} *Enough to believe Christ to be present in the Sacrament any manner of way.*

By your licence, good Master Doctor, these be *Erasmus* words. The Church of Christ hath determined very lately Transubstantiation in the Sacrament. It was of a long season enough to believe Christs body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet, saith he, after that the said Church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgment, then she made a more certain determination of the same. In the which place, 1 *Cor.* 7. *Erasmus* saith, That the proceeding of the Holy Ghost equally from the Father and the Son, was also determined of the same Church. But let this pass. And as touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of *Tertullian* from the verity of his mind; for you said, that he doth interpret the Prophet *Malachy*, speaking of our daily Sacrifice in the New Law, to mean nothing else by that Sacrifice in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient Clerk *Tertullian* hath not those words that you do alledge of him, that is to say (Nothing else.) And yet though that *Oecolampadius* doth so interpret that place, yet (as me seemeth) the judgment of the whole Christian Church is to be preferred in such a matter of Religion. But I will pass over this point, and return to the matter it self. And first I do require of your Mastership, whether that this sentence, *This is my body*, be spoken of Christ figuratively or not.

Tertullian his interpretation upon Malachy.

Madew.

After the mind of the common Glos of *Cyprian* and *Origen*, it is so taken in very deed.

Langdale

That cannot be by your patience, for it is taken there substantially; *Ergo*, not figuratively.

Madew.

I deny your Argument.

Langdale.

I prove my Argument good, thus; This word substance doth plainly repugn, and is contrary to this word figure; *Ergo*, substantially and figuratively do also repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not; Bread is Christs body.

Madew.

A true proposition, bread is Christs body.

Yea forsooth, it is a true proposition.

Langdale.

Then thus to you, Christs body was given for us, but you say, that Bread is Christs body; *Ergo*, Bread was given for us.

Rochester.

Not so Sir, for your former propofition is of double understanding.

Langdale.

Well, yet you Mr. Doctor do grant that Christ is substantially in the Sacrament.

Madew.

No I deny that I said so ever.

Langdale.

Yea? do you so? Well, I pass not thereupon greatly, for I will prove it by another means. Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us, really and substantially; *Ergo*, he is also in the Sacrament substantially. The Argument is good, because that it is the same here that was there crucified for us, howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally, but there visibly, and after a mortal and most bloudy manner.

Christ not substantially in the Sacrament.

Rochester.

Master *Langdale*, your Argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here in the Sacrament after such a sort, as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was betrayed and crucified in his natural body substantially and really in very deed; but in the Sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively only.

Christ crucified substantially, but yet is in the Sacrament figuratively.

Langdale.

By your good Lordships favour that is not so, for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed by the power of his mighty Word, yea even his very own natural Body under the Sacrament duly performed by the lawful Minister.

Madew.

O say not so, for you speak blasphemy.

Langdale.

No, no, Master Doctor, God forbid that either I or any man else should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do no less.

Rochester.

O Mr. *Langdale*, I wis it becometh you not here to have such words.

Langdale.

If it like your good Lordship, I gave not the first occasion of them, but only did refute that which I was unjustly burthened withal, as reason doth require, and it grieved me to hear it. He saith, if it please your Lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no less, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient Fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any Doctor say, That there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also; *Ergo*, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which by Christs words must needs be his own blessed body.

A question whether the bread be changed in accidents or substance.

Rochester.

Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substances, or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, insomuch that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of vertue which they had not before.

No change of the substances, nor yet of the accidents in the Sacrament.

¶ *Here is to be noted, That* Peter Martyr *in his answer at* Oxford, *did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which in* Cambridge, *by the Bishop Dr.* Ridley *was denied.*

Langdale.

By your patience, reverend Father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the Mysteries of our Christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. A man may also wring that

How Scripture may be abused to any purpose, as commonly by the Papists we see.

to be understood thus, This is the image of my welbeloved Son; or, This is the vertue of my welbeloved Son; yea, much more justly than your good Lordship doth the other; because St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place he calleth him the power or vertue of God, and Gods Wisdom. Now though he be so called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him only Gods image or Gods vertue, and not God himself.

Rochester.

A figurative speech sometimes where hurtful, sometimes not. O gentle Master *Langdale*, you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figurative speech is nocive somewhere, but not every where, nor in this matter.

Langdale.

A Simile sometimes where this is my body, should seem no figurative speech. Yet by your licence, honourable Father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, *This is my body which is given for you*, and that for this reason; Christ did exhibite or give again the very same things at his last Supper, by the which things he was joyned to us; but he was joyned or knit unto us by his own natural flesh and blood; *Ergo*, he did exhibite to us at his last Supper no less again. My former proposition I prove by the testimony of Saint *Chrysostome*, whose words in Christs person are these; I would be your Brother, I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes, and even by the same things that I am joyned to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again, &c.

¶ *Here the Proctors commanded* Langdale *to give place to another.*

Rochester.

We are not joyned by natural flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above.

¶ *Here Mr.* Segwick *replied.*

{Anno 1549. Whether the article of the next Gender (*this*) be referred to the bread or to the body. RIght worshipful master Doctor, I do also ask of you first of all, whether the *Greek* Article (*this*) of the neuter Gender, be referred to the word (*bread*) or to the word (*body*:) if it be referred to the word (*bread*) then Christ would not have said (*this*) in the neuter Gender, but rather (*this*) in the masculine Gender.

Rochester.

Forsooth that Article is referred to neither of both, but may signifie unto us any other kind of thing.

Segwick.

Bread taken diversly in the Scripture. No forsooth, but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of Articles, in the *Greek*, doth notifie unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the Sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient Fathers. Moreover this word (*bread*) is not always in the Scriptures taken after one sort: Wherefore I desire you to shew me how it is taken in this place of St. *Paul*, *We that are many, are one bread*, &c.

Madew.

Forsooth of the very wheaten bread.

Segewick.

Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread.

Rochester.

How we are bread, and how not. Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and unity that is noted by the coagulation of many grains into one bread or loaf.

{KING Edw. 6}

Segewick.

Well let that pass, then thus. It is the body, *Ergo*, no figure; because there is a perpetual contrariety between the Law of *Moses* and the Law of Grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the verity indeed.

Rochester.

How the bread is Christs body. I do grant it to be Christs true body and flesh, by a property of the natute assumpted to the Godhead, yea, and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain real property.

Segewick.

It is not the figurative Paschal Lamb, it is not the figurative *Manna*, nor yet the figurative shew-bread, &c. *Ergo*, It is no figure.

Madew.

I deny your Argument.

Segewick.

I maintain my Argument thus. All the shadows are wholly past; *Ergo*, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow: if then it be but a figure, all the figures are not past as yet; but that is false; *Ergo*, so is the other.

Rochester.

The bread but a figure, and how. It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Christ; as it is said of *John* the Baptist, he is *Elias*, not that he was so in deed or person, but in property and vertue he represented *Elias*.

Segewick.

So: But most learned Father, when Christ said, *I am the way, the truth, and the life*, may it be understood as you do the other place thus, I am the vertue of the way, verity and the life? But now to the matter it self. It is verily meat, *Ergo*, it is not figuratively.

Madew.

This Verb or word (*is*) in this place is taken for that that signifieth.

Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.

Segewick.

Christ not offered, but received in Spirit. NOw as touching our second Conclusion, this I say. Whesoever Christ is, there is a Sacrifice propitiatory; but in the Lords Supper is Christ; *Ergo*, in the Lords Supper is a Sacrifice propitiatory.

Madew.

Christ is not offered in the Lords Supper, but is received spiritually.

Segewick.

The Priesthood and the Sacrifice be correspondent together; but Christs Priesthood after the order of *Melchisedech* is perpetual; *Ergo*, also so is his Sacrifice.

Rochester.

Christs Sacrifice offered once for all, is only sufficient without any other. Christs Sacrifice an end of all Sacrifices. Christ is a Priest for ever, that is to say, his Priesthood, and Sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him.

Segewick.

{KING Edw. 6}

Segewick.

Where there is no oblation, there is no Sacrifice; *Ergo*, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual Sacrifice. *Item*, the same bloudy Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross was the very fine and end of all the bloudy Sacrifices figured in the Law after the order of *Aarons* Priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant that he offered himself also at his last Supper after the order of *Melchisedech*, under the forms of bread and wine; or else you must shew the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done, but at his last Supper only, after an unbloudy manner. *Item*, He is offered for the remission of sins daily; *Ergo*, he is a Sacrifice propitiatory still in the new Law, as Saint *Augustine* saith, expounding these words of the *Psalme*, *Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but*, &c.

Rochester.

Saint *Cyprian* speaketh much like that sort, where he saith thus, It is the Lords Passion, which we do offer, &c.

Segewick.

In the old law there were many Sacrifices propitiatory; *Ergo*, There be also in the new Law; or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they, which must be especially the most part daily Sacrifice of Christs body and bloud, that holy *Malachy* speaketh of.

Madew.

What Sacrifice is it that *Malachy* speaketh of. As touching the place of *Malachy* the Prophet, I answer, That it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the Sacrament. For that Sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of Gods holy Word, of prayer, and of thankfgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ.

Here Mr. Segewick *was commanded to cease to Mr.* Young.

Young.

The words of Scripture ever effectual. WOrshipful Master Doctor, although you have learnedly and clerkly defended these your Conclusions this day; yet seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you. It hath pleased Christ to make us partakers of his holy Spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope and charity; *Ergo*, much more of his own blessed body and bloud, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lords Supper. *Item*, the Angels food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called *Manna*; *Ergo*, also this celestial and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that, but without comparison better; and so no very Wheat, after due Consecration of it. *Item*, the words of holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working; *Ergo*, they must perform the thing indeed that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did by changing Water into Wine at a Marriage in *Galilee*. But Christ in the Scripture did promise, *John 6. that the bread that he would give is his flesh indeed*, which promise was never fulfilled till in his last Supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body*. Which bread then was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, thus, *which flesh I will give for the life of the world*. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the Cross; *Ergo*, the first was likewise at his last Supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last promised and performed.

Rochester.

Indeed the words of holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and throughly by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God.

Young.

Man is nourished by the force of Christs his bloud by faith, but not by drinking it really in the cup. If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christs bloud, *Ergo*, then it is his bloud indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward sense, which be deceived; for Christ saith, *This is my bloud*; And also, *My bloud is drink indeed*. And because that we should not abhor his blessed bloud in his natural kind, or his flesh if they should be so ministred unto us; of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures, that is to say, of bread and wine. Also our body is fed with Christs body, which is meat indeed, but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present; *Ergo*, Christs body that feedeth us must needs be present in very deed in the Sacrament. *Item*, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is one and the same thing; *Ergo*, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is S. *Cyprians de cæna Domini*, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature.

Rochester.

Cyprian excused. *Cyprian* there doth take this word nature for a property of nature only, and not for the natural substance.

Young.

That is a strange acception, that I have not read in any Author before this time; but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christs body cannot be there where his body is not; but the communion of Christs body is in the Sacrament: *Ergo*, Christs body is there present in very deed.

Rochester.

Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christs body sitting in Heaven.

Young.

Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones.

Rochester.

We be not consubstantial with Christ, but joyned to him by the holy spirit. We be not consubstantial with Christ, but we are joyned to his mystical body through his holy Spirit, and the Communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually through the benefit of his flesh in Heaven.

Young.

Well, I am contented, and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to accept me of my great rudeness and imbecility, which I have here shewed.

Here ended the first Disputation, holden at Cambridge *the 20th of June, 1549.*

¶ *The second Disputation holden at* Cambridge *the 24th day of* June *1549.*

Dr. Glin *to his first Conclusion.*

Mysteries may better be believed, that curiously search. THe Mysteries of Faith (as *Augustine* witnesseth) may very profitably be believed, but they cannot well be searched forth, as saith the Scripture, *I believed, therefore I spake; and he that confesseth me before men, him will*

will I confesse before my Father which is in Heaven. We believe every man in his Art, therefore much more Christ our Saviour in his Word. Marvel not most honourable Lords and worshipful Doctors that I speak thus now, for once you your selves spoke the same. But peradventure some will say, Believe not every spirit. I answer, Charity believeth all things, but not in all things. If those things which I shall utter be convinced as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the words of truth, *Hoc est corpus meum, This is my body*; Christ spake them, therefore I dare not say, This bread is my body, for so Christ said not, Christ said thus, *This is my body*, and therefore I, but dust and ashes, yea a worm before him, dare not say, this is a figure of his body; *Heaven and Earth*, saith he, *shall pass, but my Word shall not pass*. Whatsoever our old Father *Adam* called every creature, that is his name to this day; the new *Adam* Christ Jesus said. *This is my body*, and is it not so? He never said, This is a figure of my body, nor Eat you this figure or sign of my body. And therefore when the Paschal Lamb was set before him, he said not, this is my body. Wherefore if at the day of Judgment Christ should say to me, Why hast thou believed that this is my body? I would answer him, because thou hast so called it. I believed it not to be a figure, because thou saidst not that it was a figure. Other reasons to avouch I know not. Of the word it self I contend not, but the thing it self I defend. for we must speak regularly. Thus Christ, thus the Apostles, thus all the ancient Fathers have spoken, our Fathers had but only figures and shadows; but the Church of God hath the truth it self with the signs. *Tertullian* saith, one figure containeth not another: but *Melchisedech* was a figure; *Ergo*, this is the body. The Sacraments of the *Jews* were signs and tokens; but ours be both the signs and the thing signified also. *Luther* himself confessed, That the body was present with the bread, and could not deny it. *Oecolampadius* took it for a figure only. *Chrysostome* demanding wherefore Christ gave his body before his passion, rather than at any other time; answereth, That he might tie the truth to the figure, saying, *Take, eat, this is my body*, not a figure of my body. And the same *Chrysostome* saith again, If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his Disciples have been offended in eating a figure. Again, in his eighty third Homily upon *Matthew*, They are not any human works which he did work at his last Supper, he it is that worketh, he maketh perfect, we are his Ministers, but it is he that sanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and bloud. Again, Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they pass into the Privy like other meats? God forbid, *&c. Theophilus Alexandrinus* upon these words of *Mark* the Evangelist, *This is my body*, saith, This which I give, and which you receive, is not only bread, or a figure of Christs body, but the truth it self; for if it should appear, as it is, in form of flesh and bloud, we should loath it, and therefore the Lord, condescending to our weakness, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet converteth the same into the truth of his body and bloud. *Theophylactus* saith, the bread and the wine is the very body and bloud of Christ, and not a figure only. If you stand in suspence of the Author, or approve him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken amongst all the learned for a most faithful interpreter of *Chrysostome*; The bread (saith he) is transelementate, and transmuted into another substance than it was before. *Augustine* saith there was great heed taken in the Primitive Church, lest any part of the Sacrament should fall down to the ground. *&c. Cyrillus* saith, Left we should abhor flesh and bloud in the Sacrament of the Altar, God humbleth himself to our weakness, pouring and infusing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his own blessed body and bloud. *Damascene* calleth it a Divine body, or a body deified. *Origene, Irenæus, Eusebius, Hieronymus*, with all the rest of the ancient Catholick Fathers, are of the same opinion with me, all which to produce it were too long.

As Christ called not the bread a figure, so he speaking figuratively at other times, called them not plain figures, though they were so.

The Sacraments of the Jews were figures of Christ to come; ours of Christ already come.

{KING Edw.6}

The declaration of Doctor Glin *upon his second Conclusion.*

THe Sacrifice and offering up of Christs body in the Sacrament of the Altar (right honourable and worshipful) I will defend even to the effusion of bloud, as a thing consonant to Scripture, whereof *Paul* speaketh to the *Hebrews*. But perchance some will object, Christ offered up himself; *Ergo*, you ought not to offer him. I answer, yea, because he offered himself, therefore I offer him, for except he had offered himself, I could not have offered him. But you will say, Christs death is sufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I answer, so may we say, we need neither to fast nor pray, for Christ hath done both sufficiently for us. Again, you will object, if you offer him up again, you crucifie him anew. I answer not so, for many have offered him that have not crucified him, as *Abraham, Isaac, Moses*, the *Levites, Anna, Samuel*. We offer Christ, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not only a commemoration thereof, but also the very presence of Christs body and bloud. *Irenæus* saith, Christ counselled his Disciples to offer the first fruits of all their Goods to God, not that he needed any of them, but for that they should not shew themselves fruitless or ungrateful, and therefore Christ took the creature of bread, gave thanks, and said, *This is my body*, and likewise the creature of the Cup, and confessed, saying, *This is my bloud of the New Testament*. Thus Christ hath taught a new kind of oblation, which the Church receiving from the Apostles, offereth to God throughout all the whole world, who only giveth unto us all kind of food, and the first fruits of his gracious gifts in the New Testament, whereof *Malachy* thus saith, *I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts, I will not receive any sacrifices at your hands, because my name is glorified amongst the Nations from the East to the West, saith the Lord, and in every place is incense and pure sacrifice offered to my Name.*

Christ hath offered himself; *Ergo*, no man ought to offer him.

Christ is the only true sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more.

But here it may be objected, Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more. I answer, notwithstanding we have this Commandment, *Do this in remembrance of me*, and although I deny not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it is an only commemoration; I deny his absence, and I affirm his presence.

*Here endeth the Declaration of Dr.*Glin.

Master *Perne.*

WHereas you say (most reverend Master Doctor) in your proposition, I believed, and therefore I spake, and we believe, and therefore do speak, our Consciences suggesting the same unto us; and again, that Mysteries are not to be searched, and the like; it seemeth you go about to restrain the searching of holy Scriptures, where as Christ saith *Scrutamini Scripturas, Search the Scriptures*. Moreover, you have cited the Fathers confusedly, and without order; you left Transubstantiation, and endeavour your self to prove the real presence in the Sacrament, whereas we deny nothing less than his corporal presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread.

The Papists refrain the use of Scriptures.

Glin.

You inveigh wonderfully you know not against what; for neither I, nor yet *Augustine* do deny the searching of the Scriptures, but I said out of *Augustine*, Mysteries are not to be searched; it is another thing to search Mysteries, than it is to search the Scriptures; whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the Doctors, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of time so to do; but if you desire me so earnestly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will easily fulfil your request.

Perne.

I pray you, let me ask you, what is a Sacrament?

Glin.

{KING Edw.6}

Glin.

A Sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace.

Perne.

Augustine against *Maximinus* the *Arian* Bishop, maketh this definition of a Sacrament. A Sacrament is a thing signifying one thing, and shewing another thing.

Glin.

I refuse not his reason.

Perne.

What is the thing figured by the Sacrament?

Glin.

The thing figured is twofold, to wit, the thing contained and signified, and the thing signified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Christ, the mystical body, and the fruit or benefit of the Sacrament.

Perne.

The forms and signs of bread nourish not; *Ergo*, somewhat else besides the bare sign of bread doth remain, which nourisheth, that is the substance of bread; for in every Sacrament there is a similitude between the sign and the thing signified; but betwixt the body of Christ, and the form or kind of bread, there is no similitude; *Ergo*, the nature of a Sacrament is taken away.

Glin.

I deny your Minor Mr. Doctor.

Perne.

The forms nourish not; but the body nourisheth; *Ergo*, there is no similitude betwixt them, and so is the nature of a Sacrament clean destroyed.

Glin.

It is sufficient to similitudes that the bread which was doth nourish; and yet certain Doctors do affirm, that the Forms do nourish miraculously.

Rochester.

Whosoever taketh away all the similitude of substances, consequently he taketh away the Sacrament; for a similitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unity and conversion. But by a contrary similitude, he is not changed into our substance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the similitude, that as our bloud nourisheth our bodies, so the bloud of Christ doth nourish us, but after a wonderful manner, to wit, by turning us into himself.

Glin.

{Anno 1549} I have answered your reason (most reverend Father) in that I said that the forms do nourish miraculously, as certain learned men do affirm.

Perne.

By what authority can you say that bread doth not remain?

Glin.

By authority of Christ, who saith, *This is my body.*

Perne.

By the same reason may we say that bread still remaineth; for Saint *Paul* calleth it bread sundry times in his Epistles.

Glin.

I deny not that it is bread, but that it is material bread; for *Paul* always addeth this Article *(which)* betokening (as all men hold) some chief thing.

Perne.

We are changed into a new creature.

Glin.

Not substantially, but actually.

Rochester.

This is that bread which came down from Heaven Ergo, it is not Christs body, for his body came not from Heaven.

Glin.

We may say that Christ, God and Man, came down from Heaven, for the unity of his person, or else for the mutual community of the same his two natures in one; for his human nature I know came not from Heaven.

Christs body came not from heaven.

Rochester.

The bread is his human nature; but that human nature of his came not from Heaven; *Ergo*, neither the bread.

Glin.

It is true that the bread came not from Heaven as bread simply, but as celestial and heavenly bread. But I will answer to that, whereas you hold that the body of Christ came not from Heaven; I by the body and flesh of Christ do understand whole Christ, neither separating his soul, nor yet his Deity, although his Humanity is not turned into his Divinity by confusion of substance, but is one by unity of both. Or else thus I may reason, the God of glory is crucified, and the Son of *Mary* created the World, *&c.*

Rochester.

So it is. But he is called a Rock and a Vine, and so after your judgment he is both a material Rock, and also a material Vine.

Christ is called a Rock, a Vine, but in a figure.

Glin.

The circumstances there shew plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, *I am the Vine, you are the branches*; but here is no trope. For after these words, *This is my body*, he addeth, *which is given for you.*

Rochester.

Your judgment herein is very gross, and far discrepant from the truth.

The judgment of the Papists very gross.

Glin.

If my judgment in this be gross (most revered Father) then are all the ancient Fathers as gross in judgment as I in this point, and the Catholick Church also.

Perne.

Shew us one place, or one Doctor, who saith that it remaineth not bread after the Consecration.

Glin.

I wonder that you are not ashamed to ask that of me; for have you not had almost infinite places and Doctors alledged to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you requeſt at my hands?

Perne.

Chriſt took bread, and gave bread.

He took bread, he brake bread; *ergo*, it is bread.

Glin.

I have anſwered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread, but not only, or material.

Perne.

A Sacrament conſiſteth of a double matter.

Irenæus affirmeth that a Sacrament conſiſteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly; *ergo*, the bread remaineth.

Glin.

Irenæus in that place by the earthly matter, meaneth the Humanity of Chriſt, and by the heavenly matter the Deity of Chriſt.

Rocheſter.

The Humanity and the Divinity of Chriſt make not a Sacrament, which conſiſteth of a viſible and an inviſible nature; and I deny that *Irenæus* can [illegible] God: Therefore we deſire the learned Auditory [illegible] *Irenæus* at home, as opportunity will ſerve for this matter.

Glin.

I wiſh them ſo to do alſo with all my heart.

Here Maſter Grindal *beginneth to diſpute.*

Grindal.

Grieſtal replieth.

WHereas you ſay (worſhipful Mr. Doctor) that we ſpeak not now as ſometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you alſo judge not ſo now all things as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not, God reſpecteth no mans perſon. And whereas you ſay, that you dare not contrary to Chriſt call it a ſign or a figure, *Auguſtine* notwithſtanding, dareth to call it a figure, and *Tertullian* likewiſe, with many more.

Aug. Terul. with many more call it a figure.

Glin.

True it is, but they called it not a ſign or a figure only; but prove you, if you can, that after the Conſecration remaineth any other ſubſtance than the real body of Chriſt.

Grindal.

What the forms of bread and wine do nouriſh.

If the forms do nouriſh, as you contend, they nouriſh the natural and humane body, for they be both as one, and are nouriſhed alike.

Glin.

Your reaſon is meer phyſical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith; but I grant they nouriſh, but miraculouſly.

Grindal.

If you grant that the forms do nouriſh, then you grant that bread remaineth.

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Glin.

I ſaid even now that it is true, but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculouſly.

Grindal.

It remaineth bread and wine after the Conſecration.

If it be the real and ſubſtantial body of Chriſt, becauſe Chriſt ſaid, *This is my body*; *ergo*, becauſe the Lord ſaid, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, and *Paul* calleth it bread after the Conſecration, it is therefore bread and wine.

Glin.

Truly Sir, You muſt bring better Arguments, or elſe you will prove nothing for your purpoſe. For to your reaſons thus I anſwer, *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, Chriſt did drink of the bloud, but whether this ſentence, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*, be ſpoken of the bloud, it is not certain. And truly *Eraſmus* denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the Conſecration. Or elſe thus I may anſwer you. Even as it is called bread for the form and kind, and accidents which remain; ſo for the form and ſimilitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the Vine, after the Conſecration. And whereas *Chryſoſtome* ſaith, That the fruit of the Vine is nothing elſe but Wine; *Ergo*, Chriſt gave them Wine, and drank Wine himſelf alſo, and not bloud.

How it is called bread, and in what reſpect.

Chriſt called it wine, not bloud.

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Glin.

Chriſt ſaid twice, *I will not drink of the fruit of the Vine*; once at the eating of the Paſchal Lamb (as *Luke* ſaith) and then was it Wine indeed: And again, after the Conſecration of his body and bloud he ſaid the like, and then it was not Wine, which methink I can prove by the plain words of *Luke*, if we compare him with *Matth.* For if it were Wine as they both affirm, then the words of Chriſt cannot well ſtand, becauſe firſt (as *Luke* ſheweth) he ſaid at his legal Supper, *I will not drink of the fruit of this Vine, &c.* And again in *Matthew*, after the Conſecration of his body and bloud, *he drank*; it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not Wine by nature, for then muſt Chriſt needs be a lyer, which were blaſphemy to ſay.

Rocheſter.

Two places aſſoiled.

Auguſtine doth thus reconcile thoſe places, ſaying, it is ſpoken by a figure which we call *Hyſteron proteron.*

Glin.

I know that *Auguſtine* ſaith ſo; but methink that which I have ſaid ſeemeth to be the true meaning of the places.

Rocheſter.

Auguſtine ſeeketh no ſtarting holes, nor yet any indirect ſhifts to obſcure the truth.

Glin.

Say your Fatherhood what you will of *Auguſtine*, I think not ſo.

Grindal.

In theſe words, The is my body, is a Trope.

This Cup is the New Teſtament in my bloud; but here is a Trope; *Ergo*, in theſe words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, is a Trope alſo.

Glin.

I deny your Argument; for whereas *Luke* ſaith *this Cup*, *Matthew* ſaith, *this is my Blood*, and therefore as *Auguſtine*

{KING Ed. 6.} *guſtine* ſaith, places that be dark are to be expounded by other that be light.

Rocheſter.

All of your ſide deny that Chriſt ever uſed any Trope in the inſtituting of Sacraments.

Glin.

For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you your ſelf alſo do pretend the like.

Rocheſter.

A queſtion wherein conſiſteth the ſtrength of the Sacrament.

What underſtand you by this word (*hoc*, this) and in what words ſtandeth the force or ſtrength of the Sacrament? In this Pronoun (*Hoc*, this) or in this Verb (*Eſt*, is) or elſe in this whole ſentence, *This is my Body?*

Glin.

It is not made the true body except all the words be ſpoken, as in Baptiſm, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* For neither doth Baptiſm conſiſt in this word *Ego*, I, or in baptiſe, or in this word, *Te*, thee; or in theſe words, *In nomine*, In the Name, *&c.* but in all the words ſpoken in order.

Grindal.

To eat the Body of Chriſt a figurative ſpeech.

If to eat the Body of Chriſt be a figurative ſpeech, as *Auguſtine* ſaith it is, *ergo*, then theſe words, *This is my Body*, is a figurative ſpeech alſo.

Glin.

It is a figurative ſpeech, becauſe we eat not the Body of Chriſt after the ſame manner that we do other meats, *&c.*

Grindal.

Cyprian explained.

Cyprian underſtandeth this of thoſe that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lords Body, ſpeaking of the dijudication of the Sacraments, and not of the Body of Chriſt.

Glin.

Truly he ſpeaketh of the true Body of Chriſt.

Rocheſter.

They receive unworthily who neither judg themſelves, nor yet Sacraments, taking them as other common bread.

Grindal.

Auguſtine upon the Thirty third *Pſalm* ſaith, Chriſt bare himſelf in his own hands after a ſort, not indeed or truly, *&c.*

Glin.

You omit many other things which *Auguſtine* ſaith, and I confeſs that he carried himſelf in his own hands after a ſort, but *Auguſtine* delivereth this unto us as a great miracle. And you know it was no great miracle to carry a figure of his Body in his hands. And whereas you ſay that Chriſt carried himſelf after a ſort in his own hands. For Chriſt in the viſible figure bore himſelf inviſibly.

Grindal.

Tertullian calleth it a figure, *Ergo*, it is ſo.

Glin.

It is, as I have ſaid, a figure, but not a figure only.

But hear what *Tertullian* ſaith, he took bread and made it his Body, ſaying, *This is my Body*, &c.

Grindal.

Chryſ. Super Matthæum 11 cap. 5.

Hear what *Chryſoſtome* ſaith upon *Matthew*, *Homil.* 11. *ſuper Cap.* 5. If Veſſels ſanctified to holy uſes, *&c.*

Glin.

That works is received not as *Chryſoſtomes*, but ſome mans elſe as you know; or thus I anſwer, It is not the true Body in proper and viſible form.

Here Mr. Geſt Diſputed.

THE Bread is not changed before the Conſecration, *Ergo*, not after it neither.

Glin.

I deny your Argument, Mr. *Geſt.*

Geſt.

Chriſt gave earthly bread, *Ergo*, there is no Tranſubſtantiation.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Geſt.

That which Chriſt took he bleſſed, that which he bleſſed he brake, what he brake he gave; *Ergo*, he receiving earthly bread gave the ſame bread.

Glin.

Your order in reaſoning ſtandeth not; for by the ſame reaſon may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib and brought it unto *Adam*; *Ergo*, what he received he brought; but he received a rib, *Ergo*, brought a rib.

Geſt.

How is the Body of Chriſt in Heaven, and how in the Sacrament, whether circumſcriptively or definitively?

Glin.

The Body of Chriſt is in Heaven circumſcriptively, but not in the Sacrament. The Angels alſo are contained definitively. But I have learned that the Body of Chriſt is in the Sacrament, but not locally, nor circumſcriptively, but after an unſpeakable manner unknown to man.

Rocheſter.

Ah, know you not?

Glin.

Neither in other myſteries of Faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reaſon. For as my ſoul is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and ſo in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or ſound which all men hearing do underſtand: ſo the Body of Chriſt being one and the ſame is wholly in the Altar, and in many places elſe. For if God could do this in my ſoul, how much more in his own Body?

Rocheſter.

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Rochester.

I beseech you shew us what difference is betwixt these two, to be in a place circumscriptively and definitively.

Glin.

Your Lordship knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him read *August. ad Volusianum, & ad Dardanum*, &c.

Gest.

The bread not changed

If the Bread be changed, it is made the Body of Christ; but that is not so; *Ergo*, it is not changed.

Glin.

I deny your Minor.

Gest.

It is not generate or begot: *Ergo*, it is not the Body.

Glin.

That followeth not; as though to be made and to be generate or begot were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation, and so you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?

Gest.

The generation is the production of the accidents.

Glin.

A new definition of a new Philosopher.

Gest.

That which he took he blessed; that which he blessed he brake, and gave it unto them: *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

Christ took bread, brake bread, and gave his Body, that is, the substance of his Body: saying, *This is my Body.*

Gest.

The bread is not changed into the Blood of Christ: *Ergo*, not into his Body neither.

Glin.

I deny your Antecedent.

Gest.

The Master of the Sentences saith it.

Glin.

You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the Body of Christ by the power of Gods word.

Rochester.

Papists dream of Transubstantiation.

Ye dream of a real presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the Holy Scripture doth impugn.

Glin.

We say that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret vertue in the words it is brought to pass; for there is no power in one word alone, as before in Baptism, but in all the words duly prolated according to the custom of the ancient Catholick Church.

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Gest.

If there were any Transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain still, for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave; but the accidents remain not themselves alone; *Ergo*, &c.

Glin.

If there were Transubstantion there should remain no accidents.

I confess accidents cannot stand themselves alone by their own nature without a subject, but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of Philosophers, but of the Scriptures; although I could shew out of the Scriptures the accidents to have been without the subject; as in *Genesis*, the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as *Basil* beareth me record.

Here Master Pilkington *Disputed.*

Pilkington.

THIS one thing I desire of you, most worshipful Mr. Doctor, that you will answer me with like brevity as I shall propound. And thus I reason: the Body of Christ that was broken on the Cross is a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but the Sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Argument.

Pilkington.

It is a Syllogism.

Glin.

It is not so; for there be four termines. Touching this word Sacrament it is manifold; but thus I answer. If you take the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament, that is, the Body of Christ, then is your Minor Propolition true, and the matter of the Sacrament is the satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, but if you take the Sacrament for the sign, which we call a Sacrament, then is your Minor Propolition false.

Pilkington.

The Body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the Sacrament hath not satisfied; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

I deny your Minor, understanding the Sacrament for the matter of the Sacrament.

Pilkington.

The Sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of the Sacrament was begun; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

If you mean of the bare sign, only it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing signified, then what is spoken of the Body of Christ is spoken also of the thing of the Sacrament it self.

Pilking-

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Pilkington.

Transubstantiation is not a Sacrament; but that which I mean is a Sacrament; *Ergo*, that which I mean is not transubstantiated.

Glin.

I mean not that Transubstantiation is a Sacrament, neither do I say that the Sacrament is transubstantiate, but the bread.

Pilkington.

The Body of Christ is resiant in Heaven, and the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is in Heaven.

Glin.

A goodly reason forsooth; but I answer, he is after one sort in Heaven, and after another sort in the Sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the Sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumspectively, but in the Sacrament invisibly and Sacramentally.

Rochester.

Saint *Augustine* saith, Take away the spaces from the bodies and they shall be no where, and that which is no where is not at all; so whilest you take away the spaces and dimensions from the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, you bring to pass that it is not there at all.

Glin.

In that place *Augustine* speaketh of natural bodies, not of supernatural; otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entred in to his Disciples, the Gates being shut.

Rochester.

Of the Gates being shut a divers and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be he entred in before the Gates were shut, and afterward opened them being shut, &c.

Glin.

Then it could be no miracle; but the Evangelists and all found Interpreters say and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ.

Rochester.

Whether Christ entred in miraculously, the Gates being shut, or else open, the Scripture setteth not down.

Glin.

As Christ (the womb of the Virgin being shut up) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or apertion of her womb (for so he might have been polluted) so entred he through the doors to his Disciples miraculously.

Pilkington.

In the Body of Christ which was given for us there are no accidents of bread; but in the Sacrament there be accidents of bread; *Ergo*, in the Sacrament there is not the Body of Christ.

Glin.

In the matter of the Sacrament, that is, in the Body of Christ, are no accidents of bread, but accidents are the very Sacrament it self.

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Pilkington.

I beseech you, what do we eat, the substance or the accidents?

Glin.

Both as when we eat wholesome and unwholesome meats together, so we eat the substance of Christs body, and yet not without the accidents of bread.

Pilkington.

I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entreth in by the mouth, goeth into the Privie; but the accidents go in by the mouth, *Ergo*, into the Privie.

Glin.

This sentence, *Whatsoever entereth in by the mouth*, &c. is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Christ eat after his Resurrection.

Pilkington.

You shall not eat his Body which you see.

Glin.

That is, not after that manner as you see it now, not after the same visible form.

Pilkington.

Where Christ is, there be his Ministers also; (for so he promised) But Christ as you hold is in the Sacrament, *Ergo*, his Ministers are there also.

Where Christ is, there be his Ministers.

Glin.

To be with Christ is spoken divers ways, as in heart, in mind and place, and sometimes both; or to be with Christ is to minister unto him, and to do his will, &c.

The third Disputation holden at Cambridge *as before.*

Master *Perne.*

CHRIST at his last Supper took bread, brake bread; distributed bread; *Ergo*, not his body, but a Sacrament of his body; for the bones of Christ could no man break, as witnesseth the Prophet saying, *Os non comminuetis ex eo*, that is, *You shall not break a bone of him. This cup is the cup of the New Testament in my blood.* In this sentence there is a Trope by their own confession; wherefore there is in the other also, *This is my Body*; for the holy Scripture is a perfect rule not only of doing, but also of speaking. *Paul* calleth it bread three times, *Ergo*, it is bread, &c. And whereas they urge so much this Pronoun (*illum*) it is not in the *Greek* Canon which hath *Panem*, bread, not *Panem illum*, that bread. There was no Transubstantiation in the Manna; *Ergo*, nor in the Sacrament; for there is this particle, *est*, if that can prove Transubstantiation, as they suppose. And if Manna were a figure, say they, then this is not. This mystery or Sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure.

In every Sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, both of the intern and extern thing of the Sacrament, as *Augustine* saith, writing to *Bonifacius*; but betwixt the forms of Bread and Wine, and the Body of Christ there is no analogy at all, *Ergo*, they make not a sacrament. As of many grains, &c. This similitude of *Paul* is spoken of the substance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwise *Paul* should in vain compare us to bread. As in Bap-

There ought to be a certain analogy in every Sacrament between the thing that is signified, and the thing that is signified.

tism

{Anno 1549.} tism there is material water; so in the Sacrament of the Eucharist is material bread. *Dionysius* called the Sacrament of Christs body no otherwise than bread. *Eusebius in Ecclesiastica Historia* doth the same. *Tertullian, Lib.* 4. against *Marcion*, saith thus, *He gave his Body*, that is, saith he, a figure or type of his body. *Cyprian* saith, in his last Supper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the Cross. The same *Cyprian, Epist. 6. Lib.* 1. and *Epist.* 3. *Lib.* 2. saith, Christ drank wine at his last Supper, because he would root out the herefie of certain who only used water in the ministration thereof. *Chrysostome Hom.* 13. upon *Matthew* saith, That only bread remaineth, *&c. Theodoretus* saith in his first Dialogue, bread remaineth still in his first nature as before. *Augustine* saith, The bread doth not lose his first nature after the consecration, but receiveth another quality, whereby it differeth from common bread. The same *Augustine, Lib.* 3. against *Maximinus* saith, Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and shewing forth another thing; he speaketh of no Transubstantiation here. Again, writing to *Bonifacius* he saith, The Sacrament of the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ, and so is the Sacrament of Wine also, *&c.* The Sacraments of the old and new Law are all one in substance of matter, notwithstanding they be divers in signs: which Sacraments why should they not be one, when as they signifie all one thing? The body of Christ when it was on the earth was not in heaven; so now it being in heaven is not on the earth. Whereby it may appear that Transubstantiation is a most blasphemous, sacrilegious and damnable error, and a most vain, unsavoury, and Devillish Papistical invention, defended and maintained only by the Papists, the professed and sworn enemies of all truth. Those who impugn the Doctrine of Transubstantiation are no new upstarts, as the enemies of the truth the Papists bear the world in hand. But contrarily those who maintain this Devillish Doctrine are new sprung up Cockatrices, as *Manicheus, Eutiches*, and others. *Gelasius* saith, the Sacraments which we receive are Divine things; yet cease they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this puddle of Transubstantiation hath sprung up adoration of the Sacrament, and inducing men to believe that Christ hath many bodies.

Cyprian, Ep. 6. *Lib.* 2. *Epist.* 3. *ult.* 2.

Aug. ep. 1. *contra Maximinum.*

Transubstantiation a most blasphemous error.

The Declaration of the said Master Perne *in the second conclusion.*

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the Apostle *Paul*, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Christs body and blood, and *Paul* to the *Hebrews* saith, *By one only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal salvation*, &c. *By him therefore do we offer up the sacrifice of laud and praise to God, that is the fruit of the lips, &c.* It is called the Eucharist, because we offer to God praise and thanksgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thanksgiving, because we give thanks to God thereby also. *You shall preach forth the Lords death, &c.* That is, you shall give thanks and be mindful of his death, *&c. Give your bodies a quick and living sacrifice*, &c. *The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving shall honour me*, &c. *Chrysostome* saith, The wife men offered three kinds of sacrifices, Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh; so we do also, namely Vertue, Prayer, and Almesdeeds: These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased. And *Augustine* saith there are no other sacrifices than Prayer, Praise, and Thanksgiving, &c. *Chrysostome, Homil.* 46. upon *John* saith, To be converted or turned into Christ, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.

Why it is called the Eucharist.

No other Sacrifice, but only praise and thanksgiving.

There disputed against him Master Parker, *Master* Pollard, *Master* Vavisor, *and Master* Young.

Parker.

Three vain reasons to prove the bread to be transubstantiate.

CHRIST, whose words are to be believed, said, *This is my Body*; he said not, this bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread, but said plainly, *This is my Body*. And this he proved by these reasons: First, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the Manna which came down from heaven; all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly, it was promised in those words of Christ, *The bread that I will give is my flesh, &c.* Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last Supper, saying, *Take, eat, this is my Body.*

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Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker *replied thus against Doctor* Perne.

WE give thee thanks most holy Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And on the other side, to acknowledg our own infirmity and imperfection is the first step to the true understanding of the truth. *Nestorius* the Heretick affirmed, that there were two Persons in Christ, one that was man, another that was God: therefore he said that in the Eucharist was contained true flesh, but only of his pure manhood. Against him did the Council of *Ephesus* conclude, saying, That there was the real flesh of the Son of God, *&c.* this he proved by the words of Christ, *My flesh is meat indeed*: and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon the sixth of *John*, That is, quoth he, the flesh united to the Deity, and quickned by the Holy Ghost, *&c.* Now that that flesh is in the Sacrament, it is plain by *Hilar. l.* 8. *de Trinitate*; he proved the same also out of *Chrysostome, Homil.* 45. upon *John*, We are one body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones, &c. Again in the same Homily, We are joyned to his flesh, not only by faith and love, but also in very deed and truly. And again, it pleased me to become your brother, and by the same things wherein I was joyned to you, have I given my self again unto you, &c.

Hilarius lib. 8. *de Trinit. Chrysost. hom.* 45.

Perne.

Christ is in the Sacrament really after a sort.

I grant unto you that Christ is in the Sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner: I deny not his prefence, but his real and corporal prefence I utterly deny; for doubtless his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the Sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And also in the sixth Chapter of *John* he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucfied, &c.

Parker.

How Christs flesh giveth life.

The flesh of Christ, as it is in the Sacrament, is quick, and giveth life; *Ergo*, his real and substantial flesh is in the Sacrament.

Perne.

The flesh of Christ in that it is united unto the Deity, doth vivifie, and giveth life, but not otherwise.

Rochester.

How these words, *This is my Body*, are meant.

Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this Sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating, and indeed for the strengthening of us to the eating of this spiritual food was this Sacrament ordained. And these words, *This is my Body*, are meant thus, By grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose.

Parker.

There is a unity between man and woman yet no Transubstantiation.

We are joyned to Christ, not only by faith, but also in very deed, *Ergo*, &c.

Rochester.

Why it is called bread so often.

We are joyned to Christ, that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortality. And so in like case is there a union between man and woman; yet is there no transubstantiation of either, or both, &c.

Pollard.

The Sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing else, only because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures, and that

I prove

{KING Ed. 6.} I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact, as the Angels are called men, the Holy Ghost a Tongue, the Rod of *Aaron* a Serpent, and such like. The words of Christ do teach the same thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of *Canaan*: Daughter, *Jairus* Son, and many others, *&c.* Ergo, *&c.* Then he proved against *Rochester*, that somewhat else was in the Sacrament besides power and grace, by this reason, The evil receive the Body of Christ, as is plain out of *Augustine, Homil.* 21. *de verbis domini*; but the evil and wicked receive not the vertue, or grace; *Ergo*, there is not only grace and vertue in the Sacrament.

Rochester.

The evil receive not the Lord in the Sacrament.

The evil do not receive the Lord in the Sacrament, but the Sacrament of the Lord, as *Judas*, who in deed ate not the true Body of the Lord.

Pollard.

In the Sacrament be three things, to wit, an outward sign, the matter of the Sacrament, and the fruit of the same: the evil receive the outward sign, and the subject of the Sacrament, but not the fruit of the Sacrament: *Ergo*, there is somewhat else in the Sacrament than only Grace. Also every Sacrament ought to have a certain similitude with the matter of the Sacrament: but the material bread hath no such fimilitude with the Body of Christ, which is the matter of the Sacrament: *Ergo*, Material bread is not a Sacrament.

Perne.

I deny your Minor: for material bread doth so nourish the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soul.

Here he being requested gave place to others.

Mr. *Vavisor.*

THrough the shortnes of time I am so constrained, that neither I can speak without loss of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking (as I do) without great premeditation before this honourable, worthiful, and learned Audience, I shall but shew forth my childishness herein, and if I should hold my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of Gods cause. And therefore whilest I can neither speak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, Gods truth being in controversie, I have determined, (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reason of my faith, which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in saying nothing at all. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and unlearned amongst so many grave learned Fathers and Doctors, than to forsake the just defence of the Truth, which every good Christian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable. For who so forsaketh the manifest known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may overpass in *Berengarius, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius*, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no less variance amongst themselves, than uncertain of their faith what to believe. *Zuinglius* writeth thus of himself: Although this thing which I mean to entreat of doth like me very well, yet notwithstanding I dare define nothing, but only shew my poor judgment abroad to others, that if it please the Lord, others may be thereby instructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things. In vain do I spend many words; you see plainly he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it please God or not. *Oecolampadius* writing to a certain Brother of his, saith thus, Peace be with thee. As far as I can conjecture out of the learned Fathers, the words, *Joh.* 6. and, *This is my Body*, be figurative locutions, &c. You see hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions; they lean not to the Scriptures, to Doctors, nor yet to the Truth, but to supposals and conjectures: Who therefore hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your Oration, whose beginning pleaseth me very well, and whose progress therein offended me not, but in the end you concluded in such sort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the same. And herein you framed a syllogism after this manner: What Christ took, that he blessed; what he blessed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave: *Ergo*, what he received he gave, &c. Whereto I answer with a like syllogism out of *Genesis*; God took a rib out of *Adams* side; what he took he built; what he built he brought; what he brought he gave to *Adam* to be his wife; but he took a rib, *Ergo*, he gave a rib to *Adam* to wife, &c. Also in your said Oration you shoot much at those words of *Paul* where he calleth it bread so often, &c. But the Scripture in another place calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod when it was a plain serpent.

Uncertainty amongst the Doctors

{Ann. 1549.}

An answer to your comparison.

Rochester.

You have pretended great zeal and words enough, but what pith or substance your reasons will afford we shall see hereafter.

Vavisor.

Aug. tract 26. *in Psal.* 98.

Christ gave the same flesh to us which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural flesh of her: *Ergo*, he gave us true and natural flesh. My Major I prove by *Augustine* upon the 98 *Psalm.*

Rochester.

Mr. *Vavisor*, you are in a wrong Box; for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing.

Vavisor.

I know it very well, and therefore I alledg it as the ground of my reason. These be *Augustines* words, Christ of the earth received earth, and of the flesh of *Mary* he received flesh; acknowledg his substance therefore.

Rochester.

I acknowledg it.

Vavisor.

And in the very same flesh he walked here upon the earth; acknowledg his substance.

Rochester.

I acknowledg it.

Vavisor.

And the very same flesh he gave us to eat; acknowledg his substance.

Rochester.

I acknowledg not his real substance to be there, but the property of his substance.

Vavisor.

Then *Vavisor* recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real substance ought to be acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second; affirming it out of St. *Augustine*, who saith thus, The Disciples of Christ approaching the Lords Table, by faith drank the same blood which the tormentors most cruelly spilt, &c. but the tormentors spilt no figure of blood: *Ergo*, &c. This place will not permit the other so to be illuded.

Rochester.

It is no illusion, good Mr. *Vavisor*, but surely you would move a Saint with your impertinent reasons.

Vavisor.

I beseech your Fatherhood to pardon my rudeness, for surely I cannot otherwise speak without breach of conscience.

Perne.

That place of *Augustine* is to be understood of a spiritual kind of eating.

Vavisor.

I demand whether the faithful may receive spiritually, so as they need not to receive Sacramentally.

Perne.

They may.

Vavisor.

Then thus to you: to the spiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lords Table, for so it is the meat of the soul, not of the teeth; but the faithful come to the Lords Table: *Ergo*, that place is to be understood of a Sacramental eating. And again, *Augustine* saith that he carried himself in his hands.

Rochester.

{Ann. 1548}

Rochester.

Augustine sheweth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands after a certain sort or manner.

Varvisor.

True it is, that after one manner he sat at the Table, and after another manner was in the Sacrament.

Master *Young* here disputeth against *Perne* as followeth.

Young.

I Understand the meaning of this word *Proprietas*, propriety, well enough; for in *Hilary* and *Eusebius* it signifieth not the vertue or power of any substance or being, but rather a natural being or substance.

Rochester.

I commend your great diligence in searching of Authors, but in Divinity the matter standeth not so; for the propriety of essence in the Deity is the very essence, and whatsoever is in God is God.

Young.

True it is (most reverend Father) that this word *Proprietas*, propriety, in *Hilary* in his eighth Book *de Trinitate*, entreating there of the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken; but the same *Hilary* almost in the same place speaketh of our communion and unity with Christ, &c. *Tertullian* also writing of the Resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the flesh of our Saviour is that whereof our soul is allied to God, that is, it which causeth that our souls are joyned to him, but our flesh is made clean, that the soul may be purged; our flesh is anointed, that the soul may be made holy, the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory of the Spirit; Our flesh is clothed with the body and blood, that the soul may be fed and nourished of God.

When our bodies be fed with the Body and Blood of Christ.

Rochester.

The flesh indeed is fed with the Body and the Blood of the Lord, when our bodies by mortification are made like to his body. And our body is nourished, when the vertue and power of the Body of Christ doth feed us. The same *Tertullian* is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he meaneth a figure of the same.

Young.

Then by your leave it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needs be a Sacramental communion, which cannot be; *Ergo*, &c.

Here ended the third and last Disputation holden at Cambridge, 1549.

Answerers and Disputers in those Disputations at Cambridge.

This Disputation continued three days. In the first did answer Dr. *Madew*: against whom disputed Dr. *Glin*, Mr. *Langdale*, Mr. *Segewick*, Mr. *Young*.

In the second Disputation did answer Dr. *Glin*: Against whom disputed Mr. *Grindal*, Mr. *Perne*, Mr. *Geff*, Mr. *Pilkington*.

In the third Disputation answered Mr. *Perne*: Against whom disputed one Mr. *Parker*, (not Dr. *Matthew Parker*) Mr. *Pollard*, Mr. *Varvisor*, Mr. *Young*.

At length the Disputations ended, the Bishop of *Rochester*, Dr. *Nicolas Ridley*, after the manner of Schools, made this determination upon the foresaid Conclusions, as here followeth.

The Determination of Dr. *Nicolas Ridley*, Bishop of *Rochester*, upon the Conclusions above prefixed.

The determination of Dr. *Nicolas Ridley* upon the disputations.

THERE hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after Disputations had in your common Schools there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian Religion. Because therefore it hath seemed good unto these worshipful Assistants joyned with me in Commission from the Kings Majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will by your favourable patience declare, both what I do think and believe my self, and what also other ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterward ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

{KING Edw. 6}

The principal grounds or rather head-springs of this matter are specially five.

Five principal grounds to take a way Transubstantiation.

The first is the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture.

The second is the most certain testimonies of the ancient Catholick Fathers, who after my judgment do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable Heresie of Eutiches, *that may ensue of Transubstantiation.*

The fifth is the most sure belief of the Article of our Faith: He ascended into Heaven.

The first Ground.

Transubstantiation against the Scriptures.

This Transubstantiation is clean against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient Catholick Fathers. The Scripture saith, *I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the Vine*, &c. Now the fruit of this Vine is Wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the Supper was finished, as it appeareth both in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and also in *Luke*, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material: For it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the Majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture as in a thousand.

Scripture to be measured not by number but by authority.

Moreover, Christ took bread, he gave bread. In the *Acts Luke* calleth it bread. So *Paul* calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christs Body, for the Scripture saith, *Ye shall not break a bone of him.* Christ saith, *Do ye this in my remembrance.* St. *Paul* also saith, *Do ye this in my remembrance.* And again, *As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me.* And our Saviour Christ in the sixth of *John*, speaking against the *Capernaites*, saith, *Labour for the meat that perisheth not.* And when they asked, *What shall we do that we may work the works of God?* He answered them thus, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent.* You see how he exhorteth them to faith, *For faith is that work of God.* Again, *This is the bread which came down from Heaven.* But Christs Body came not down from Heaven. Moreover, *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My flesh* (saith he) *is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.* When they heard this, they were offended. And whilest they were offended, he said unto them, *What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?* Whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This Body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as St. *Augustine* saith. *It is the spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood.* These be the reasons which perswade me to incline to this sentence and judgment.

Exod. 12

1 Cor. 11

Joh. 6.

Joh. 6.

The second Ground.

The second ground against this Transubstantiation.

Now my second ground against this Transubstantiation are the ancient Fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of Transubstantiation, that plain they seem unto me, both to think and to speak the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain, that it needeth not to recite them.

Dionys. in Eccl. Histor.

Ignatius to the *Philadelphians* saith, *I beseech you Brethren cleave fast unto one Faith, and to one kind of Preaching, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: There is also one bread broken for us, and one Cup of the whole Church.*

Ignatius ad Philadelph.

Irenæus

{KING Edw. 6}

Irenæus lib. 4. Cap. 34.

Irenæus *writeth thus; Even as the Bread that cometh of the Earth receiving Gods vocation is now no more common bread, but Sacramental Bread, consisting of two natures, Earthly and Heavenly, even so our bodies receiving the Eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the Resurrection.*

Tertullianus

Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it a figure of his body, &c.

Chrysost. ad Cæsarium.

Chrysostom writeth to *Cæsarius* the Monk, albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds; for it seemeth to shew plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these.

Before the Bread is sanctified, we name it Bread: but by the grace of God sanctifying the same, through the ministry of the Priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lords body, although the very substance of Bread notwithstanding do still remain therein, and now is taken not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son, &c.

Cyprian lib. 1. Epist. 6.

Cyprian saith, *Bread is made of many Grains. And is that Natural Bread, and made of Wheat? Yea it is so indeed.*

Theodoretus.

The Book of *Theodoret* in Greek was lately printed at *Rome*, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there, especially seeing it is directly against Transubstantiation; For he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

Gelasius in Epist. de duabus naturis in Christo.

Gelasius also is very plain in this manner, *The Sacrament* (saith he) *which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a Divine matter: By reason whereof we are made partakers by the same of the Divine Nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of Bread and Wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the misteries,* &c.

Ifich. lib. cap. 8. Bertram.

After this he recited certain places out of *Augustine* and *Cyrill* which were not noted.

Ifechius also confesseth that it is Bread.

Also the judgment of *Bertram* in this matter is very plain and manifest. And thus much for the second ground.

The third Ground.

The third ground is the nature of the Sacrament, which consisteth of three things, that is, Unity, Nutrition, and Conversion.

The third ground. Cyprian. Three things in a Sacrament. 1. Unity.

As touching Unity, *Cyprian* thus writeth; *Even as of many grains is made one Bread, so are we one mystical Body of Christ.* Wherefore Bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a Sacrament.

2. Nutrition.

Also they that take away Nutrition, which cometh by Bread, do take away likewise the nature of a Sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth Bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains or the union of the Grains in the Bread, and deny the Nutrition or Substance thereof, in my judgment are Sacramentaries: For they take away the similitude between the Bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm Transubstantiation are indeed right Sacramentaries and *Capernaits*.

3. Conversion.

As touching Conversion (that like as the Bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christs Body) *Rabanus* and *Chrysostom* are witnesses sufficient.

The fourth Ground.

4. Ground. The real presence in the Sacrament standeth not with the truth of Christs humanity.

They which say that Christ is carnally present in the *Eucharist*, do take from him the verity of mans nature. *Eutiches* granted the Divine nature in Christ, but his humane nature he denyed. So they that defend Transubstantiation ascribe that to the humane nature which only belongeth to the Divine nature.

The fifth Ground.

The fifth ground is the certain perswasion of this Article of Faith, *He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand*, &c.

August. super Ioan. tract. 30.

Augustine saith, *The Lord is above, even to the end of the World: but yet the verity of the Lord is here also. For his Body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place, but his Verity is spread abroad every where.*

Mat. 28.

Also in another place he saith, *Let the godly also receive that Sacrament, but let them not be careful* (speaking there of the presence of his Body.) *For as touching his Majesty, his Providence, his invisible and unspeakable Grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, I am with you unto the end of the World. But according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was fastened to a Tree, taken down again from the Cross, lapped in Linen Clothes, was buried and rose again, and appeared after his Resurrection, so you shall not have me always with you, and why? because that as concerning his flesh he was conversant with his Disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into Heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty.*

Mark and consider well what St. *Augustine* saith, *He is ascended into Heaven, and is not here*, saith he. Believe not them therefore which say that he is here still in the Earth.

Moreover, *Doubt not* (saith the same *Augustine*) *but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his Manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a Christian Man, that he arose from death, ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and none other* (not from the Altars) *shall he come to judge the quick and the dead, and he shall come as the Angel said, as he was seen to go into Heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto the which he gave immortality, but changed not Nature. After this form* (meaning his Human Nature) *we may think that it is every where.*

Aug. Epist. 57.

August. ibid.

And in the same Epistle he saith, *Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where; and because they are no where, they shall not be at all.*

Vigilius contra Eutich. lib. 4.

Vigilius saith, *If the Word and the Flesh be both of one Nature, seeing that the Word is every where, why then is not the Flesh also every where? For when it was in Earth, then verily it was not in Heaven; and now when it is in Heaven, it is not surely in Earth. And it is so certain, that it is not in Earth, that as concerning the same we look for him from Heaven, whom, as concerning the Word, we believe to be with us in Earth.*

Also the same *Vigilius* saith, *Which things seeing they be so, the course of the Scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is to refer those things to the property of the Divine Nature, which do only belong to the Nature of the Flesh: and contrariwise, to apply those things to the Nature of the Flesh, which do properly belong to the Divine Nature.* Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christs Body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his Humanity, which properly belongeth to his Divinity, as they do which will have Christs Body to be in no one certain place limited.

The Third Conclusion.

Now in the later Conclusion concerning the Sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controversie in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there be which do perswade me that this Conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scripture, and also certain testimonies of the Fathers. St. *Paul* saith, *Hebrews* the Nineth, *Christ being become an high Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neither by the Blood of Goats and Calves, but by his own Blood, entred once into the Holy place,*

Heb. 9. Sacrifice of Christs Body.

and obtained for us eternal Redemption, &c. And now in the end of the World he hath appeared once to put away sin by the Sacrifice of himself.

And again, *Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many.*

Heb. 10. Moreover he saith, *With one Offering hath he made perfect for ever those that are Sanctified.*

Christ never offered but once. These Scriptures do perswade me to believe that there is no other Oblation of Christ (albeit I am not ignorant there are many Sacrifices) but that which was once made upon the Cross.

Aug. ad Bonif. epist. 23. Aug. Epist. 42. Aug. contr. Faust. Lib. 20. cap. 21. The testimonies of the ancient Fathers, which confirm the same, are out of *Augustine ad Bonif. Epist.* 23. Again in his Book of 42 Questions, in the 41 Question. Also in his 20 Book against *Faustus* the *Manichee, Chap.* 21. And in the same Book against the said *Faustus cap.* 28. thus he writeth, *Now the Christians keep a memorial of the Sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the Body and Blood of Christ.*

Fulgentius in his Book *De fide* calleth the same Oblation a Commemoration. And these things are sufficient for this time for a Scholastical determination of these matters.

Disputations of Martin Bucer.

OVer and beside these Disputations above-mentioned, other Disputations were also holden at *Cambridge* shortly after by *Martin Bucer* upon these conclusions following.

Conclusions to be disputed.

{Anno 1549. } *1. The Canonical Books of Holy Scripture alone do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto Salvation.*

Conclusions disputed at Cambridge by Bucer. *2. There is no Church in Earth which erreth not in manners as well as in Faith.*

3. We are so justified freely of God, that before our Justification it is sin, and provoketh Gods wrath against us whatsoever good work we seem to do. Then being justified we do good works.

In these three propositions against *Bucer* disputed Mr. *Segewick, Young*, and *Pern*. Which Disputations because they are long here to be recited, I mind (the Lord willing) to relieve them to some other convenient place. In the mean season, because great controversie hath been and is yet amongst the learned, and much effusion of Christian Blood about the words and meaning of the Sacrament; to the intent that the Verity thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtful scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adjoyn to the former Discourses of *Peter Martyr*, and of Dr. *Ridley* above-mentioned, another certain learned Treatise in form of a Dialogue, as appertaining to the same Argument, compiled (as it seemed) out of the tractations of *Peter Martyr*, and other Authors, by a certain learned and reverend person of this Realm; who, under the persons of *Custom* and *Verity*, manifestly layeth before our Eyes, and teacheth all Men not to measure Religion by Custom, but to try Custom by Truth and the Word of God; for else Custom may soon deceive, but the Word of God abideth for ever.

Disputers against Mr. Bucer at Cambridge.

A learned Dialogue between *Custom* and *Truth*.

A fruitful Dialogue declaring these words of Christ: *This is my Body.*

CUSTOM. VERITY.

A Dialogue between *Custom* and *Verity*. *CUstom.* I marvel much what madness is cropen into those Mens hearts, which now adays are not ashamed so violently to tread down the lively Word of God, yea and impudently to deny God himself.

Verity. God forbid there should be any such. Indeed I remember that the *Romish* Bishop was wont to have the Bible for his foot-stool, and so to tread down Gods Word evermore when he stood at his Mass. But thanks be to God he is now detected, and his abominations be opened and blown throughout all the World. And I hear of no more that oppress Gods Word.

Custom. No more say you? Yes doubtless there are an hundred thousand more, and your part it is *Verity* to withstand them. {KING Edw. 6

Verity. As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to stand with falshood. But what are they? Disclose them if you will have them reproved.

Custom. What, are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how that Men do daily speak against the Sacrament of the Altar, denying it to be the real Body of Christ?

Verity. In good sooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this Country. Wherefore you must pardon me if my answer be to seek in such questions. But go forth in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted than I. What say they more than this?

Custom. Than this? Why, what can they possibly say more?

Verity. Yes, there are many things worse than this: for this seemeth in some part to be tolerable.

Custom. What? me thinketh you dally with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the Sacrament?

Verity. They deny it not, so much as I can gather by your words.

Custom. Nay then fare you well: I perceive you will take their part.

Verity. I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: For I never go further than the Truth.

Custom. I can scarcely believe you. But what is more true than Christ, which is Truth it self? Or who ever was so hardy before this time to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words: *This is my Body?* The words are evident and plain: There is in them not so much as one obscure or dark Letter, there is no cause for any Man to cavil. And yet that notwithstanding, whereas Christ himself affirmed it to be his Body, Men now adays are not abashed to say, Christ lied, it is not his Body. The Evangelists agree all in one, the old Writers stand of our side, the Universal and Catholick Church hath been in this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And shall we think that Christ himself, his Evangelists, all the whole Catholick Church hath been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these days? Mat. 26. Christs Words. The Evangelists. The old Writers. The Catholick Church.

Verity. You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto without many words I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding because you provoke me thereto, if you will give me license, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reproved Christ of any lie. But contrariwise, they say, That many Men of late days, not understanding Christs Words, have builded and set up many fond lies upon his Name. The Doctrine of the Papists commonly slanderth upon false reporters.

Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, *This is my Body*; and next in what sense the Church and the old Fathers have evermore taken them. First therefore you shall understand, That Scripture is not so to be taken always as the Letter sounds the, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the Christian Faith. A plainer than these words, *Pater major me est*, My Father is greater than I am? Of these plain words sprang up the Heresie of the *Arians*, which denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, *I and my Father are both one?* Thereof arose the Heresie of them that denied three distinct persons. *They all had one soul and one heart*, was spoken by the Apostle: yet had each of them a Soul and Heart peculiar to himself. *They are now not two, but one flesh*, is spoken by the Man and his Wife; yet hath both the Man and the Wife his several Body. *He is our very flesh*, said *Ruben* by *Joseph* his Brother, which notwithstanding was not their real Flesh. *I am bread*, said Christ, yet was he Flesh and no Bread. *Christ was the stone*, saith *Paul*, and was indeed no material Stone. *Melchisedech had neither father nor mother*, and yet indeed he had both. *Behold the Lamb of God*, saith *John Baptist* by Christ, notwithstanding Christ was a Man, and not a Lamb. Circumcision was called the Covenant, whereas it was but a token of the Covenant. The Lamb named the Passover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance The sense of Hoc est corpus meum expounded. John 14 John 10. Acts 4. Gen. 37. 1 Cor. 10

{KING Edw. 6} brance only of the Passover. *Jacob* raised up an Altar, and called it, being made but of lime stone, *The mighty God of Israel. Moses*, when he had conquered the *Amalekites*, set up an Altar, and called it by the names of God, *Jehova* and *Tetragramatum. We are all one loaf of bread*, saith *Paul*, yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Christ hanging upon the Cross appointed S. *John* to his Mother, saying, *Lo there is thy Son*, and yet was he not her Son. *So many as be baptized into Christ*, saith *Paul, have put on Christ, and so many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ*: Notwithstanding no man took the Font water to be the natural blood of Christ. *The cup is the New Testament*, saith *Paul*, and yet is not the Cup indeed the very New Testament. You see therefore that it is not strange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing by anothers name. So that you can no more of necessity inforce the changing of the bread into Christs body in the Sacrament, because the words be plain, *This is my body*, the Wives flesh to be the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, *They are not two but one flesh*: or the Altar of stone to be very God, because *Moses* with evident and plain words pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. Notwithstanding, if you will needs cleave to the letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cause. For thus I will reason, and use your own weapon against you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The Evangelists agree in the same. *Paul* nameth it so five times in one place; the holy Ghost may not be set to school to learn to speak. Wherefore I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe that in the Sacrament there remaineth bread. 1 Cor. 10. Gal. 3. Rom. 6. Figurative speeches most common in Scripture. {Anno 1550.} The name of bread used in Scripture.

Custom. Me thinketh your answer is reasonable, yet can I not be satisfied. Declare you therefore more at large, what moveth you to think this of the Sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long holden and taught, unless you were inforced by some strong and likely reasons.

The means of Christs words expounded. *Verity.* First, In examining the words of Christ, I get me to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. And in this behalf I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men of themselves be and evermore were forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behooveful that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens, as with the Passover Lamb, the Brazen Serpent, and othe like. For the Brasen Serpent was a token, that when the *Jews* were stinged and wounded with Serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The Passover Lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, which, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the *Jews*, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a Lamb. So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of his Death and Passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread and drinking of the Cup meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the Crosse, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise as wine sostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the Sacrament. For Christ charged the Apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I conclude.

Fes- Nothing is done in remembrance of it self.
ti- But the Sacrament is used in the remembrance of Christ.
no- Therefore the Sacrament is not Christ.

Fe- Christ never devoured himself.
ri- Christ did eat the Sacrament with his Apostles:
son. *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not Christ himself.

Besides this, I see that Christ ordained not his body, but a Sacrament of his body. A Sacrament (as S. *Austin* declareth) is an outward sign of an invisible Grace. His words are *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiae visibile signum.* Out of which which words I gather two arguments. The first is this; the token of the body of Christ is not the thing tokned, wherefore they are not one. The second is this.

Fe- One thing cannot be both visible and invisible.
ri- But the Sacrament is visible, and the body of Christ invisible.
son. Therefore they are not one.

Which thing S. *Augustin* openeth very well by these words, *Aliud est Sacramentum, aliud res Sacramenti. Sacramentum est quod in corpus vadit: res autem Sacramenti est corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* Moreover, I remember that Christ ministred this Sacrament not to great and deep Philosphers, but to a fort of ignorant and unlearned Fithers, which notwithstanding understood Christs meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at Christs hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But the lay not scarcely the Apostles themselves could understand what is meant by Transubstantiation, Impanation, Dimensions, *qualitates, quantitates, accidens sine subjecto, terminus a quo, & terminus ad quem, per modum quanti.* This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people, wherefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing than hath been taught of late days. Furthermore, Christs body is food, not for the body but for the soul, and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is Faith. For as ye receive sustenance for your bodily mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by Faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And for that S. *Augustin* sharply rebuketh them that think to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, *Quid paras dentem & ventrem? crede & manducasti.* (i.) Why makest thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? believe and thou hast eaten Christ. Likewise speaking of eating the self same body, he saith to the *Capernaites* which took him grossly as men do now adays, *The words that I speak are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.* And S. *Augustin* upon these words of Christ saith, † *Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, neque bibituri sanguinem, quem effusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado. Id spiritualiter acceptum vivificat: caro autem non prodest quicquam. Augus. Quinquagent. 2.* Psal. 98. Christs no food for the soul, but for the soul. Aug. in Joh. tract. 25. † That is to say; You shall not eat the body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have commanded to you a Sacrament, understand it spiritually and it shall give you life: the flesh profiteth nothing. John 6.

Custom. What mean you by this spirit, and by spiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Christ hath a body, and therefore must be eaten (as I think) with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soul as it hath no body and flesh, so it hath no mouth.

Verity. You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul. And each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and sostired with bodily meats, or else cannot endure; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may justly say that the Turks, *Jews*, and heathen be dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what mean will you find the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body but of the soul. For that which is received into the body, hath no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ saith, *That whatsoever entreth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught.* And whereas you say that the spirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived. For the spirit hath a mouth in his kind, or else how could a man eat and drink justice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit instrument for it. Ye Christ saith, that he is blessed that hungreth and thirsteth for justice. If he hunger and thirst for justice, he like he both eateth and drinketh it, for otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth his thirst. Now if a man may eat and drink righteousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus. Matth. 5. What he is to hunger and eat, righteousness. Argument.

Da- Of whatsoever sort the mouth is, such is his food.
ri- But the mouth of the spirit is spiritual, not bodily.
si. Therefore it receiveth Christs body spiritually not bodily.

Joh. 6. How Christs body is taken by Faith.

And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, nameth himself the Bread, not for the body, but of Life, for the Soul, and faith, *He that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst.* Wherefore whosoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will be received, with the instrument of Faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christs Body must be received and taken with Faith, I mean not that you shall pluck down Christ from Heaven, and put him in your Faith, as in a visible place; but that you must with your Faith rise and spring up to him, and leaving this world dwell above in heaven, putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, which suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty and to make you free, creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the Body of Christ, so shall you suck the Blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christs Body. And therefore S. *Gregory* calleth it, *Cibum mentis non ventris*, (i. e.) The food of the mind, and not of the belly. And S. *Cyprian* saith likewise, *Non acuimus dentem, nec ventrem paramus. i. e.* We sharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our belly.

Gregory.

Cyprian.

Now to return to our former purpose, seeing it is plain that Christs body is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reason. The Sacrament is bodily food and increaseth the body; *Ergo*, the Sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body it is evident; For Christ calleth it the fruit of the Vine, whose duty is to nourish. And for a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you so well as your table bread. And if a little Mouse get an Host, he will crave no more meat to his Dinner. But you will say these are worldly reasons. What then if the old Fathers record the same? *Irenæus* saith, *Quando mixtus calix, & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia corporis & sanguinis Domini, ex quibus augetur & consistit carnis nostræ substantia.* *Beda* witnesseth the same by these words, *Quia panis carnem confirmat, & vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, hic ad corpus Christi mystice, illud ad sanguinem refertur.* Wherefore as I said before, seeing that Christs body is spiritual meat, and the bread of the Sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the Sacrament is not Christs body. Beside this, where it was forbidden in the old Law that any man should eat or drink Blood, the Apostles notwithstanding took the Cup at Christs hands, and drank of it, and never staggered, or shrank at the matter; whereby it may be gathered, that they took it for a mistery, for a token, and a remembrance, far otherwise than it hath of late been taken.

Irenæus lib. 5. contra Valentinian. Beda super 1 Luæ. Christs body is spiritual meat.

Drinking mans blood against the Law.

Again, when the Sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sate there present before their eyes; but took it, and eat it, knowing that it was a Sacrament and remembrance of Christs Body. Yea, the old Councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of Idolatry. And long after the Apostles time, as *Tertullian* writeth, Women were suffered to take it home with them, and lap it up in their Chests. And the Priests many times sent it to sick persons by a Child, which no doubt would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about 300 years agon, *Honorius* the Third, Bishop of *Rome* took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to begod him.

Kneeling to the Sacrament forbidden in old Councils.

The Sacrament carried home in Napkins.

Pope Honorius the third, first author of worshipping the Sacrament.

Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the Apostles saw no miracle in it. *Nor sacramentes* an old Writer, and *Augustin* interacting of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the Sacrament for none. As for the Apostles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas in other things they evermore were full of questions. As touching S. *Augustin*, he not only over skipped it as no wonder, but by plain and expresse words testifieth that there is no marvel in it. For speaking of the Lords Supper, and of the other Sacraments, he saith these words. * *Hæc Sacramenta honorem ut religiosa habere possunt, stuporem autem ut mira non possunt.* Moreover a little before the institution of the Sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, *I leave the world: I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, because I go from you, I tell you truth, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you,* Jo. 14. with many other like warnings of his departure. S. *Stephen* saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God; but he never said that he saw him at the Communion, or that he made him every day himself. And in the *Acts* of the Apostles S. *Peter* saith, *That Christ must needs keep the heaven till all be ended.* *Esaiah*, *Solomon*, and S. *Stephen* Act. 3. say, *That God dwelleth not in Temples made with mans hand.* S. *Paul* witheth that he were dissolved and dead, Act. 17. and were with Christ; not in the Altar doubtless where he might be daily, but in heaven. And to be brief, it is in our *Credo*, and we do constantly believe, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Fathers right hand; and no promise have we that he will come jumping down at every Priests calling. Hereof I gather this reason.

{KING} Edw. 6.

Christs body cannot both be gone, and be here.
But he is gone, and hath left the world.
Therefore it is folly to seek him in the world.

Custom. Fy, you be far deceived, I can in no wise brook these words. You shut up Christ too straitly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go at large. No doubtless, he hath delivered more gentleness at your hand, than to be tyed up so short.

If Christ were both gone and tarried, then he should seem to have left himself behind him.

Verity. I do neither lock up, neither Imprison Christ in heaven, but according to the Scriptures declare that he hath chosen a Blessed place, and most worthy to receive his Majesty; in which place whosoever is inclosed, thinketh not himself (as I suppose) to be a Prisoner: But if you take it for so hanious a thing that Christ should sit reindent in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that imprison him in a little Box, yea and keep Him in captivity so long, until he be mouldy and over-grown with vermine, and when he is past mens meat, be not contented to hang him till he stink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extreme cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter, we are certainly perswaded by the word of God, that Christ the very Son of God vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man, and that he walked and was conversant amongst men in that same one, and not in many bodies, and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the self same body, and that he sitteth at his Fathers right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of the said one body. This is our belief, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, which leaving heaven will grope for Christs body upon the earth.

The body of Christ imprisoned by the Papists in a Box, and afterward burned when he is mouldy.

Custom. Nay Sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ hath not so gross and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body, and therefore without repugnance it may be in many places at once.

Christs body is spiritual. But the Papists say the Sacrament is carried in the Sacrament, say the Papists.

Verity. You say right well, and do grant that Christs body is spiritual. But I pray you answer me by the way, can any other body than that which is spiritual be at one time in sundry places?

Custom. No truly.

Verity. Have we that self same Sacrament that Christ gave to his disciples, at his Maundy, or no?

Custom. Doubtless we have the same.

Verity. When was Christs body spiritual? was it so even from his birth?

Custom. No: For doubtless before he arose from death his body was earthly, as other mens bodies are.

Verity. Well, but when gave Christ the Sacrament to his Disciples? Before he rose from death or after?

Custom. You know your self he gave it before his Relurrection, the night before he suffered his Passion.

Verity.

{KING} Edw. 6. The Pope doubteth repugnant to it self.

Verity. Why then me thinketh he gave the Sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual.

Custom. Even so.

Verity. And was every portion of the Sacrament dealt to the Apostles, and received they into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?

Custom. Yea doubtless.

Verity. Mark well what ye have said, for you have granted me great repugnance. First, you say, That no body being not spiritual can be in sundry places at once. Then say you, That at the *Maundy* Christs body was not spiritual; and yet hold you, that he was there present visibly before the Apostles eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths all at one time; which grants of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formal reason of your words in this sort.

Fo- No body being real, natural, and organical, and not
ri- spiritual, can be in many places at once.
son. Christs body in the Sacrament was in the Apostles hands and mouths at one time, which were many places.
Ergo, Christs body in the Sacrament was not a real, natural, and organical body, but spiritual.

The Papists though they be convicted, yet they will not believe.

Custom. Indeed you have driven me into the straits before I was ware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you.

Verity. I desire you not to give credence to me, believe the word of God, yea believe your own belief; for they both witness against you, that Christs body is taken up into Heaven, and there shall remain until he come to judge.

Origen saith likewise, *Audiendi non sunt qui Christum demonstrant in exilibus. i.* They are not to be heard, which shew Christ in houses. The same also recordeth *Beda*, writing upon these words of Christ; *Now a little while shall you see me.* He speaketh in Christs person. *Therefore* (saith he) *shall you see me but a little while after my resurrection, because I will not still abide in the earth bodily, but in the manhood which I have taken will ascend up to heaven.* What needeth more words? All the old Fathers witness the same. You may by these foon judge the rest. Now to return to the matter, seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the *Credo*, and the abridgement of the Faith, seeing all the old Fathers do constantly agree in one, that the body of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the Sacrament is not the body of Christ; first, because it is not in Heaven, neither sit- ting at the Fathers right hand: moreover, because it is in an hundred thousand Boxes, whereas Christs body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ.

Origen. Beda in 23. cap. Joan.

Custom meddleth but little with Scripture.

Tria dicta: ment is not the real body of Christ, and why.

Custom. Marry and so they do. For *Paul* saith plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion.

The wicked receive not the cup of Christ.

Verity. No not so. These are not *Pauls* words, but he saith, *Whoso eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own condemnation. Not judging the body of the Lord.* Here he calleth it in plain words bread. And although the Sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injury redound to the body of Christ. As if a man break the Kings Mace, or tread the Broad Seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but Silver and Wax; yet is the injury the Kings, and the doer shall be taken as a Traitor. S. *Ambrose* declareth the meaning of S. *Paul* by these words, *Reus est corporis Domini, qui panas dabit mortis Christi, quoniam irritam fecit mortem Domini.* The cause of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Christ, which whoso forgetteth, receiveth the Sacrament to their condemnation. That same witnesseth S. *Augustin*; for the Sacrament, saith he, is an outward token of love and charity. For like as many grains of Corn are become one peace of bread, even so they that receive it ought to be one. Then saith he, *Mysterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecravit. Qui accepit mysterium unitatis & non servat unitatem, non mysterium accipit pro se, sed testimonium contra se.* He that readeth the Gospel wherein is declared the Passion and Death of Christ, and liveth contrary to the Gospel, shall doubtless be the more guilty of the death of Christ, because he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not. In a certain country

Ambros. in 10. cap. 1. Cor.

Augustinus.

Aug. ibid.

August. in Psal. 14.

The place of S. Paul of receiving unworthily expounded.

the manner is, that when the Gospel is read, the King shall stand up with a naked Sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his Sword in defence of the Gospel. But if he himself oppresseth the Gospel, he beareth the Sword against himself; for the Gospel shall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremly punish a man, which knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet notwithstanding will impudently creep into the company of Christian men, and receive the Sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant St. *Paul* by the unworthy receiving of a Sacrament of Christs body. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the Sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christs body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth. But what if I prove that every masling Priest is guily of the body and blood of Christ?

Custom. I dare say you cannot prove it.

Verity. But if I do prove it, will you believe me?

Custom. I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it.

Confession. For Priests commonly are confessed before they go to Mass, and how can they then take the Sacrament unworthily?

Verity. Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience so good as a Sermon: But notwithstanding because it was never commanded of Christ, nor received of the Apostles, nor much spoken of by the old Doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the Sacrament. But

Ambrose. how like ye these words of S. *Ambrose*? *Is indigne sumit, qui aliter sumit quam Christus instituit.* i. He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwise than Christ ordained it.

Custom. This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?

Verity. This will I gather. The masling Priest taketh the Sacrament otherwise than Christ either commanded or taught. *Ergo*, he taketh it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation.

Custom. That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commanded him.

Verity. That shall appear. For Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance; the Priest doth it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread; the Priest taketh bread and conjureth it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks; the Priest taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Christ took bread and brake it; the Priest taketh bread and hangeth it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his Apostles; the Priest, because he is an Apostle himself, taketh bread and eateth it every whit alone. Christ in a Sacrament gave his own body to be eaten in Faith; the Priest for lack of Faith receiveth accidents, and dimensions. Christ gave a Sacrament to strengthen mens Faith; the Priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem mens souls. Christ gave it to be eaten; the Priest giveth it to be worshipped. And to conclude, Christ gave bread; the Priest saith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough between Christ and the Priest. Yet moreover Christ at his Supper spake his words out and in a plain tongue; the Priest speaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oft times perceiveth not, and much he whispereth left any poor man should perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to pass, that the Priest knoweth no more what he himself saith, than what he doth. Thus you may see that the Masling Priest receiveth the Sacrament of Christs body far otherwise than ever Christ minded, and so therefore unworthily and to his condemnation. Now if you think your self satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christs body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ in the sixth of S. *John*, speaking of the

John 6. eating of his body, saith, *He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.* Wherefore I gather thus: But sinful men take the Sacrament of their condemnation, and live not for ever; *Ergo*, in the Sacrament they receive not the body of Christ. Again, Christ saith, *He that eateth me shall live for my sake.* Hereof I conclude thus, but impenitent persons cannot live for Christs sake. Moreover Christs body must be received, not with the mouth, as *Gregory* recordeth, saying, That it is eaten with the teeth of the soul, not of the body, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent persons lack Faith; wherefore they cannot eat the body of Christ. Again, Christs body cannot be divided from his spirit; but wicked men have not the spirit of God; *Ergo*, they have not Christs body. Hereunto agree all the old Writers, affirming constantly that the unfaithful be no meet vessels to receive the body of Christ. S. *Augustine* saith, Augustinus. *Qui non manet in Christo, & in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio non manducat carnem Christi, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, quamvis tantæ rei mysterium ad judicium suum manducet, ac bibat.* And in the person of Christ he saith likewise, *Qui non manet in me, & in quo ego non maneo, ne se dicat aut exsistimat manducare corpus meum, aut sanguinem meum bibere.* Ambrose avoweth the Ambrose. same by these words, *Qui discordat a Christo non manducat carnem ejus, nec bibit sanguinem, etsi tantæ rei Sacramentum accipiat.* In like manner writeth Prosper, Prosper. *Qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem Christi edit, nec sanguinem bibit, etsi tantæ rei Sacramentum ad judicium* Augustin. *sibi præsumpserit quotidie accipiat.* And therefore S. *Augustin* saith, *Multi Sacramentum habent, res autem Sacramenti non habent.* Thus by the Word of God, by reason, and by the old Fathers it is plain, that sinful men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the Sacrament never so oft. Which thing could not be, if in the Sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ.

The Sacrament in holy Scripture is named *Fractio* The Sacrament called breaking of bread. *panis*, the breaking of bread; which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain phantasies of white and round. Yet whereas they with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much ado, can scarcely make one God, they have such vertue in their fingers, that at one cross they be able to make twenty Gods; for if they break the Sacrament, every Portion, yea, every mite must needs be a God. After the Apostles time there arose up Hereticks, which said that Christ walking here amongst men bodily upon the Earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therewith dimmed mens sight. Against whom the old Fathers used these arguments; Christ encreased in growing, fasted, hungred, eat, wept, sweat, was weary, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body; wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning; It feedeth, it tasteth like bread, it looketh like Against Transubstantiation. bread, the little silly mouse taketh it for bread, and to be short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread, *Ergo*, it is bread. The old Fathers when there remained any part of the Sacrament more than was spent at the Communion, they used to burn it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the Sacrament that can turn to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christs body to ashes); *Ergo*, in the Sacrament there remaineth bread. *Henry* the Emperor, the sixth of that name, was poysoned in the Host, and Victor the Bishop of *Rome* in the Chalice. But poyson cannot hang in Gods body and blood; wherefore there remaineth Bread and Wine. What needeth many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either Gods word, or the Doctors and the ancient Writers, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the Cat, or the Ape, or the Mouse, all these agree in one, and answer together, There is bread. Wherefore if you reject so many and so consant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale, specially being such as will lie for no mans pleasure, I will appeal The Sacrament giveth witness that it is bread. from you, and take you as no indifferent Judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the Sacrament self to record: it crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertise you, what you should think of it: I am, it saith, grated with the teeth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can endure no space; I canker; I suffer green mould blew mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a Box for fear of Rats; if you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the Mouse get me I am gone; I am bread, I am no God; believe them not. Thus crieth the Sacrament daily, and beareth witness it self.

Custom. The Devil on such like reasons; and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer: but if it be true that you have said, why is the Sacrament so well of Christ himself, as of his Apostles, and the old Fathers, called the Body of Christ?

Verity.

KING Edward 6. *Verity.* Because it is no strange thing in Scripture so to speak, as I have declared before. But will you stand to St. *Augustines* arbitrement in the matter?

Cyprianus. *Custom.* To no Man sooner.

The cause why the Scripture calleth the Sacrament the Body of Christ. Aug. ad Bonif. Epist. 23 *Verity.* St. *Augustine* in an Epistle to his friend *Bonifacius* giveth a good cause why the Sacrament, although it be not the Body of Christ, is notwithstanding called the Body of Christ, His words be these: *Si Sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum quarum Sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino Sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque earum rerum nomina accipiunt. Ergo, secundum quendam modum Sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est; Sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est.* If Sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be Sacraments, then were they no Sacraments. Of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore after a certain manner the Sacrament of the Body of Christ is the Body of Christ, and the Sacrament of the Blood of Christ is the Blood of Christ, *&c.* And upon the three and twentieth *Psalm* he writeth likewise, *Christus quodammodo se ferebat in manibus suis, cum diceret, Hic est corpus meum*; Christ after a certain manner and fashion, as it were, did bear himself in his own hand, when he said, *This is my Body.* In manner (he saith) and after a fashion, not in very deed. Again, when faithful Men receive the Sacrament, they think not of the Bread, nor mark the Wine, but they look further, and behold the very Body of Christ, spread upon the Cross, and his very Blood poured down for their sakes. So in Baptism Men regard not greatly the Water, but account themselves washed with the Blood of Christ. So saith St. *Paul, Whatsoever ye are that be Baptized, you are washed in the Blood of Christ.* Wherefore to the faithful receivers you may say, That the Water of Baptism is the Blood of Christ, and the Bread and Wine the Body and Blood of Christ: for to them it is no less than if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learn of *Chrysostom*, whose words are these: *Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis consideranda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter. Interiores autem oculi, postquam panem vident, creaturæ transvolant, neque de illo pane a pistore collo cogitant, sed de eo qui se dixit panem esse vitæ nostræ*; All mysteries must be considered with inward Eyes, that is to say, Spiritually. But the inward Eyes when they see the Bread, they pass over the Creatures, neither do they think of that Bread which is baked of the Baker, but of him which called himself the Bread of Eternal life. For these two causes the Bread and Wine are called the Body and Blood of Christ. Now I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words: *This is my Body.*

Custom. Yet one thing moveth me very much.

Verity. What is that?

Custom findeth upon authority and common voice. *Custom.* The Doctors and old Writers, Men inspired with the Holy Ghost, have evermore been against your Doctrine; yea, and in these days the wisest Men and best learned call you Hereticks, and your learning Heresie.

The right meaning of the Doctors misconstrued of the Protestants. *Verity.* As touching the old Writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the Sacraments, like as every Man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their mind with their right hand, you *Custom* receive it with the left. For whereas they say, that it is the Body of Christ, and that it must be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the Eyes Christs Body, and that it is to the faithful Man no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in Faith, not torn nor rent with the Teeth: you say that howsoever it be taken, it is Christs Body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

The Doctors how they call the Sacrament the Body of Christ, and why. And that the Fathers meant no other thing than I have said, it shall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wise Men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my Doctrine Heresie, for they would condemn all ancient Writers of Heresie, if they were now alive. But I will answer you to them anon. In the mean while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They say, you must follow the Letter, you must stick to the Letter. But *Origines* saith, *Si secundum literam sequeris id quod* Orig. in Levit. Hom. *scriptum est, (nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, non erit vita in vobis) ea litera occidit.* If ye follow after the Letter that which is written (unless ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, there shall be no life in you), this Letter killeth. *Augustine* in the third Book *De Doctrina Christiana, Principio cavendum est ne figuratam dictionem secundum literam accipiat. Ad hoc enim pertinet id quod ait Apostolus, litera occidit. Cum enim figurate dictum sic accipitur tanquam proprie dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur; neque ulla anima a moris congruentius appellatur.* i. First thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech after the Letter. For thereto pertaineth that the Apostle saith, The Letter killeth. For when a thing is Spiritually meant, and the same is taken literally as properly spoken, that is a carnal taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the Soul rather than that. And in the same Book he teacheth a Man to know the plain sense from a Figure, saying thus: *Si præceptiva locutio est flagitium jubens, aut beneficentiam vetans, figura est: Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, & bibueritis ejus sanguinem, non erit vita in vobis. Flagitium videtur jubere; Ergo, Figura est præcipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum, & suaviter in memoria recondendum, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa sit.* i. If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech; Unless ye shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and shall drink his Blood, there shall be no life in you: Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the Passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance. In like manner *Chrysostom* plaineth you from the plain Letter, and the bare words by this saying, *Caro non prodest; hoc est, secundum spiritum verba mea intelligenda sunt. Quia qui secundum carnem audit, nihil lucratur. Quid est autem carnaliter intelligere? Simpliciter ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam cogitare. Non enim ita judicanda sunt quæ videntur, sed mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, hoc est, spiritualiter.* i. The Flesh profiteth not; that is to say, my words must be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the Flesh gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be judged as they are seen, but all mysteries must be seen with inward Eyes, that is to say, spiritually. What is so hainous in these days, as to call the Sacrament the Token or the Remembrance of Christs Body? Yet did the old Writers in manner never call it other. *Tertullian* in the Fourth Book against the *Marcionists*, *Christus accepit panem, & corpus suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei.* Christ took Bread and made it his Body, saying, This is my Body; that is to say, a Figure of my Body. *Ambrose* upon the Third to the *Corinthians*, *Quia morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores in edendo & potando, carnem & sanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata sunt significamus*; Because we are delivered by the Lords death, in the remembrance of the same by eating and drinking we signifie the Body and Blood which were offered up for us. *Chrysostom* in the Eighty Third Homily upon the Gospel of *Matthew*, *Quando dicunt, unde pavet Christum immolatum fuisse? hæc adferentes carnem ora confitimur. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cujus Symbolum est sacrificium est?* When they object unto us, and ask, How knowest you that Christ was offered up? Then alledging these things we stop their mouths. For if Christ died not, then whose sign or token is this Sacrifice? *Augustine* to *Admantus*, *Non dubitavit Christus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui.* Christ doubted not to say, This is my Body, when he gave but a sign of his Body. *Augustine* upon the Third *Psalm*, *Christus adhibuit Judam ad convivium, in quo corporis & sanguinis sui figuram Discipulis suis commendavit & tradidit*; Christ received *Judas* to the Supper, in the which he commended and delivered a Figure of his Body and Blood unto his Disciples. *Rabanus, de institutione clericorum*; *Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vivimus ante, a quia sanguinem operatur in carne, idea ad sanguinem Christi referitur.* Because the Bread strengtheneth

Tertul. adv. Marcion. lib. 4.

Ambrose lib. 1 Cor. 11.

Chrys. in Matthæum. 83

Aug. ad Admantum.

Aug. in Psal. 33.

Rab. de Inst. Cleric. cap. 44.

strengtheneth the Body, therefore it is aptly called Christs Body. And likewise the Wine, because it increaseth Blood in the Flesh, it doth resemble the Blood of Christ. *Druthmarus Monachus in Matthæum, Vinum lætificat, & sanguinem auget, & ideo non inconvenienter per hoc sanguis Christi figuratur.* Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaseth blood; and therefore the blood of Christ is not unaptly signified thereby. *Irenæus* witnesseth plainly, That in the Sacrament remaineth Bread and Wine, by these words, *Quemadmodum terrenus panis percipiens vocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia ex duabus rebus constans, terrena, & cælestis*; As the earthly Bread receiving the vocation of God, is now no common Bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, the one Earthly and the other Heavenly. Here he recordeth that there remaineth in the Sacrament an Earthly nature, which is either Bread or nothing. *Gelasius* writing against *Nestorius* avoweth the same, saying, *In Eucharistia non definit substantia panis, & natura vini. Etenim imago & similitudo corporis & sanguinis Domini in actione mysteriorum celebratur.* 1. In the Eucharist the substance of Bread and nature of the Wine ceaseth not to be: For the Image and similitude of the Body and Blood of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the mysteries. *Chrysostom* in his twentieth Homily upon the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, preferreth a poor Man before the Sacrament, and calleth him the Body of Christ rather than the other. Whereof I may gather this reason:

Bo- The poor Man is not the natural and real Body of Christ.

car- Every poor member of Christ is the Body of Christ rather than the Sacrament. *Chrysostom.*

do. *Ergo*, The Sacrament is not the natural and real Body of Christ.

His words are, *Hoc altare veneratis quoniam in eo proponitur corpus Christi. Eum autem qui reipsa corpus est Christi, afficis contumelia, & negligis pereuntem*; This Altar thou doft reverence, becaufe the Body of Chrift therein is fet before thee: but him which is the Body of Chrift indeed thou doft fpitefully intreat, and doft neglect him ready to perifh. *Chryſoſtom* in the Eleventh Homily upon *Matthew*. *Quod ſi hæc vaſa ſanctificata ad privatos uſus eſt transferre periculoſum, in quibus non verum corpus Chriſti ſed myſterium corporis Chriſti continatur, quanto magis vaſa corporis noſtri?* If it be ſo perilous a matter to tranſlate theſe Sanctified Veſſels unto private uſes, in the which not the True Body of Chriſt, but a myſtery of the Body of Chriſt is contained, how much more then theſe Veſſels of our Body? *Athanaſius* upon theſe words: *Qui dixerit verbum contra filium hominis, ſimile, Ea quæ Chriſtus dicit non ſunt carnalia, ſed ſpiritualia. Quid enim comedentibus ſuffeciſſet corpus, ſi totius mundi fieret alimonia? Sed ideirco meminit Aſcenſionis filii hominis in cælum, ut eos a corporali cogitatione avelleret.* The words that Chriſt here ſpeaketh, be not Carnal, but Spiritual. For what Body might have ſuffiſed for all that ſhould eat, to be a nouriſhment of the whole World? But therefore he maketh mention of the Aſcenſion of the Son of Man into Heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation. *Aug. ad Marcel. In illis carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Chriſti, quam pro peccatis noſtris erat oblaturus, & ſanguinis quem erat effuſurus; in illo autem Sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio eſt carnis Chriſti quam pro nobis obtulit, & ſanguinis, quem pro nobis effudit. In illo ergo ſacrificio, quod nobis fit denandum figurate ſignificatur; In hoc autem ſacrificio quid nobis donatum ſit, evidenter oſtenditur. In illis ſacrificiis pro emunciabatur filius Dei occidendus, in hoc pro impiis annunciatur occiſus.* In thoſe carnal Oblations the Flesh of Chriſt was figured, which he ſhould offer for our ſins, and the Blood which he ſhould beſtow for us; but in this Sacrifice is the giving of thanks and memorial of the Fleſh of Chriſt, which he hath offered for us, and of the Blood which he hath ſhed for us. In that Sacrifice therefore is ſignified figuratively what ſhould be given for us; in this Sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In thoſe Sacrifices the Son of God was before preached to be ſlain; in this Sacrifice he is ſhewed to be ſlain already for the wicked.

Origines, upon *Matthew* expounding theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, ſaith, *Panis iſte quem Chriſtus corpus ſuum fatetur eſſe, verbum eſt nutritorium animarum, (id eſt)* The Bread which Chriſt confeſſeth to be his Body, is a nutritive word of our Souls. *Auguſtinus*: *Nulli aliquatenus dubitandum, unumquemque fidelium corporis & ſanguinis Domini tunc eſſe participem, quando in baptiſmate membrum efficitur Chriſti. Sacramento quippe filius participatione ac beneficio non privabitur, quandoquidem in ſe hoc invenit quod Sacramentum ſignificat.* No Man ought in any wiſe to doubt but that every faithful Man is then partaker of the Body and Blood of the Lord, when in Baptiſm he is made a member of Chriſt. For he ſhall not be deprived of the participation and benefit of that Sacrament, when he findeth in himſelf that thing which the Sacrament doth ſignifie. *Ambroſius, Tanta eſt vis verbi, ut panis & vinum maneant quæ ſunt, & mutentur in aliud.* Such is the force and ſtrength of the Word, that the Bread and Wine remain the ſame, as they were, and yet are changed into another thing. For it is not any longer common Bread, but it is turned into a Sacrament; yet notwithſtanding there remaineth Bread and Wine. *Tertullian* writing againſt an Heretick named *Marcion*, which taught that the Creatures of God, as Fleſh, Bread, and Wine, and ſuch like, were naught and uncleanly, *Non abjecit Deus creaturam ſuam, ſed ea repræſentavit corpus ſuum*, God hath not caſt away his Creature, but by it he hath repreſented his Body. *Origines* upon *Leviticus*, ſpeaking of the drinking of Chriſts Blood, ſaith, *Non ſanguinem carnis expetimus, ſed ſanguinem verbi*, We do not deſire the Blood of the Fleſh, but the Blood of the Word. *Ambroſe* called the Sacrament, *Typum corporis Chriſti*, and *Baſilius Antitypum*, which is as much as to ſay, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Chriſts Body. *Origen* upon the Fourteenth Chapter of *Matthew*, *In iſto pane, quod eſt material paſteth through Mans body; but that which is made by the Word of God, by the means of Faith doth profit. And left perhaps you think that he ſpake thoſe words of our common Table-Bread, he concludeth the matter himſelf with theſe words, *Hæc diximus de pane ſymbolico. Theſe things we have ſpoken of the Myſtical Bread. *Auguſtinus contra adverſarium Legis & Prophetarum*, declareth, That it muſt needs be a figure and a remembrance of the Body of Chriſt, *Iſta ſecundum ſanæ fidei regulam figurate intelliguntur. Nam aliquid horribilius videtur eſſe humanam carnem vorare quam perimere, & humanum ſanguinem potare quam fundere*; Theſe things are underſtood figuratively, according to the rule of ſound and True Faith. For otherwiſe it ſeemeth to be more horrible to eat Mans Fleſh, than to kill a Man, and more horrible to drink Mans blood, than to ſhed it. And therefore he faith upon the 98th *Pſalm, Non hoc corpus quod videturis eſtis manducaturi, nec bibiturí ſanguinem quem fundent qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis trado.* i. Ye ſhall not eat this Body which you ſee, and drink that Blood which they ſhall ſhed that ſhall Crucifie me; I commend unto you a Sacrament. *Tert. Aliud a pane corpus Jeſus habet: nec pro nobis panis traditus, ſed ipſum Chriſti verum corpus traditum eſt in crucem, quod panis figura in cœna exhibitum eſt.* i. Jeſus hath another Body than Bread, for Bread was not given for us, but the very True Body of Chriſt was given upon the Croſs, which Body was exhibited in the Supper under the figure of Bread. This recordeth *Theodoretus* an ancient Writer, and avoweth, That there is no turning or altering of the Bread in the Sacrament. His words are theſe, *Symbola viſibilia corporis & ſanguinis ſui appellatione honoravit, non mutans naturam, ſed naturæ addens gratiam.* i. He hath honoured and dignified the viſible ſigns with the name of his Body and of his Blood, not changing the nature, but adding Grace to nature. And in another place, where he maketh a true Chriſtian Man to reaſon with an Heretick, he giveth to the Heretick this part, to hold with the turning of Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Blood of Chriſt. The Hereticks words are theſe, *Sacramenta Dominici corporis &*

& ſanguinis alia ſunt ante ſacram invocationem; poſt invocationem vero mutantur, & alia ſiunt; The Sacraments of the Lords Body and Blood before Invocation, are one thing, but after, they are changed and made another. This maketh *Theod.* to be on the Hereticks part. Then he bringeth forth the true Chriſtian Man, which reproveth the Heretick for ſo ſaying, *Incidiſti in laqueos quos ipſe ſtruxeras: Neque enim ſancta illa ſymbola poſt conſecrationem diſcedunt a natura ſua: Manent enim in priori & ſubſtantia & figura, etenim oculis videri & digitis palpari ut ante poſſunt*; Thou art ſain into the ſnares which thou thy ſelf haſt laid. For thoſe ſelf-ſame holy ſigns after the Conſecration do not go from their nature, for they abide ſtill both in their former ſubſtance and figure, and may be both with eyes ſeen, and felt with hands as before. To the ſame agreeth well *Chryſoſt.* ſaying, *Poſtquam ſanctificatur panis, non amplius appellatur panis, tametſi manaat natura panis.* i.e. After the Bread is Sanctified, it is called Bread no more, although the nature of the Bread ſtill remain. Hereby you may underſtand, how and in what ſort the old Fathers, how the Primitive and beginning Church, how the Apoſtles, and how Chriſt himſelf took theſe words, *This is my Body.*

Now to withſtand and ſtoutly to go not againſt only ancient Writers, or the Congregation of Chriſtian People, which at that time was not overgrown, no, neither ſpotted with covetouſneſs and worldly honour, but the Apoſtles alſo, and God himſelf, no doubt it is great fondneſs. But what ſpeak I of the old Fathers? It is not long ſince the Sacrament grew out of his right under ſtanding. For this word *Tranſubſtantiatio*, whereby they ſignifie the turning of the Bread into the Body of Chriſt, was never either ſpoken or heard, or thought of among the ancient Fathers, or in the old Church. But about 500 years paſt, Pope *Nicholas* the Second in a Council holden at *Lateranum* in *Rome*, confirmed that opinion of the changing of Bread, and would have made an Article of Faith, and placed it in the *Credo*. After which time enſued *Corpus Chriſti* day, Maſſes of *Corpus Chriſti*, reſervation of the Sacrament, with honour, with Canopies, with cenſing, with kneeling, with worſhipping and adoration, and with ſo much as any Man could deviſe. For they thought they could not do too much to him after that the Biſhop of *Rome* had allowed him for a God.

But not fully 200 years before that time, when this Doctrine firſt began to bud, (and yet notwithſtanding had not ſo prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good Men could know the Sacrament to be a Sacrament, and not Chriſt himſelf) *Charles* the Great, King of *France*, and Emperor of *Germany*, demanded of a great learned Man, whoſe name was *Bertramus*, what he thought of that ſtrange kind of calling down Chriſt from Heaven, and turning a little gobbet of Bread into his natural body. To whom *Bertram* made anſwer in this wiſe, *Dicimus quod multa differentia ſeparantur corporis in quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus & ſanguis quem in cruce pendens fudit, & hoc corpus quod in myſterio paſſionis Chriſti quotidie a fidelibus celebratur. Etenim hoc corpus pignus & ſpecies eſt, illud autem ipſa veritas. Apparet ergo quod tam multa differentia ſeparentur, quantum eſt inter pignus & eam rem pro qua pignus traditur, & quantum inter imaginem, & rem eam cujus imago eſt, & quantum inter ſpecieem & veritatem*; This we ſay, That there is a great difference and ſeparation betwixt the body in the which Chriſt ſuffered, and the blood which he ſhed upon the Croſs, and this body which every day is celebrated in the Myſtery of the Paſſion of Chriſt. For this body is a pledge and ſimilitude, but the other is the very truth it ſelf. *Ergo*, it appeareth that theſe are ſeparated aſunder by no leſs difference than is between a pledge and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an Image of a thing and the thing it ſelf whereof the Image is: or than is between the form of a thing, and the verity it ſelf. This wrote *Bertramus, Druthmarus*, and many other, and yet were never in all their time once reproved of Hereſie. This wrote *Johannes Scotus* alſo, in whole life time Men had not Eyes to eſpy his Hereſies; but about two hundred years after his death he was judged and condemned for an Heretick, and his Books burned, in a Councel holden at *Vercella* in *Lombardy*, in the year of our Lord God 1015. Since which time, even until this day, although Idolatry had great increaſe, yet there never wanted ſome good Men which boldly would profeſs and ſet forth the truth, although they were well aſſured that their worldly reward ſhould be Spight, Malice, Impriſoning, Sword, Fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus ſo ſhortly, and in ſo few words as I could I have declared unto you what Chriſt meant by theſe words, *This is my Body*; what the Apoſtles taught therein, and in what ſort they delivered them to their ſucceſſors; in what ſenſe and meaning the holy Fathers and old Writers, and the univerſal and Catholick Church hath evermore taken them.

The end and death of King Edward *the Sixth.*

THUS having diſcourſed things done and paſt under the reign of King *Edward*, ſuch as ſeem not unfruitful to be known, we will now draw to the end and death of this bleſſed King, our young *Joſias*. Who about a year and a half after the death of the Duke of *Somerſet* his Uncle, in the year of our Lord 1553, entring into the ſeventeenth year of his Age, and the ſeventh year of his Reign, in the month of *June* was taken from us, for our ſins no doubt; whom if it had ſo pleaſed the good will of the Lord to have ſpared with longer life, not unlike it was, by all conjectures probably to be eſteemed by thoſe his toward and bleſſed beginnings, but proceeding ſo as he began, he would have reformed ſuch a Common Wealth here in the Realm of *England*, as by good cauſe it might have been ſaid of him that was ſaid in the old time of the noble Emperor *Auguſtus*, in reforming and advancing the Empire of *Rome*, *Quam quam ille lateritiam (ut aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit*; Which Empire he received (he ſaid) of Bricks, but he left it of fine Marble. But the condition of this Realm, and the cuſtomable behaviour of *Engliſh* People (whoſe property is commonly to abuſe the Light of the Goſpel when it is offered) deſerved no ſuch benefit of ſo bleſſed a Reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deformation, ſuch as happened after his reign, as you ſhall hear, the Lord granting, in the next Queens days that followed.

Thus then this godly and vertuous Imp, in the time and month above-mentioned, was cut from us, whoſe worthy life and vertues have been partly afore-declared. Nevertheleſs, to have ſome Monument of him remaining to teſtifie of the good nature and gentle diſpoſition of that Prince, we will add here, for a remembrance, this little Epiſtle of his own hand-writing to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his God-father, as followeth:

An Epiſtle of young Prince *Edward* to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his God-father.

IMportio te plurima ſalute, colendiſſime Præſul, & charriſſime Susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te eſſe incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, & promoveas verbum Dei. Vale. Antil. decimo octavo Junii.

Prince Edward when he wrote this Epiſtle ſeemed to be very young, not above ſeven years old lying then at *Ampthil*.

Tuus in Chriſto filius,
Edwardus Princeps.

Another Epiſtle of the young Prince Edward *to the Archbiſhop his God-father.*

ETſi puer ſum, colendiſſime Susceptor, non tamen immemor ſum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere ſtudeas. Non excidernt mihi humaniſſimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus ante hac reſpondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non memineriem, ſed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fraterer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili reſponderem. Proinde aſſentum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expreſſiſti, amplector & veneror, eſtoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac ſalubri conſilio pergas eſſe mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam & exoſculandam eſſe duco, quoniam divus Paulus dixit,

Another Epiſtle of Prince Edward to his God-father.

1 Tim. 4

dicit, Pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optime valeat tua pietas in plurimos annos. Hartefordiæ 13. Januarii.

Tui studiosissimus,

Edwardus Princeps

The Answer of the Archbishop to Prince *Edward's* Epistle.

Allusion of words Terentii in Eunuch. The Answer of Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Epistle of Prince Ed.

NON *magis poterat ipsa me servare salus (filii in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua & salute & valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem & salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse & incolumem sentio. Neque enim tam absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam tuæ literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ argument tibi justa adesse & ingen. dignum tanto principe & præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cælestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, Princeps illustrissime, & Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, & similem simili; tum etiam præterea me impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat.*

The report of the Princes School-master, in commendation of his towardness, to the Archbishop.

This Letter seemeth to be written by Dr. Cox.

RIght honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations: the opportunity of this Messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but only to signifie unto your Grace, that my Lords Grace your God-son is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all this Realm ought to think him and take him for a singular gift sent of God; an Imp worthy of such a Father; for whom we are bound, *sine intermissione*, to render to God most hearty thanks, with moft humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almoft four Books of *Cato* to construe, to parse, and to say without Book. And of his own courage now in the later Book he will needs have at one time fourteen Verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, *Satellitium Vivis*, *Æsops Fables*, and *Latin* making, whereof he hath sent your Grace a little taste. *Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet.*

Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy vertues and singular towardness of this godly Imp, King *Edward* the Sixth, although I have not, neither can inset all things due to his commendation, but am inforced to let pass many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief Note I thought not to overslip (something to recreate the weary Reader in such a doleful story) being notified to me by one Mr. *Edward Humberhil*, who waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow Pensioners and Men at Armis, as Sir *Henry Gates*, Mr. *Robert Etell*, Mr. *Henry Harston*, and Mr. *Staffarton*, heard these words between the King and his Council.

The Relation and Testimony of which person and persons above-named come to this effect, That King *Edward* the Sixth, the fourth year of his Reign, being then but thirteen years old and upward, at *Greenwich* upon St. *Georges* day, when he was come from the Sermon into the Presence-Chamber, there being his Uncle the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, with other Lords and Knights of that Order, called, The Order of the Garter, he faid to them, *My Lords, I pray you, what Saint is St.* George, *that we here so honour him?* At which question the other Lords being all aftonied, the Lord Treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and faid, If it pleafe your Majefty, I did never read in any Hiftory of St. *George*, but only in *Legenda aurea*, where it is thus fet down, *That St. George out with his Sword, and ran the Dragon through with his Spear.* The King, when he could not a great while fpeak for laughing, at length faid, *I pray you, my Lord, what did he with his Sword the while?* That I cannot tell your Majefty, faid he. And fo an end of that queftion of good St. *George*. Now to return again from whence we have digreffed, which is to fignifie fome part of the order and manner of his godly departing. As the time approached when it pleafed Almighty God to call this young King from us, which was the fixth day of *July*, the year above-faid, about three hours before his death, this godly Child, his eyes being clofed, fpeaking to himfelf, and thinking none to have heard him, made this Prayer which followeth:

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The Prayer of King *Edward* before his death.

The Kings Prayer at his death.

LOrd God deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done: Lord I commit my spirit to thee, Oh Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy chosen sake send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God save thy chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God, defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy Name, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake.

Then turned he his face, and feeing who was by him, faid unto them, *Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off.* Then Dr. *Owen* faid, We heard you fpeak to your felf, but what you faid we know not. He then (after his fafhion fmilingly) faid, I was praying to God. The laft words of his pangs were thefe, *I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit.* And thus he yielded up the ghoft, leaving a wofful kingdom behind unto his Sifter. Albeit he in his will had excluded his Sifter *Mary* from the fucceffion of the Crown, becaufe of her corrupt Religion: yet the Plague, which God had deftinate unto this finful Realm, could not fo be avoided, but that the being the elder Daughter to King *Henry*, fucceeded in poffeffion of the Crown. Of whofe dreadful and bloody regiment it remaineth now confequently to difcourfe.

The order and time of his departure.

This briefly may fuffice to underftand, that for all the writing, fending, and practifing with the Lady *Mary*, the King and his Council, and alfo by Bifhop *Ridley*, yet would fhe not be reclaimed from her own fingular opinion fixed upon cuftom, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which fet Will of the faid Lady *Mary*, both this young King and alfo his Father King *Henry* before him right well perceiving and conAnno 1553

The Lady *Mary* wedded to Cuftom.

fidering, they were both much difpleafed againft her: Infomuch that not only her Brother did utterly fequefter her in his Will, but alfo her own Father, conftdering her inclination, conceived fuch heart againft her, that for a great fpace he did fechude her from the title of Princefs, yea and feemed fo eagerly incenfed againft her, that he was fully purpofed to proceed further with her (as it is reported) had not the interceffion of *Thomas Cranmer* the Archbifhop reconciled the King again to favour and pardon his own Daughter. For the better underftanding whereof, by thefe her own Letters copied out of her own hand-writing, which I have to fhew, fomething may be perceived, and more peradventure may be guefled. The words out of her own hand-writing be thefe. And firft her Letter to King *Henry* her Father here followeth:

The Lady *Mary* in difgrace both with her Brother and Father.

A Letter of the Lady *Mary* to King *Henry* her *Father.*

Lady *Mary* writeth to King *Henry* her Father.

IN my moft humble wife I befeech your Grace of your daily bleffing. Pleafeth it the fame to be adverfed, that this morning my Lord my Chamberlain came and fhewed me, that he had received a Letter from Sir W. Paulet *Controller of your Houfe. The effect whereof was, that I fhould with all diligence remove unto the Caftle of* Hertford. *Whereupon I defired him to fee the fame Letter, which he fhewed me. Wherein was written that the Lady* Mary *the Kings Daughter fhould remove to the place before-faid, having*

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leaving out in the fame the name of Princefs. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trufting verily that your Grace was not privy to the fame Letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of Princefs, forafmuch as I doubt not in your goodnefs, but your Grace hath take me for your lawful Daughter, born in true Matrimony. Wherefore if I fhould agree to the contrary, I fhould in my Confcience run in the difpleafure of God, which I hope affuredly your Grace would not that I fo fhould. And in all other things your Grace fhall have me always as humble and obedient a Daughter and Handmaid as ever was Child to the Father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his moft holy tuition, with much honour, and long life to his pleafure.

Written at your Mannor of Beaulieu, *the fecond day of* October,

By your humble Daughter,

Mary, Princefs.

Proteftation of the Lady Mary *to certain Lords fent by the King her Father, with certain requefts unto her.*

The proteftation of Lady *Mary.*

MY Lords, as touching my removing to *Hatfield* I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I proteft before you and all other that be here preftnt, that my Conficience will in no wife fuffer me to take any other than my felf for the Kings Lawful Daughter, born in true Matrimony, or Princefs, and that I will never willingly and wittingly fay or do whereby any perfon might take occafion to think that I agree to the contrary. Not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my Judge, but that, if I fhould fay or do otherwife, I fhould in my Conficience ftander the Deed of our Mother holy Church, and the Pope, who is the Judge in this matter, and none other, and alfo difhonour the King my Father, the Queen my Mother, and falfly confefs my felf a Baftard, which God defend that I fhould do, feeing the Pope hath not fo declared it by his fentence Definitive; for to his Judgment I fubmit me.

Ann. 1553 Lady *Mary* ftanderth to the Popes Judgment.

As you have heard fome part already of the ftout courage of the Lady *Mary* toward her Father, and alfo by her Letters no lefs was declared toward King *Edward* her Brother and other of his Council, as well may appear by the Letters above-fpecified between the King her Brother and his Council: So now let us infer fomewhat likewife of the ftout talk and demeanour of the faid Lady *Mary* toward Doctor *Ridley* Bifhop of *London*, who gently coming to her of meer good will, had this communication with her, and fhe with him, as here followeth:

Talk between Lady *Mary* and B. *Ridley.*

About the Eighth of *September*, 1552, Dr. *Ridley* then Bifhop of *London*, lying at his Houfe at *Hadham* in *Hartfordfhire*, went to vifit the Lady *Mary* then lying at *Hunfdon*, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir *Thomas Wharton*, and other her Officers, till it was almoft Eleven of the Clock, about which time the faid Lady *Mary* came forth into her Chamber of Preftnce, and then the faid Bifhop there faluted her Grace, and faid, That he was come to do this duty to her Grace. Then fhe thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleafantly, and faid, That fhe knew him in the Court when he was Chaplain to her Father, and could well remember a Sermon that he made before King *Henry* her Father, at the Marriage of my Lady *Clinton* that now is, to Sir *Anthony Brown*, &c. and fo difmiffed him to Dine with her Officers.

After Dinner was done, the Bifhop being called for by the faid Lady *Mary*, reforted again to her Grace, between whom this communication was; firft the Bifhop beginneth in manner as followeth:

B. *Ridley* offereth to preach before the Lady *Mary.*

Bifhop. Madam, I came not only to do my duty to fee your Grace, but alfo to offer my felf to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will pleafe you to hear me. At this her countenance changed, and, after filence for a fpace, fhe anfwered thus:

Lady *Mary* refuſeth to hear Bifhop *Ridley* to preach before her.

Mary. My Lord, as for this laft matter I pray you make the anfwer to it your felf.

Bifhop. Madam, confidering mine Office and Calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you.

Mary. Well, I pray you make the anfwer (as I have faid) to this matter your felf; for you know the anfwer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I muft make you anfwer, this fhall be your anfwer; the door of the Parifh-Church adjoyning fhall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you lift; but neither I nor any of mine fhall hear you.

Bifhop. Madam, I truft you will not refufe Gods Word.

Mary. I cannot tell what ye call Gods Word; that is not Gods Word now, that was Gods Word in my Fathers days.

Bifhop. Gods Word is all one in all times, but hath been better underftood and practifed in fome Ages than in other.

Mary. You durft not for your ears have avouched that for Gods Word in my Fathers daye, that now you do. And as for your new Books, I thank God I never read any of them; I never did, nor ever will do.

It is like this was pro-voked by witches and bliud prophefies, that K. Edward fhould not live fo long.

And after many bitter Words againft the form of Religion then eftablifhed, and againft the Government of the Realm, and the Laws made in the young years of her Brother, which fhe faid fhe was not bound to obey till her Brother came to perfect Age, and then the affirmed fhe would obey them; fhe asked the Bifhop whether he were one of the Council: He anfwered, No. You might well enough, faid fhe, as the Council goeth now adays.

B. *Ridley* recounteth to have drunken, there where Gods Word was refuſed.

And fo fhe concluded with thefe words: My Lord, for your gentlenefs to come and fee me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit.

Then the faid Bifhop was brought by Sir *Thomas Wharton* to the place where they dined, and was defired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paufed a while looking very fadly, and fuddainly brake out into thefe words: Surely I have done amifs. Why fo? quoth Sir *Thomas Wharton*. For I have drunk (faid he) in that place where Gods word offered hath been refufed: whereas if I had remembred my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have fhaken off the duft of my Shoes for a teftimony againft this Houfe. Thefe words were by the faid Bifhop fpoken with fuch a vehemency, that fome of the hearers afterward confeffed their Hair to ftand upright on their Heads. This done, the faid Bifhop departed, and fo returned to his Houfe. Teftified by a certain reverend perfonage yet alive, being then the Bifhops Chaplain.

¶ *And thus making an end of this Ninth Book, touching the Story and Reign of King* Edward, *and having alſo fomewhat ſaid before of the nature and diſpoſition of the Lady* Mary, *whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next Book following; we intend, the Grace of God aſſiſting us therein, now further to proceed in deſcribing the acts and proceedings of the ſaid Lady* Mary, *coming now to be Queen, and advanced, next after this godly King* Edward, *to the Crown of this Realm of* England.